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Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society

*Report of the South African Education Conference
held in Capetown and Johannesburg
in July, 1934, under the auspices of*
THE NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP

EDITED BY

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Published for the N.E.F. (S.A.)

JUTA & CO., LTD.,
Publishers and Booksellers,
CAPETOWN AND JOHANNESBURG.

1937.

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The Conference of which this is a report was attended by over 4,000 people at the two sessions at Capetown and Johannesburg and occupied the whole month of July, 1934. Over 300 formal addresses were delivered and there were long and fruitful discussions in which many people took part in the different sections. The desire was repeatedly expressed that some permanent record of these proceedings should be published. Chairmen and recorders of sections were requested to keep as full and accurate a record as possible. The result was a pile of manuscripts and notes almost three feet high, which I, in my capacity as Organising Secretary, was supposed to work up into a report. This was to be done after the Conference in that mythical period—the Organising Secretary's spare time.

The fact that almost from the close of this Conference I was involved in other Conferences and engaged on several important Government Commissions, in addition to my regular work as Director of the National Bureau of Education and Social Research, accounts for the delay in bringing this publication to a successful completion—and my sincerest apologies are due to those who counted on getting the report sooner. In fact, the formidable task of condensing this mass of manuscript material within the limits of a single volume would never have been completed had it not been for the assistance of Mr. J. J. G. Carson and Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, whom I called in to help me. The latter was solely responsible for summarising and editing Part II which deals with the proceedings of the Native Section of which Mr. Jones was also the organiser and chairman. All the credit for the excellence of that section must go to him.

Particularly to these two gentlemen, to Mr. H. J. Roux and Miss E. Hester of the Union Education Department, and to Miss G. Smith of the Transvaal Teachers' Association, who assisted me so efficiently with the organisation of the Conference and with the preparation of this report, I wish to express my sincerest thanks.

Strictly speaking this is not a full report or even summary of the proceedings of the Conference. The proceedings involved much besides addresses and discussions. There were *inter alia* an Art exhibition, at which the work of the children of many nations was represented, displays of children's dancing e.g. Eurythmics and the Medau Method, moving-picture demonstrations of progressive schools in action, and illustrations of the film and the radio as educational instruments. Of these and of the many informal meetings and social gatherings, which were often just as valuable as the more formal ones, little or nothing is included.

Owing to the limitations of space the discussions have been severely curtailed or, where they were poorly reported (as was often the case), omitted entirely. This is to be regretted because these discussions were often very lively and indicated an interest in the subject which is not reflected in this volume. Moreover the vast majority of the addresses themselves had to be rigorously condensed,—the losses in stature being inevitably accompanied by losses of original scintillation and beauty. In this connection it should be noted that with rare exceptions speakers did not summarise their lectures with a view to publication. At the same

time every effort has been made to preserve the essential matter and measure of the original style of each.

The task was further complicated by the fact that the programme of the Conference session at Johannesburg was to a large extent a repetition of the programme of the Capetown session, though the general arrangement of the sections was not identical and the subjects were often treated from a different angle in the papers and discussions. Wherever two addresses were essentially the same at the two centres, they have been combined into one so as to include important elements in both. Discussions that followed these addresses have been similarly treated. It is thus possible to find persons quoted together in the same discussion though they spoke at two entirely separate meetings—one at Capetown and one at Johannesburg. In this way unnecessary repetitions have been avoided except in very rare instances where the overlapping of topics made some repetition inevitable.

* * * * *

While it is regretted that publication could not be effected sooner, there is so much in what was said at the Conference that may be regarded as *timeless*—in the sense of being fundamental—that mere delay in publication should not detract from the value of this report as an educational document.

Further, though the Conference met in South Africa and discussed a number of problems in their natural and national setting, the ideas here expressed have much more than a local appeal; it is their *universality* which gives them significance and justifies their embodiment in permanent form.

South Africa is a new country and, though it simply bristles with problems, the issues (which are really world issues) are thrown into relief more clearly here than in the older countries where they are often obscured by the complexities of tradition and deep underlying prejudices which parade under the name of Western Civilisation. As an experimental station and laboratory in racial and cultural relations South Africa is almost unique in the world to-day. A small white population of less than two millions, situated at the tip of a vast continent of 140 millions of black people, is entrusted with the task of bearing the torch of European civilisation undimmed. Moreover there is also the clash of cultures between the two white races of English and Dutch descent, each clinging tenaciously to its own cultural distinctiveness.

To use the words of Mr. Hofmeyr, the Minister of Education, at the opening of the Conference meeting at Capetown: "In relation to the great world-scale educational problems South Africa is in the nature of a microcosm. Our visitors will be able to see some of these problems in large letters against the relative simplicity of our background and thereby be aided in reading them again in small letters in their own normal environment."

* * * * *

Under the main theme of "Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society" the Conference was brought face to face with the general problem of the function of education in modern society—whether in Africa, Europe, America or anywhere else. The problem lies in the fact that we have to maintain a balance between two seemingly contradictory demands on education.

(i) On the one hand, one of the main functions of education is to transmit the accumulated experience of the race from one generation to another. Concretely it means the transmission of the culture of

the particular group into which the child is born. In other words, *education, unconsciously as well as consciously, seeks to reproduce the type.*

Children when born into a particular nation or cultural group are subject from birth onwards to forces which work through suggestion and imitation as well as through organised effort, e.g. all the elaborate machinery of teaching in the home, church, or school, and of propaganda by the State. The conscious and unconscious motive behind education is to mould the individual into a type so that he will be a member of the group and fit as perfectly as possible into the ways of that group: in short, he must cause as little trouble as possible to his family, town, or nation. This is an absolutely necessary function of education, if people are to live in groups happily and effectively.

(ii) On the other hand, *education must also provide for growth beyond the type.* That is it must allow scope for individuality and initiative, otherwise education is not worthy of the name. What is more, it must actively foster individuality. If this aspect be denied or starved, how can education ever claim to make any contribution towards progress or development?

Both functions are necessary, and it is the task of the educator to maintain a fair balance between the two.

With the rapid changes, however, taking place in modern society there seems to be a greater relative danger in neglecting the latter function of education than in under-emphasising the former. It is felt that by over-emphasising the former to the exclusion of the latter the younger generation is definitely handicapped, not only in technological adaptation in the field of industrial advance but chiefly in psychological adaptation in the field of human relationships. The fact that the world is fast becoming a neighbourhood owing to the rapid developments in the means of transport and communication demands mental attitudes which are capable of transcending the more limited needs of the smaller group. Mental attitudes which are the result of fostering prejudice of group against group and of nation against nation have become a threat to the very existence of modern civilisation and must make place for others.

The realisation of these dangers was the *raison d'être* of the New Education Fellowship. While this organisation would not deny the necessity of the first function of education, viz. to reproduce the type, (in fact, it stresses the development of national cultures as a means of enriching the cultural inheritance of the human race), its existence is a protest against the point of view that regards reproduction of the type as the sole function of education. It has realised also that by neglecting the second function of education the growing child when going to school becomes undeservedly the victim of a process of mechanised routine which turns out a standardised product and stifles real growth.

Thus it is that the New Education Fellowship has drawn together people from many nations into a Fellowship with a view to giving practical effect to the educational philosophy of *education as growth* of which John Dewey is the foremost exponent. This is at least a tenable philosophy of education to-day, as it is one which affords us a satisfactory synthesis between the two seemingly contradictory functions of education mentioned above. Like a plant, human personality cannot grow spiritually unless it has roots which delve deep down and draw nourishment from the past. Further, like a plant, it must continually re-make

itself by absorbing new elements from its environment. And where this environment changes it must, without losing its essential nature, continually adapt itself. The same applies to society.

Useful as this plant metaphor is to illustrate a principle, it remains but a metaphor and has limitations. Man is more than a plant. He does not merely adapt himself to his environment. He also *controls* that environment, i.e. he adapts the environment to himself. This active principle in man is his most valuable asset. It gives him the power also to grow beyond the type and thus to achieve progress. It is for fear lest this aspect be disregarded that the New Education has raised its voice in protest.

Of course, there also lies a danger in the disregard of the other aspect. But extremism of any kind is bad. There are protagonists of the New Education who, in their enthusiasm for the one aspect, fail to see the legitimacy of the claims of the other. This must be admitted. As things are, however, the inertia in human nature is very great. Society is inherently conservative and averse to change. So there seems to be greater need for enthusiasm and effort in providing for growth beyond the type than in merely producing the type. We are more likely to be fighting on the side of the angels in fighting for the former ideal than for the latter.

Questions, however, arise : how are these enthusiasms to be guided ? What new type of growth should be provided for ? These and many similar questions are the topics which the members of this huge Conference tackled, and this report is an account of their deliberations in applying this idea of growth and adaptation—to the home in dealing with children at the pre-school stage ; to the school with its great variety of methods and curricula ; to social work with its undeveloped techniques of social salvage ; and to that field of inter-racial and international relationships which is beset with almost insuperable difficulties. If we add that perfect unanimity was not arrived at, that was never intended or even hoped for.

Nor is this report a series of resolutions. Most resolutions passed at Conferences, if unanimous, are so watered down that they do not mean much. If not unanimous, they too often remain merely *pia vota*. While, what is worse, they give that impression of dogmatism, which is but a spurious certainty, and obscure the difficulties of *really knowing*.

* * * * *

What the Conference *did* accomplish in a positive way for South Africa I tried to state in my report as Organising Secretary (Appendix E), hence it is not necessary to repeat myself here. I should, however, like to state in a more general way the three questions which this Conference considered. They are the three fundamental questions of the *why*, the *how*, and the *what* of education, which every educator, if he is at all a thinking individual, has to answer for himself. Stated more explicitly these questions are :—

- (a) the problem of the ultimate *aim* which determines all educational effort, i.e. *why* and for what do we educate ;
- (b) the problem of *method*, i.e. *how* shall we set about achieving the aim which we have set before ourselves ;
- (c) the problem of the *curriculum*, i.e. *what* shall we teach and when.

It is obvious, of course, that this is an arbitrary and theoretical analysis of a process in which every teaching act involves all three aspects. Strictly they cannot be separated. Still, this analysis might serve as a useful line to the reader to guide him through the multiplicity of subject-matter covered by this report. Generally speaking, we first stated general considerations and then gradually worked down to points which were more particular in their application. This was the plan not only in the main divisions (Parts I and II) but also in the individual chapters.

(a) In the first place, how does this concept of adaptation to a changing society affect our ideals of the *aim* of education? This was most clearly stated by Professor John Dewey in his paper on "The Need for a Philosophy of Education." Again, as the late Dr. van der Leeuw showed us, the aim of education is determined not merely by the type of society we wish to create but ultimately by the aim of life itself. These questions are discussed in Chapter I from different angles by General Smuts, Dr. van der Leeuw, Mrs. Ensor, Professors Boyd, Clarke, von Dürckheim, Murray, and Rugg. Automatically, there followed a consideration of the international ideal and of religion which were discussed by Dr. Kullmann and Professors Bovet, Hughes, Victor Murray, Boyd, and Clarke.

This problem of aim and the type of society for which we wish to educate has special significance for Native education, which is dealt with in Part II. Is the Native to be educated for a European society or for life in his own indigenous, primitive society which is rapidly disintegrating? This is one of the exceedingly difficult and practical questions dealt with in that part of the report.

(b) In the second place, how does this concept of a changing society affect our *methods* in dealing with children at home and at school? A number of the newer methods, e.g. the Dalton, Winnetka, Decroly, and Project methods were explained. This aspect involved a discussion of child psychology, vocational guidance, examinations, etc., which vitally determine methods. In general, the conclusion was reached that the younger generation will best be able to adapt themselves to changing conditions, if we use such methods as will put a premium on initiative and clear thinking. At the same time, the whole educative process should be actuated by a spirit of co-operation and love. In the determination of human relationships for the future methods are extremely important, because *methods more than anything else determine mental attitudes*, which are after all the only things which genuinely carry over from the school into life. Moreover, in *teaching Art* for example, *method* is almost everything—as Mr. Arthur Lisper so clearly showed us—not so much with a view to turning all children into artists, but with a view to developing personality. Good Art teaching provides a child from earliest infancy with a pliable medium through which it can genuinely express itself and thus attain a sane emotional life.

(c) Lastly, we have the problem of the *content* of education, i.e. what to teach and when? The curriculum is fundamentally a selection of certain elements from the accumulated experience of the race which adults have regarded as so important for transmission to children that they were not prepared to take any chances with them but have crystallised them into syllabuses and text-books and forced children to learn them. Life is, however, so vast, so complex, that it is very difficult to know just what elements should be so selected. While there are certain elements of race experience in which every child should share, of whatever generation he may be, these are relatively few. Most

elements change in significance from generation to generation. Yet strangely enough we have been only too prone to accept for our curricula the selection made by scholars of previous generations, when the needs of society were vastly different from what they are to-day and from what they will be when the children whom we are now teaching are grown-up. The result is that much of our present-day curricula is cluttered up with dead wood which should be cut out to make room for really living materials. After all, one of the main tasks of the school is the interpretation of life—life with its urgent needs here and now—and not merely that of a few centuries ago when most of our traditional school subjects received their form and content.

Connected with this is the problem: *what sort of training should we give our teachers* if they are to be able to interpret the living present to growing children? In a rapidly changing society all teachers should ideally be prophets. They will be successful teachers in proportion as they are able to foresee what situations children will be faced with in twenty or thirty years' time when they are grown up. Then and then only can education really be preparation for life. Of course teachers must have knowledge, but imagination is the mental quality most needed. To what extent that can be cultivated is a question to which we do not yet know a definite answer.

Another big and difficult problem in connection with this curriculum question is the rôle of *vocational training* and its relation to the child's more general education, particularly during the adolescent years when such important choices have to be made by every boy and girl. For South Africa this is an important point, especially as she is undergoing a transition from being dominantly an agricultural and rural community to becoming an increasingly urbanised and industrialised people. Nevertheless a large proportion of her population will remain rural, and even at present the most difficult of our educational and social problems are centred on the *rural* child. It is in the rural areas with their sparse population that devastating distance proves the undoing of some of the best conceived educational schemes. Administratively the problem is a twofold one: firstly, to provide the rural child with a good general education—at least as good as, if not better than, that of the urban child; secondly, to train him for more effective living on the land as an agricultural producer. People in South Africa have not yet adequately realised that, with a world market to compete in, the use of modern and "rationalised" methods of production is essential in agriculture also. In South Africa, particularly, farming is such a difficult and exacting enterprise that no man can afford to undertake it unless he has had the best possible training. Our farming population has often been acclaimed as the backbone of our nation. If that is so, our nation will soon deteriorate into an organism of the jelly-fish variety unless a radical improvement is brought about in the educational equipment of the people on the land. It is probably because those participating in the Conference realised this, that the rural education section under the leadership of Professor Mabel Carney was one of the most vital sections of the Conference.

* * * * *

Though this was predominantly an educational Conference, one of the facts which must be remembered, lest we as professional educators lose our perspective, is that *the school cannot do everything*. After all, the school operates only on a small segment of our lives. There are other agencies which, though they may not be as well organised as the

school, must nevertheless be considered. It was for this reason that we introduced a section dealing with *social work*—a field in which other agencies also operate. As are the teachers, so are social work agencies faced with the threefold problem of the *why, how, and what* of their work.

This holistic overview of all agencies which mould human beings from infancy to adulthood is characteristic of the New Education Fellowship, which believes that it is no use attacking the problems of society on one front only while neglecting the others. It is only by co-operation and proper co-ordination of all agencies that we can prevent various efforts from cancelling each other out. Let me illustrate this concretely. We find, for example, that a parent pays taxes in order that a teacher may be employed to teach his child, amongst other things, the newer point of view in history, e.g. that war is wrong. He then proceeds to the poll and votes for the imposition of further taxes with which to build more warships and fighting planes. Just imagine the moral dilemma with which this boy will be faced when war breaks out and he is called out to fight. This type of conflict occurs all too often. It is for such reasons that the New Education Fellowship is so insistent upon concerted effort by all agencies in order to assist children and adults to meet the problems of a society which is becoming more and more complex with every technological advance.

The fact that this Conference was possible on the scale on which it was held shows that such concerted effort is not impossible. And it is hoped that, while no definite resolutions were passed, this account of the discussions will help to stimulate intelligent thinking, both in higher administrative circles and amongst the rank and file of the workers in the field, on the difficult problems mentioned above. Intelligent thinking is, after all, the basis of all progressive action. And it is with hope that such stimulation will also lead to enlightened *action* that we have undertaken the publication of this report.

Pretoria,

January, 1937.

E. G. MALHERBE

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WHAT THE NEW EDUCATION FELLOWSHIP STANDS FOR

The New Education Fellowship was founded by Mrs. Beatrice Ensor and a group of her friends in 1915. From the first it was an international movement intended to unite those who believed that the problems threatening our civilisation were basically problems of human relationship which demanded a new type of education more responsive to the requirements of a changing world.

Since then the Fellowship has spread throughout the world, and it is now the one existing permanent educational organisation of world-wide scope. It performs three functions of particular value at this present time of international dislocation.

- (a) First, through its international and regional conferences, its 51 national sections and groups and 23 magazines in 15 languages, it acts as a permanent working laboratory in which new developments in educational thought and practice in different lands can be exhibited and discussed throughout the world.*
- (b) Secondly, it maintains friendly personal contacts between educational thinkers and practitioners in different countries, and thus contributes notably to the feeling of human solidarity among those engaged in education.*
- (c) And lastly, owing to its national organisations and international outlook and character, it is helping educators to understand the differences in social attitude and custom which characterise different classes and different countries and constitute one of the most fruitful causes of misunderstanding and conflict in the modern world.*

The New Education Fellowship is essentially a spiritual bond, and is characterised by a new attitude towards all educational work.

It is founded on the belief that education is the key to to-morrow, and that only by organising in a co-operative way all the formative influences which bear on the child through the home, the school, and other social agencies, can we equip the child to solve many of the baffling social and economic problems which to-day confront us and which may be still more complex when our children grow up. It seeks further to increase fellowship in the world of education. All are welcome within it who accept the obligations to meet as persons, not primarily as representatives of any particular religious, political, or even educational creed, and whose fundamental attitude is one of open-mindedness and open-heartedness.

MAIN OBJECTIVES

The following aims of the Fellowship are in no sense dogmas, which the Fellowship seeks to impose, but rather an indication of the direction in which the Fellowship as a whole is working :—

- (1) Education should equip us to understand the complexities of modern social and economic life, safeguarding freedom of discussion by developing the scientific spirit.*
- (2) It should make adequate provision for meeting diverse intellectual and emotional needs of different individuals, and should afford constant opportunity for active self-expression.*
- (3) It should help us to adjust ourselves voluntarily to social requirements, replacing the discipline of fear and punishment by the development of intelligent initiative and responsibility.*
- (4) It should promote collaboration between all members of the community. This is only possible where teachers and taught alike understand the value of diversity of character and independent judgment.*
- (5) It should help us to appreciate our own national heritage and to welcome the unique contribution that every other national group can make to the culture of the world. The creation of world citizens is as important for the safety of modern civilisation as the creation of national citizens.*

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N.E.F.
29, Tavistock Square,
London, W.C.1.,
England.

South African Headquarters of the N.E.F.
The National Bureau of Educational
and Social Research,
Union Buildings,
Pretoria.

PART I.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

ADAPTATIONS IN EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

THE MEANING OF THE CONFERENCE FOR SOUTH AFRICA*

The Hon. J. H. HOFMEYR (Minister of Education)

I have a double assignment to perform this evening—to accord a welcome to our distinguished visitors and to open this very important Conference.

I have been allowed ten minutes for that two-fold task. If I succeed in keeping within the allotted span, I know I shall have earned the sympathy which you doubtless feel for me. If I fail, you must be content with my sympathy.

I am very glad this evening to be the mouthpiece of South Africa's welcome to our distinguished visitors. I speak in the name of the Government of the Union of South Africa in extending that welcome to them. I speak also in a narrower sense on behalf of the three Honorary Presidents of this Conference. I know it would have been the wish of the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, and of General Smuts, with whom I share the honour of being one of your Honorary Presidents, to be here ; as it is, I must be the bearer of a message from them of greeting and goodwill.

I bear also a similar message from Dr. Gie, Secretary for Education, whose prospective transfer to a higher sphere we applaud as much as we regret the consequent loss to South African education.

We are happy to welcome our visitors this evening. We welcome them for their own sake, some of them old friends, some new friends, but all men and women who by their achievement command respect.

We welcome them also for what they will bring us in instruction, in inspiration, and in new vision for us in our educational tasks. We hope that South Africa will give them something in return. We promise them the heartiness of our South African hospitality ; and I can hope they will not be unduly burdened by what has been described as our national vice ! We promise them the beauty of our scenery and the interest of our varied life. And I think we can also promise them that South Africa will yield to them too a stimulus to take back to their work.

* Opening Address at Cape Town.

It is appropriate that there should be held in South Africa a Conference under the auspices of the New Education Fellowship. One of the keynotes of the Fellowship's activity has been the conception of unity in diversity. That is also at the root of many of our South African problems. We have no lack of diversity—racial, sentimental, geographical, economic. I think that the work which we are doing here—to try to bring out the unity which we believe lies behind that diversity—will not be without interest to our visitors.

Moreover, in relation to the great world-scale educational problems, South Africa is in the nature of a microcosm. Our visitors will be able to see some of these problems in large letters against the relative simplicity of our background, and thereby be aided in reading them again in small letters in their own normal environment. They will be able to see some of the educational problems of a new country which is passing through a period of economic and social transition: they will be able to study the problem of bilingualism: they will be able to consider some of the educational aspects of the clash of races and colours in respect of which we in South Africa are on one of the strategic fronts.

The difficulties of our problems are such that they should secure for us the sympathetic interest of the whole world, and we regard the presence of the visitors as an evidence of that interest.

I must pass on to my other task, that of opening this Conference. The theme of this Regional Conference under the auspices of the New Education Fellowship is in accord with the theme of the World Conferences which the Fellowship has held. It has discussed on those occasions the theme of Education in a Changing World. This Conference will discuss that same theme in relation to South Africa.

May I suggest three aspects of that theme which have a bearing for us? In the first place, there is, as a feature of our times, the change from isolation to integration. In relation to our own country, we think of the change from a South Africa economically self-supporting, and with a limited vision, content to pursue the even tenor of its ways in isolation—a change from that South Africa to a South Africa conscious of its integration with a world family of nations.

And that brings two educational consequences. It brings the necessity of making more efficient our training of producers who will have to compete in world markets: it brings also the necessity of training men and women who will at once be quick with the realisation of their South African citizenship, and ready to meet the obligations which rest upon them as citizens of the world. This Conference, at once national and international in its scope, cannot but have a message for us in these respects.

Secondly, there is a change at this time from the conception of authority as the basis of society—one section imposing its will upon the whole community—to the conception of freedom and free development and, on the basis of that freedom, to the conception of the contribution of all sections to the welfare of the community at large.

That again has two educational consequences. It means that the products of our educational system should not be machines, not automatic robots, but independent, thinking, self-reliant humans. It means also that in pursuance of that conception of contribution we should make it our object to ensure that all sections are fitted to bring their contributions, and we should be prepared fruitfully to apply that conception in relation to the Coloured and Native peoples in our midst.

In these respects also I believe this Conference should mean much for us. Finally, this era is an era of change in a more narrowly educational sense—a change in educational emphasis. We are passing from the conception of education as having its centre in the school to the conception of education as having its centre in the child.

One aspect in particular of that change is being brought home to us in South Africa at this time. We have begun to realise that the school is historically an urban institution—it developed in the towns in response to urban needs—and it is that urban institution that has been transplanted into rural areas.

We are realising too that this country is predominantly a rural and not an urban country, and we are becoming conscious of the greatness of our task in transforming that urban institution with its urban origin and urban traditions so as to fit it to the circumstances of a rural environment. From this point of view also it is peculiarly opportune that this Conference should be meeting here at this present time.

I think I have said as much as the time allotted to me allows to suggest to you something of the importance of this Conference. I have very great pleasure in declaring the Conference open.

Mr. Hofmeyr then repeated his remarks briefly in Afrikaans.

A MESSAGE FROM LORD EUSTACE PERCY (formerly Minister of Education for Great Britain and President of the Board of Education) :—

“I should like to express to you, and through you to the members of the Conference, my sincere apologies and regrets for having been forced to abandon my intention of attending the Conference in response to the kind invitation extended to me. The sittings of the Joint Select Committee on India, of which I am a member, have unfortunately made it impossible for me to leave England at this time, and I am sure that the members of the Conference will understand that nothing but the most compelling public duties would have led me to renounce a visit to South Africa to which I had been long looking forward.

May I offer my best wishes for the success of the Conferences.”

EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM AND INITIATIVE*

THE RT. HON. GENERAL J. C. SMUTS

South Africa offers all the problems of the Old World, some of these very acute, and a number of new problems. The task of Conference is to consider the adaptation necessary for education in a changing world. We are living in a time of maximum change, and maybe no previous era has witnessed a volume of change as great as that of to-day. Some of these changes are the aftermath of the Great War, but many have their roots in pre-War conditions.

Two of the latter are, to my mind, outstanding and important. The first—that we are marching on from one system of society to another,

* Opening Address at Johannesburg.

from a middle-class democracy to a pure democracy: the second—the enormous progress that Science is making.

For the social change—in the language of the Continent we are changing from a bourgeois into a proletarian world and, when you consider that European civilisation was largely of a middle-class character, and that the culture of the Continent of Europe was dominated by middle-class points of view, and that we are now passing into a state of society that is altogether democratic, then you can understand the magnitude of the change.

Then, again, Science and Technology in their advance are changing the face of the earth and creating problems in our civilisation of enormous magnitude for educationists and for all who are interested in the human fate.

Both these factors tend to produce a mass mentality, both tending to the suppression of individual personality and to the creation of a sort of standardised human being of a uniform type.

There is no idea which has been more basic to human progress than the idea of freedom, which to-day over large areas of the earth is receding into the background. Freedom does not seem to be dear to the proletariat—you would almost think that dictators are dear to them. And, with this standardising, the old home and religious influences which have kept up human character are weakening, and the whole burden of preparing human beings of the best type for society has fallen on the schools—an enormous burden for them to carry.

It would be an evil day if humanity became altogether standardised and human individuals became more or less of one type. One of the tasks that lies before education is to prevent this and to see that justice is done to the human individual and the human personality. Education is not merely the imparting of knowledge: it is the imparting of life, character, and personality—the putting life into a human being. Children at school should be vitalised, awakened, and rendered appreciative of values and sensitive to truth.

Only as the young mind develops these interests can we expect the human personality to continue and flourish in spite of the depressing influences of the times. What is needed to-day is that children should be given energy and force of character that will keep them moving, make them strong and vigorous, and put life into them. In this way we will prevent the swamping of personality in commonplace mediocrity. The individual personality is of far greater value than the mass mind, and we should, now that human personality is threatened by these levelling tendencies, set our minds more than ever to seeing that children are given the fullest chance of self-expression and of realising their personality.

The extension of knowledge and science in our day has been such that there is a very great temptation in our schools merely to impart information. Knowledge, however, is an inferior article as compared in value with the human soul.

The style of learning of the generation before us was learning in tears. I myself belonged to a generation which was educated by learning in boredom. That is, however, I hope, now passing. We have only to compare the lambs playing in the fields with the children cooped up in the schools to realise how far we have fallen below the standards of nature.

Education should rely on the development much more of the imagination than of the memory. The new conditions of society call

for such a change. The field of knowledge is widening at such an enormous rate that it is a sin to expect a child to memorise this vast body of facts. He should be taught the use of reference books even to the extent of their use in the examination room.

If I were a Dictator, I would lay down as a programme of principles for the New Education—

“the building up of individual personality; the encouragement of imagination, not of memory; the feeding of the young mind with interests, ideals, and the joy of life, avoiding repressions; the cultivating of a love of truth, a broad outlook, and objectiveness; a thorough grounding in fundamentals, leaving details to reference books; and the principles of Holism—that in this universe we are all members one of another, and that selfishness is the grand refusal and denial of life.”

TREKKING ON IN EDUCATION

MRS. BEATRICE ENSOR

As International Chairman of the New Education Fellowship, I bring you greetings from our Headquarters in London and from our Sections and Groups in different parts of the world, who are watching with the keenest interest and sympathy your efforts to tackle the educational problems of the Union of South Africa in the spirit of the Fellowship.

As International Chairman, too, I should like to congratulate and thank our South African colleagues for the part they have played in organising this Conference.

The theme of this Conference is Education and Social Change. It is unnecessary to dwell on the rapid and bewildering changes that have taken place in the last twenty-five years—Scientific inventions, Transport, Radio, Films, have made the world inter-dependent.

We have seen the growth of democracy, its apparent failure due not, I think, to the inherent weakness of democratic ideals but to the vast problems involved in re-organisation of a post-War world and to the fact that the average citizen was not sufficiently prepared for self-government.

We have seen the rise of Communism, of Fascism, of Dictatorship, and the growth of intense Nationalism in many countries. We have seen the birth of the League of Nations and have followed with interest and hope World Conferences on Disarmament and Economics.

Practical idealists and thinkers in every sphere have been striving to lead public opinion towards the necessity for international acting, feeling, and thinking. Yet, to-day, after fifteen years of post-War conditions, in spite of all the attempts to build up a sane structure for world organisation, we have to acknowledge that there are many disquieting symptoms—the outstanding leaders of the world are warning us in no uncertain terms that we are drifting towards another war, which could but mean the disintegration of our civilisation.

There has never been a time when it was more important to think clearly, and to work unceasingly, and to co-ordinate those forces that may avert catastrophe and lead us from social chaos to social stability.

Almost every country in the world is passing through a severe economic crisis, which is producing an equally severe political crisis. I know that

men and women everywhere, under the pressure of present want and future uncertainty, are turning their backs upon government by co-operation and consent and are delivering over their destinies to the will of a single man or a self-appointed group of men.

Yet still I maintain that there is room, nay more that there is *necessity*, for international co-operation. These very Dictators will find that they cannot carry out the reforms they wish for their own countries without co-operating with the Dictators of other countries. They cannot improve the standard of living of their own workers without international agreement upon such questions as hours of labour and a minimum wage. A sane Dictator will realise that he must choose between sweating his own countrymen in fierce competition with the workers of other nations and coming to some reasonable agreement with other nations in an international court.

One hears so much light talk about the failure of the League of Nations, the madness of the international ideal, that it is important that we should all brace our minds, before embarking upon our more specialised problems as educationists, with a fresh facing of the problems of internationalism and a common acceptance of the fact that international co-operation is not a fantastic ideal but a vital necessity. The world is a unit: its separate parts may each turn temporarily to autocracy for leadership through these difficult days: but the autocratic leaders themselves will find themselves forced to co-operate, if they are to carry on.

So, whatever local form of government each nation may choose for itself, the statesmen and leaders of the nations will have to continue to strive, as they have been striving for the past fifteen years, to devise the machinery for world organisation. And, however perfect that machinery, remember that it will not work unless the goodwill of men is behind it, just as the most perfect legal code will not ensure order to an un-law-abiding people.

Herein lies the task of education as the greatest force for social reconstruction. It is up to us as educators to prepare citizens who will be able and willing to ensoul the machinery devised by international statesmanship. We have set ourselves a gigantic task—to change the whole face of history by making co-operation and consent, instead of self-will and competitive force, the basis of behaviour. This means that we shall have to create a new attitude of mind in mankind.

Professor Dewey said recently that we must regard Democracy as something more than a form of political life, as a scheme of freedom in which everyone may develop to the highest possible degree his latent capacity. He defined Democracy as “a society of intelligently communicating and freely related human beings. . . .” Accepting this definition of Democracy as a spiritual goal, and not as a political form of government, the Fellowship is essentially democratic in spirit. It is logical that education must, if it is to be a living dynamic force, change to meet the needs of a changed world. It is fundamental for us to decide whether we think education must merely *adapt* itself to social change, or whether education must strive to *lead* social change. The former is safer and more in keeping with the conservative policy which has always tended to direct education, but some of us feel that in these critical times a more courageous and far-seeing attitude is needed and that Education should be prepared to lead.

This view, however, brings us to a crucial question: To what extent is any adult justified in attempting to indoctrinate? In several countries

to-day education is being deliberately used to indoctrinate children with a specific form of social outlook. Many of us in the Fellowship feel that this is not justifiable inasmuch as no adult to-day can possibly know what the future has in store. We feel that our duty to the child is to help him to such wholeness of development that he can adapt himself to, and co-operate in, social forms of his own devising later on. There are certain principles and attitudes that will hasten an integrated world commonwealth and others which will disintegrate and retard human evolution. It is our duty to foster the former and eliminate the latter, but the process of elimination will be successful only if it be carried on in a spirit of tolerance and understanding.

The New Education Fellowship was established in 1915, during the War, by men and women who realised that, in the great movement of post-War reconstruction, education must play a leading part. It was begun and has continued a non-political and non-sectarian movement. It has no formal creed, and its catholicity is such that it embraces the extreme experimentalist and the cautious progressivist. Its usefulness has been proved by its steady growth. I think it may claim to be fulfilling a widely felt need, for it provides a series of meeting grounds, of which this present Conference is one, for those who seek international co-operation as a basic measure of practical policy and who realise that the minds of men must be educated to accept it as such.

Let it be clearly understood that the Fellowship does not favour a form of World Citizenship at the expense of the proper kind of National Citizenship. The development of education in every country must be based on its own national culture, tradition, and needs—a World Commonwealth will be the richer because each unit is different. Moreover, every nation must set its own house in order, must embark on a wide programme of national social reconstruction, before it can feel itself strong enough to make any contribution to the World Commonwealth. This temporary concentration on the national affairs of each nation will give rise to an apparent halt in the progress of the international ideal. But the nations, renewed in a sense of well-being, should have richer and more varied gifts to place at the service of the World Commonwealth after this breathing space.

And because the Commonwealth of Nations can only evolve through a process of evolution—necessarily slow—we must guard against harsh and intolerant criticism of any one nation in its efforts to put its own house in order lest, by such intolerance, we alienate any wish to contribute later to the common pool.

The New Education Fellowship has always insisted that, important as is the work of the teacher, he is not the sole factor, or even the chief factor, in the education of the whole child. True education can only be accomplished through co-operation between parent, teacher, medical man, social worker, and priest, because the product of true education is not merely a well-instructed child or a healthy-bodied child or a "good" child, but a fully integrated personality whose body, mind, and spirit are so exercised and so fused that he is able to live a full and integrated life.

The New Education Fellowship has, from its inception, urged upon the whole world the education of the whole child. It has opposed all the forces which, under earlier systems, tended to cripple one or other part of the child's development.

Thus it has striven for more parent-teacher co-operation, because the mutual distrust and jealousy between parent and teacher used to

force the child to divide his loyalties between school and home. The New Education Fellowship has said : " Parents and teachers, get to know one another. Put your heads together and see if you cannot combine to help Mary to get over her timidity, John to get over his habit of telling lies. Learn to trust one another. You both want to do your best for the children. See if you cannot better your best by working together."

We believe that the purpose of education is growth, every individual requires different material, and in different quantities, for growth, consequently we stress the need for far greater respect for the individuality of the child and deprecate standardisation.

There are certain minimum essentials every child must master : apart from these there should be greater opportunities for differentiation. We want education to be education for life, which means that we must help the child to become a well-adjusted and happy individual, able to fit into the community.

In the education of the whole child there must be a proper balance of :—

(a) *Physical education.* A sound and healthy body is essential, as is also a beautiful body. We favour all forms of rhythmic exercises that give poise, balance, and flexibility to the body.

(b) *Aesthetic education.* The creative arts should find a large place in every curriculum. They are channels of self-expression, emotion, and imagination. Art is a medium through which the individual can register his personal and deeper feelings in terms of beauty. Drawing, painting, music, drama, and craft are essential needs of every child. Further, they will prove to be the greatest enrichment of the increased leisure that is likely to come to all of us as a result of labour-saving inventions.

(c) *Mental education.* This should not be merely the acquisition of factual knowledge. Its aim should be to enable the child to think clearly and to seek truth and reality. The New Education Fellowship has always believed that anything that heightens powers of observation, including, not least, a carefully planned scientific training, is essential to the best mental development of the child. We must seek by every means in our power to break down the terrible tyranny of the text-book.

(d) *Ethical education.* This should help the child to realise the indwelling spirit of God. It should give him a practical working philosophy of life. It postulates the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The Fellowship's fundamental belief is in the supremacy of Spirit over matter. It is essentially spiritual, since its basic principles aim at awakening and developing the " God " within human beings.

(e) *Civic education.* The school must give the child training in citizenship. Here, as in the home, he will learn his first lessons in the great art of community living. The child must learn " consent and co-operation." He cannot learn these things by precept. He must learn them by practice. The New Education Fellowship insists that the school is a microcosm in which the child will learn how to live with his fellows. If he learns at school that might is right, that the small and weak exist only for the convenience of the strong, he will not easily forget these lessons. If he learns at school to care for the greatest good of the greatest number, to work for the common good, this lesson too will " stick."

Our present social chaos lies at the door of the individual, not at that of any inherent defect in the world about us. Thanks mainly to

scientific discovery we have banished scarcity from the earth as a whole, though we have not even lessened much the tragedy of want. Thus, while men go hungry, meat and coffee are burned. Men go unhoused, or housed like beasts, while builders and carpenters sit by in unhappy idleness. Twenty millions go unemployed while the world is crying out for work that needs doing. Scientific discovery has outstripped ethical evolution and nothing but a burning faith can help that latter to catch up. Ours is the task of building up new attitudes, for attitudes determine human relationships, which in their turn determine the road of history.

We have found the chief obstacles to the progress of the New Education in two quarters. You will admit that, to the uninitiated, it seems easier to dragoon a class than to encourage and enable it to school itself. So the first obstacle to be tackled is the recruitment and training of teachers. Teachers to be worthy of the name must be the very flower of mankind. They must be healthy in body, for their work is the most exacting I know. They must be sane and balanced personalities, or they will inevitably warp in some respect the tender young material in which they work. They must be dreamers and artists, for their work is concerned with the future and is, in a high sense, creative. They must be severely practical, for no detail is too small for their attention, and they cannot be slipshod about small beginnings if their work is to stand the test of time.

So one of the New Education Fellowship's chief concerns is with the choosing and training of teachers. Another is the remodelling of the examination system. The constant cry of teachers of goodwill is "Yes, we would like to see the children spend more time in the workshops. We would like to see them discuss their work and use their own wits not merely to swallow but to digest the facts we teach them. We would like to see them enact themselves the things we tell them in history and geography and language lessons. We would like to give more time to the discussion of present day problems as preparation for Citizenship. But there is no time."

It is wonderful how much time the inspired teacher finds for such things even under the present system. But the New Education Fellowship is fully aware that examinations, as at present conceived, are a brake on true education. For one thing, it is absurd that a School-Leaving Certificate from a Secondary School should have any connection with University entrance. The Universities could well devise their own entrance examination for the minority of school children who go to them. It is up to the schools to devise a School-Leaving Certificate which will classify the ability of the children who go directly from school to employment of some sort.

I hope you do not think I have delayed too long in coming to the special problems of the Union of South Africa. It is not because I ignore the fact that they are many and difficult, but because I see them in the light of a common world problem. I have devoted almost the whole time at my disposal to reminding you of two facts: first, nationalistic though the world appears to be becoming, its national problems cannot be solved without world co-operation: second, education is the only force that can enable the world to act co-operatively.

One is constantly hearing that South Africa is a land of many problems. It is true that we have here the added difficulties of a comparatively new country and a large non-European population. In the Carnegie Report of the Poor White Commission we find described "What is." The primary function of the present Conference is to think out "What might be."

In South Africa we have to realise that it is not sufficient to cope with the white population but that it is essential to evolve a far more general and carefully thought-out policy as regards the education of the non-European, one which will help him to develop into a self-respecting and self-supporting citizen, contributing his share to the community.

We have to face the fact that only a small minority of white children can be absorbed into industries and professions in South Africa and we must, therefore, concentrate on rural education. Considering the vast distances, the small white population, and the many difficulties, the Union may well be proud of what has been accomplished. The very fact that the country is young, that a united nation is in the making, gives the opportunity of avoiding many of the errors that older countries have perpetrated. It is a most encouraging sign that those in authority are especially studying the problem.

No country can import systems or methods, education must grow out of the cultural background and needs of a people. A truly South African system of education has still to be evolved and, while we can consult those who have been grappling with similar problems in other lands, we cannot accept ready-made methods.

Here in South Africa we have to find a way for educating the country child in such a way that he will be content to stay on the land, but he must be educated to be a trained and a cultured agriculturist. Modern inventions must be brought to the rural worker that he may be a part of the big world. Radio, television, films, travelling libraries, could be used to great advantage to make him more contented and to give him a wider horizon.

Character training, true spiritual qualities, physical and mental hygiene, are pre-eminently necessary in these rural areas. The scope for a teacher in a rural area is immense: he can be the centre of social regeneration. Therefore the selection and training of teachers for rural areas is of immense importance.

South Africa has a rich cultural heritage; the qualities of the early pioneers and "Voortrekkers" were of sterling worth. But many causes have contributed to degeneration and to the formation of "Poor Whites." It is scarcely necessary to remind ourselves that among "Poor Whites" are found all the European nationalities that have gone to people South Africa. The "Voortrekkers" sacrificed much for freedom and independence; they trekked, ever seeking fresh pastures. To-day we have much "mental trekking" to do, in search of wider horizons. If we are to obtain intellectual freedom we must be willing to sacrifice many of our rigid mental moulds. We Educators need just those qualities of the "Voortrekkers"—bold, courageous "trekking" in search of the things of the spirit.

The world over, to-day, one of the biggest questions to be faced is the meaning of true Nationalism and its relation to a World Commonwealth. These critical times require big sacrifices, and one that is demanded of intelligent men and women who have the welfare of the future at heart is the abandoning of old enmities—they exist in some form everywhere—of racial antagonisms. "Hate never ceaseth by hate, but by love alone." If we have faith in our brother man and expect the best from him, we generally get the best.

No teacher is fit to be a teacher if he poisons the minds of the young by antagonisms, by racial barriers and all that leads to separateness. Here in South Africa we have a great lead from General Hertzog and General Smuts, a union that shall make a South African Nation built out of the best traditions, traits, and culture of all the people who go to

make up the nation. In no aspect of national life can the schools help or hinder more. Not the enmities and mistakes of the past must colour history but the great possibilities of the future that have grown out of the past.

South Africa is an integrated unit—but also part of the greater world unity that must be achieved if we are to build a society in which every man and woman can be assured of the possibility of living a happy, full, and contented life, using all the great inventions of mankind for constructive, not destructive, ends.

We are faced with the choice between world organisation based on brotherhood and world chaos into which another world war would plunge us.

The future is largely in the hands of educators. But sterile instruction will not help. We must have a living dynamic type of education that feeds the emotions as well as the mind.

This is the spirit of the Fellowship, and at all the Conferences we try to transcend the barriers of separateness, of petty and nationalistic thinking, and concentrate on the needs of children as the future citizens of the world.

In this spirit may we discuss our aims, principles, and procedures, not forgetting that, while we may have our heads in the clouds, we must also have our feet on the ground. Conferences that end in talk are of little value, and we hope that this Conference may bring inspiration to many and also practical measures to change much of "What is" into "What might be."

THE SOUL OF MAN IN A MACHINE AGE*

DR. J. J. VAN DER LEEUW

By way of preface to his address at Johannesburg, Dr. van der Leeuw referred to his particular pleasure in finding himself in a country with such close historic ties with his own, and also on the same platform as General Smuts, in whom were combined the brave soldier and the wise statesman, though Plato did not admit the possibility of philosopher, statesman, and scientist in one man. He was convinced that South Africa would be the soul or centre of an individual pure civilisation built up on the contribution of the varied communities comprised in the South African nation. Holland was following the trend of events with love and sympathy which he hoped would be reciprocated in spite of a present seeming indifference. Holland had little military fame, but her percentage of Nobel Prize-winners was large. She did not lack nationalism, and was doing quietly creative work forming an organic whole in which culture would never die, and South Africa, though

* This account is a combination of two distinct lectures: one given at Cape Town and one at Johannesburg. Dr. van der Leeuw spoke from rough notes. He promised to write out his lectures in full for the report. Unfortunately before he could do so he was killed in an aeroplane crash in Central Africa on his northward flight, and all his notes perished in the flames with him. What follows here is an effort to reproduce these lectures, partly from memory, partly from newspaper reports, and partly from other lectures and writings in which Dr. van der Leeuw had developed more or less the same ideas. At best we can offer but a feeble reflection of the eloquence and vivid personality of a great thinker whose untimely death was felt as a great blow to education in many Overseas countries as well as in South Africa.—E.G.M.

developing on individual national lines, should remember the continuing bond with her.

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"*Without vision the people perish.*"—Unless some radical reforms take place in education and in our social relationships, unless there is the vision of a new world, there is not the slightest doubt that our present world is headed for catastrophe. Such catastrophe is inevitable, when one half of the world is destroying what the other half needs, and one half is unemployed while the other needs labour, or one half is crying for war while the other is praying for peace and security.

Everywhere people ask why responsible statesmen do not *do* something to save this world from imminent disaster, while politicians blame their nations for not allowing them to effect the necessary changes. Thus, while crew and passengers argue, the ship drifts to destruction. All seem caught in a vicious circle; meanwhile those who understand what is happening look on. One would like to see them take action, but it seems a strange paradox of our days that those who understand do not act, and those who act do not understand. Perhaps it is always the characteristic of the thinker that he is slow to act, and not ruthless enough to be successful in political action. The result, however, is that the actual revolutionary changes are brought about by the instincts and passions of the masses, whose rebellions are justified by their suffering but who are not by that suffering qualified for leadership. This is the tragedy of our times.

We must ask ourselves what we, as educators, can do in this world crisis. The general feeling is that the educator is powerless, that he can do nothing, and that action in such a crisis must come from those who, along legislative or revolutionary ways, can effect a change.

Yet, neither legislation nor revolution are creative; man alone is creative. Laws only confirm, they do not create. Revolutions do but remove obstacles, they too do not create. In a law man may say what he *intends* to do, by a revolution he may gain the *power* of acting, but it is always man who has to do the creative work; behind all political changes, all economic reconstruction, stands living man.

When we speak of a social order, an economic system, or a form of government, we are apt to think of them as things, objects, which can be changed outside of man. This is where the Marxists went wrong. Yet, if all human beings suddenly disappeared from this earth, there would not be anything left of all these social forms. There would be nature, there would be empty cities and factories, there would be books but no one to read them, meaningless, inanimate objects in the midst of nature. The "social order", the "economic system", the "form of government", would have disappeared with man, in whom and by whom they exist. They are but living relations from man to man; created by man, they live in him and disappear with him. Therefore man, individual, living man, is primary in all social changes, in him they begin and end, on his attitude and understanding they depend. It is to living man that the power has been given to deal with the ultimate reality of human existence.

Here lies the tremendous power of the educator. It is exactly with these living human beings that he deals, not with the humanity of the present but with the living human beings of the future, who carry that future in themselves, without whom it cannot be.

What greater power could be put into the hands of any man than that which has been put into yours?

According to the way in which you use that influence, in which you acquit yourselves of the task of setting free that life of the future, of which the children of to-day are the bearers, according to that will be the future of humanity. Could there be a greater power or a greater responsibility? You are dealing with the living material on which all action of politician or economist depends.

Remember, especially in these days of crisis, that we do not educate for the present but for the future. We educate coming generations not that they should be adapted to a world in a state of crisis, a world of chaos and ignorance, but that they should create out of the life that is in them the world of the future. Thus we must educate *beyond* ourselves. The educator of to-day must understand something of the change that is taking place to-day, he must understand the life that is trying to find a voice in the newer generation. It is a life beyond our own, expressing ideals and values of which we are, as yet, but dimly aware; yet it is our task to understand and set free that life.

The Meaning of the Present Crisis.—What is taking place these days is not a world crisis in the sense of an unfortunate disaster which has come over mankind and which will pass in due time leaving all much as it was. It is a change, a transition, that is taking place, the greatest change in history as we know it. To most people, so far, this change seems solely one for the worse; everywhere old forms are collapsing, old methods proving futile; chaos is increasing, civilisation itself is endangered. Yet world-wide suffering is not a sign of a decline, as Spengler would have it, but of a new era. Our world is not going under, it is being re-born. Yet we must not make the mistake of calling it 'another Renaissance.' The re-birth of to-day is the very antithesis of what took place in the fifteenth century. Then the individual awoke from a dream of mediaeval unity: proudly asserting his individuality he set out to conquer the world around him. Now, man, weary of an individualism that has degenerated into separateness, is seeking again that unity of life from which he strayed. It is an opposite movement; we must not call the re-birth of to-day 'another Renaissance.'

In greater and smaller cycles of evolution, in the life of nations as in that of individuals, we can distinguish three main phases. First the one in which man is hardly differentiated from nature and is still part of its unity of life. If you have not forgotten your childhood, you will remember something of that phase. In the child's life this phase of primitive or natural man is dimly repeated; the child is therefore still in harmony with nature, embedded in that greater life from which the grown-up individual becomes estranged.

In the second phase man awakens to the realisation of himself as an individual, full of power, separate from a world around him which challenges his daring. It is the eating of the Tree of Knowledge by which Paradise is lost. The second phase always begins in joy and ends in tragedy. The births of science, of conquest, of democracy, of the acquisitive instinct, are surrounded by the thrill of power and discovery. Both the beginning of that second phase in Greece, in the sixth century B.C., and also our own European Renaissance partake of that exultation. But gradually man travels away from the centre of things, losing contact with life as he becomes immersed in the endless diversity of an outward world. The chaotic separateness which results can only mean tragedy, war, and revolution. It was so at the end of the second phase in Graeco-Roman history, in the century preceding the birth of Christ; it has been so in our days.

But this second phase is not the end. Here lies the error of Spengler, that to him the final tragedy of the second phase is the end of the cycle. I look upon it as a beginning of the third phase, in which man, tired of the acquisitive and separate life, seeks to return consciously to the life he once shared unconsciously. It is this transition we are witnessing to-day.

An Organic World.—I would describe it as a change from chaos to organic unity. In our days, however, man does not seek this unity freely. It is true there is a great yearning in modern man for the life from which he is estranged: he is unsatisfied and seeking. But this world-unity is being forced upon him. It would be beautiful, I agree, if man spontaneously realised that he is of one blood with his brother men. What is actually happening is that he is forced into world-unity, by his own scientific and technical achievements.

In the growing separateness of the second phase man has also lost the wholeness of his own being, he has become divided in himself. Thus it has been possible that his intellectual being has grown rapidly, while emotionally and physically he has lagged behind.

Technically man has achieved world-unity. This unity is not a Utopian dream, it is a grim reality. In the technical development of the last century man has annihilated space and gained a fictitious omnipresence. Through ever faster communications, through trains, steamers, aeroplanes, through telephone, telegraph and radio, the cinema and television, distance becomes an almost meaningless term. Soon I shall be able to speak from one country and be heard and seen at the far ends of the earth by people whom I, in turn, shall be able to see and hear. That, to all intents and purposes, is omnipresence.

Man has made the world into one living organism in the full sense of that word. It is an organism with a very real circulation of ideas, of goods and money, with a very real and sensitive nervous system, which causes whatever happens in any part of the world to react instantaneously on every other part. Thus your fate is being decided now in Germany, in China, in India and America. This is a fact which we ignore to our own undoing. We have created world-unity by our technical progress and refuse, or are unable, to recognise it emotionally in our social and political life. It is the tragedy of modern humanity that it has lagged behind its own scientific progress and not only does not benefit by it as it should but is in danger of being destroyed by it.

We must learn not only to think in world terms but to feel and act in world terms. A new type of man is necessary, is inevitable, a man who knows himself as part of that living world organism.

In biology the cell may be a unicellular being, able to "do just as it likes", destroying or being destroyed—unregretted. But the cell can also be part of an organism. Then its behaviour must be different, it serves the need of the organism, doing its will. Its freedom then is the will of the organism, the whole. Every part of an organism performs a function in and for that organism, it produces what the body needs, in just the quantity desired, or distributes whatever is needed elsewhere. Only through such functional activity can the body survive. In functional work the organ does not merely express its own "individual" nature, it does this as needed in the organism. It produces for use. We in our economic life still produce for profit, we produce to sell.

Imagine for a moment that our bodily organism behaved as we are behaving to-day in our world-organism. Imagine the glands pro-

ducing not for use but for profit ! The tear glands, for instance, instead of producing the moisture needed for the eye, would produce as much as they could and try to sell it at high prices to the organism. And if the organism rebelled it would be hypnotised by a campaign of advertising into using more tears ! Thus new wants would be created (a thing many economists still hail as a sign of prosperity !), all the organs in the organism would be producing feverishly, the heart pumping more blood, the lungs more air, each thinking of its profits, its prices, its markets ! Why, our body would die in about ten seconds.

And yet when we act in just this way within the world organism we have created, and a crisis results, we are astonished. We should only be astonished that something much worse has not been the result, as it will be unless we come to our senses.

I am not speaking against our present system of production and distribution ; I only want to show you that it is incompatible with the reality of a world-organism. We must not judge emotionally, but scientifically, seeing what is in accordance with our modern world and what is not. In that light, production and distribution for profit is not morally wrong, but has become an anachronism, whereas functional production and distribution are the inevitable outcome of our own technical achievement. We have the choice, either to abide by our scientific achievements and live accordingly, or else abandon them, going back to a " unicellular " existence in which we can then enjoy the licence which we miscall " liberty."

That false liberty, that ability to do just as we like, produce what we like, and distribute as we like, is the price we must pay for the step forward we are taking in history. But remember that, when this false liberty is found in a living body, when a group of cells start living at the cost of the organism instead of in its service, the result is cancer and the death of the body. Yet, this is happening in our world-organism to-day.

We need not weep over the sacrifice of individual freedom in a functional society ; what is sacrificed is not liberty but licence. The sooner it goes the better, so that true freedom may emerge. Only the whole is free: the part is never free, it is determined by its relations to other parts. Man therefore is free only in so far as he identifies himself with the whole.

We must claim liberty and individualism where they belong. At present we do the opposite. In the life of the physical organism, in the production and distribution of goods, we claim the rights of liberty and individualism. But here rules not freedom, only service.

In the emotional, mental, and spiritual life of men, however, freedom and individualism belong. There man must stand alone, whether he wants to or not ; there is a sanctuary where none may follow ; there, in his supreme effort, the " flight of the alone to the Alone ", man is supremely the individual. Yet there we are all willing, nay eager, to renounce liberty and individualism, there we demand conformity of our fellow-men and ostracise those who do not conform, while we weep tears over the decline of individual freedom in our economic life ! If we value freedom and individuality so much, why do we not pursue them to-day, where they can and must be pursued, in feeling and in thought ?

My own contribution to the Conference can only be the reiteration of my faith in my own time which means most to me in life. Philosophy has to deal with things as they are, and will show existing relations in the seeming chaos of to-day. It is like walking through a dark

forest uncertain whither one's path is leading, and then one day a flight over the forest reveals it as a whole. In philosophy man views life as a whole and gets its pattern in entirety, not in isolated pieces.

The New Education endeavours to see life in its historical perspective, to see present time from another dimension. Spengler preached of a decline leading man to a gospel of despair, the Renaissance awoke man to a realisation of his individuality, but to-day the awaking is the re-birth of return to a life once known, a process of integration.

In his three phases—primitive, intellectual, spiritual—man in the first was part of the natural whole with no developed distinct "ego": his physical world was not inanimate: all that had form appeared to him also to have life. In his second stage he awoke to the exploration of the world about him and began to discriminate. Then came the realisation of the accompaniment of the joy of birth by the tragedy of death. This was Spengler's decline of the West, as he saw man struggling to escape from the centre of life's realities only to a tragic end. In the third stage man seeks for that which was lost. In a world of multiplicity he returns to unity. Moral science has dematerialised his world which has become convertible quantities. The unspiritual is disconnected from the spiritual man who, unlike primitive man, can see no spontaneous flow of life.

The Soul of Man in a Machine Age.—There is no more pathetic spectacle than that of an age which is bored with life. Materially our modern world is richer than perhaps any preceding age; spiritually we are paupers. Not all our truly wonderful physical accomplishments, not all our abundance of amusements and sensations, can hide the fact that we are poor within. In fact, the task of the latter is but to hide the poverty within. When our inner life is arid, we must needs create artificial stimuli from without to provide a substitute or at least cause such an unbroken succession of ever varying sensations that we have no time to notice the absence of life from within.

There are but few who can bear either solitude or silence and find a wealth of life arising in themselves even when there is naught from without to stimulate. Yet such alone are happy, such alone truly live; where we find the craving for amusement and sensation from without we see an abject confession of inner lifelessness. There lies the difference between the quick and the dead: some are dead even in life, others can never die since they are life. We all seek life, since life is happiness and life is reality. But it is only when we have the courage to cease from sensationalism and outer stimulants that we may be successful in our quest.

It is from this angle that I wish to approach the rôle of the machine in human life. I do not propose a reversal of modern civilisation and a return to the simple rural life of primitive man. I do not desire, like Ghandi and Tolstoi, to denounce the machine as an enemy of the human race, or suggest that the machine has robbed life of its joy or man's world of its beauty.

For myself personally, who have during the past month been flying over Africa from North to South, my whole life has been dependent upon the efficient functioning of a machine! And it is under such circumstances that one learns to be very polite to one's engine!

This does not mean that I believe in the deification of a machine. I would not glorify the machine as did the Russian peasants when hailing the tractor as the God of their liberation.

The machine unless mastered will enslave its present enslaver. Man is not master of the machine when he wishes it to disappear or when he worships it.

The machine is neither good nor bad; the same aeroplane may rush supplies to a stricken area or bring bombs to destroy it. Man's use of it must be directed by his sense of values within. But all the while his very interest in the machine, the way in which his consciousness is entangled in these mechanical contrivances, leads him away from that world within, cut off from which he cannot live, still less control his Machine Age.

Man has made the world one by his inventions, yet he does not realise it. And therein lies the tragedy. His technical achievement is almost godlike, yet he lives the moral and social life which belongs to the age of the Cave-man.

Man, within himself, is aware of a life capable of thought, feeling, and action, and according to the tenor of that life we are miserable, happy, rich, or poor. It is to that supreme fact of life that I wish to give the name of the "soul" of man.

A man is alive only to the extent to which he is the centre of movement and his acts. He is dead to the extent to which he is passive and inert. To be alive is not as easy as it sounds. It is a gift which has to be gained in order to be supremely possessed. To the measure in which we are truly alive we are independent of outer circumstances, and if we lose the gift of life, whatever our outer circumstances are, life will lose its glamour.

A sense of values is one of the most important things in life as it is man's guide in life.

In the machine lies the promise of liberation of mankind from daily toils, if man adapts the machine to his life—not if he adapts his life to the machine. The grim reality with which we are faced is that man, through the Machine Age, is losing his sense of life—that life which increases from within and gives him a sense of wholeness and creative instinct.

The very function of the machine is to do for man what hitherto he had to do by his own exertion. The more a man uses a motor-car the less he is inclined to exercise. But this is not so serious as the atrophy of the emotions and the intellect.

Even our amusements are becoming mechanised.

Man's emotions should flow, but when it becomes increasingly dependent on concocted Hollywood emotions, then his emotional life is in danger of starvation. Our recreation is becoming so mechanised by the radio, the films, and the gramophone, that man finds it difficult to be alive out of his own strength. We are losing our sense of life. As man becomes an emotional pauper he becomes less able to direct his own life.

Thought is dynamic, creative, but many men to-day live on syndicated thought which is predigested, and they call the swallowing of it "thinking." But do not blame the machine for all this. It is our ill-use of the machine. The machine is making us rather less alive than more alive. We are travelling away from the world that is within us. That is why civilised man is fascinated by native rhythm and art. When he is among native primitive natural races he feels that there is that contact with the earth which he has lost.

I remember, when travelling in Bali, in the Dutch East Indies, seeing the Balinese spend their leisure hours. They would assemble in front of one of the temples they themselves had built, play music they had

composed, on the gamelang-orchestra which they themselves had made, and dance dances they themselves had created, in costumes they themselves had woven. This was a true re-creation, lovelier than any I have seen. And in the evening, on the mountain where I lived, I could hear the strains of gamelang music rising up from all the surrounding valleys, each village enjoying thus its leisure hours.

When I came back to Western civilisation and found an audience spending its leisure hours looking at the latest inanities from Hollywood, I could not help asking myself, "Now which of these two is truly alive?" The truly alive are the spontaneous, the creative, the self-active.

The mechanisation which threatens our emotional life also endangers our life of thought. The invention of the printing-press was a blessing for humanity, but the result to-day is not deeper thinking, braver, more independent opinions. On the contrary, men these days live by the pre-digested thoughts of a few: they live on syndicated opinion: they, who yearn so touchingly for individual freedom where it has no place, gladly abandon that freedom where it is so much wanted and condemn the few who cherish it. Here too we are becoming less alive. Man, the thinker, is a first movement, a spontaneous creation, a dynamic centre of influence. Our mechanisation makes for weaker, herd-like opinions; the daily suggestions of the Press make individual thinking superfluous. We are becoming less alive.

Again, is the machine to be blamed? No, but our use, or rather abuse, of it. And here, again, only the New Education can save man from being destroyed by his own machine-creations. The New Education to-day, by its method of calling forth the life that is in the child, makes it more alive, makes it aware of this world of life within, makes it spontaneous and creative. In that realisation of life alone are to be found the values to guide man in the right use of his machines.

I need not say that Art has the unique power of helping man to maintain the balance between the life within and the world without. The artist ever lives in these two worlds simultaneously, and the love of Art (not its theory or history) shall ever stand between man and his destruction by his own machines.

The Task of the Educator.—The change in attitude that is to come about can only be effected by education. There cannot be economic planning, functional production and distribution, without human beings who are aware of themselves as part of a world-organism. These new conceptions of the relative values of liberty and individualism can only be awakened in the new generations through education. There lies a task to be performed by you, the new educators, not by politicians or economists.

The New Education alone can achieve this, for its principle is the development of the child through spontaneous self-activity. Where the old education forced information into the child, the new calls forth life out of the child. Thus alone can the child be aware of the life that is in him and come to realise what life has to say through him—his work.

The new conception of work holds that life expresses itself differently in each individual and that, therefore, each has a function to perform in the whole which is his by nature. Thus there is no higher or lower work, noble or ignoble, spiritual or material, but only work for which an individual is fit or not. It is the New Education alone, through its principle of spontaneous self-activity, that can enable the child to grow into its own functional work without being aware of ever having made a "choice of profession."

The New Education does not force the organic world-conception on the child. It should acquaint him with the facts of technical world-unity, partly through the help of films demonstrating world-circulation and interdependence. But the ability to work for the sake of the organism and find freedom in functional self-expression should come through the spirit of the school. In the school-life the idea of an organic unity and of functional work for the sake of the whole can be realised naturally, without many words. It is the "atmosphere" of the school that counts.

The difference between the old and the New Education is that the old was instruction. The old regards the child as a box to be stuffed with knowledge, and under the strictest discipline lest any knowledge might be lost. The new leads the child along the lines of his own interests. Commonsense tells us that forty children in one class cannot all have identical interests or equal growth in knowledge any more than that all will grow equally in one year. Children learn through their own labour, not under tyranny of development, for life not for examinations.

Here, again, the New Education has a task which it alone can perform. The old education shared the guilt of the old dualism, teaching children in abstract, intellectual terms, so that conceptions about this world came to them as abstract things, apart from the material universe. In the New Education contact with reality should be the approach to every subject, and the workshop with its handling of matter should no longer be the grudgingly given counterpart of an over-intellectual education, but the basis of all education, the heart of the school. Out of the manipulations of matter in the workshops should arise the problems to be dealt with in theory. It is thus through the New Education that a new approach to reality can come about.

Truly the task of educators is great and their power immense, if they but care to use it. They may not take part in political strife, fight on barricades or legislate in parliaments; their task is more hidden, more silent, but so much more real. They deal with living material, the humanity of to-morrow; they help to set free the life which in the near future must create the new world. Without that creative life legislator and revolutionist are equally powerless; behind both stands the educator, quietly, unobtrusively enabling a new generation to build a new and better world.

The New Faith.—Our world to-day is perishing for the lack of faith; it is disintegrating because it has lost all faith, even in itself. Man cannot live without some faith, not necessarily religious faith, but faith in his work, in himself, or in some leader. As a magnet co-ordinates the iron filings in its magnetic field along lines of force in a unified pattern, so our being is unified, vivified, by faith. By its strength man can suffer and die, and be glad of the sacrifice—to him a privilege. He is held together, inspired by a centralising power; without faith disintegration, chaos, sets in.

Our *mal de siècle* is loss of all faith; the younger generations are drifting rudderless in a world of chaos. But a new faith is being born, no longer dependent on an outer authority or person and thereby vulnerable, but faith in life which abides.

I believe in the life which is in me, which is the universal and the particular, which is one and yet of an endless variety—the life of which I am a focus point and which is infinitely more than I—a life which is a voice within me, telling me of values and warning me of dangers—a life which alone can guide me, without which I am lost.

Such may well be the faith of an educator. In this age which has lost all faith we educators have a faith, the faith in the life seeking expression in the child, which we are to call forth so that it may become creative in a new world. And when we return to our different countries to work for children, the humanity of to-morrow, this faith in life will help us to do that work in the midst of world chaos, knowing that we are preparing the way for the organic world which, through them, is even now being born.

EDUCATION AND WORLD RECONSTRUCTION

DR. WILLIAM BOYD

As a Scotsman I find myself very much at home in South Africa. It is not only that I find men and women of my country playing a part in the life of the country but that the common Calvinistic attitude to life which a Scotsman shares with the Dutch folk gives a spiritual affinity that brings sympathy and understanding. Those of you who have been nurtured in that stern and rigid way of life combine the power to take wide views of human affairs and to achieve a not inconsiderable success in the sphere of practical effort.

For that reason I do not apologise for undertaking to discuss a theme so big as the re-making of the world. The line of least resistance is to narrow down the issues to national or even individual terms; and no one can find fault with that, since the readjustments that will bring about a new world must be national and individual. At the same time the fact that our own local problems are also the common problems of the whole world must never be forgotten. With all the differences of conditions among different nations there is a fundamental sameness of the basic problems. Everywhere there is a breakdown in the familiar social structures. The old economics of society are no longer sufficient: there is need for a new economics of plenty. The familiar institutions of parliamentary government are proving disappointing in their results: nations are turning their eyes to the quicker-moving methods of dictatorship. The old diplomacy seems to threaten war: there is need of a new order.

But that is only the external side of the problem. The deeper difficulty is a world-wide breakdown of community ties. People and nations are getting on badly with each other, not because they can not organise pacific relations but because the will to be pacific is lacking.

This threat of a breakdown of the civilisation of the last century has come as a challenge to all human beings, and all men and all groups of men are under compulsion to meet the challenge in their own ways. For ourselves as a conference of educators the question is bound to arise concerning the part that education could play in the work of reconstruction. That is obviously a fundamental question on any view of the situation. The world's difficulties have arisen because men and women are what they are. Men and women are what they are because of their education. On that view a new kind of civilisation must come out of a new education. Home and school must somehow or other re-create human relations.

Is this a Utopian dream? Considering the limitations of educational practice as we have known it it may well be so. In the past, education

has been a disappointment as an agent of social change. Parents and teachers have fashioned the young in their own image, and education has followed social change more than it has directed it. What hope then can there be of education transforming the world?

The answer is that ever and anon in the past, when the ages of great uplift came, education has become dynamic and civilisation has found its growing point in the school. That was the case in the great days of Greece. It happened once again at the beginning of the Christian era, at the Renaissance, before and after the French Revolution. And by all the signs it is happening once again to-day. Over the world there are indications of the coming of a new creative education springing up as by the inspiration of some unseen power.

It is impossible to sum up this New Education in any formula. New education, progressive education, personal education, its exponents call it. It ranges from a mere quest for freshness of method to startling experiments in untried human relationships. It is easier to describe it negatively than positively. It is an education that avoids compulsions and prohibitions and trusts to living interest on the part of the child rather than to high skill on the part of the teacher. But behind the negations is a great urge to fresh creative personal expression—the setting free of human powers hitherto inhibited and repressed.

In a way there is nothing new in all this. Those who seek for precedents can find them in plenty in the teaching of Plato and of Jesus and in the application of democratic ideals in the sphere of education. And yet there is something different from all these pioneer idealisms in the fact that where they seem to have exhausted their virtue the urge forward in the sphere of education is still progressive. The world over parents are learning a new way of bringing up their children, and even the routines of the schools are gradually giving way to humaner discipline and a freer life.

If the educator be asked, however, to present a practical plan for an education leading to a better social order, in terms of a freer régime in home and life, he comes up against serious difficulties. However the change is to come, it cannot come directly through the imparting to the young a better conception of human life, in the first place because grown-up people have not yet come to any clear notion of what kind of a world they hope to see arise out of the chaos of the present time, in the second place because, even if by methods of dictatorial prescription such a notion were available, it would be a sin against the spirit of freedom to impose it on the young people in anticipation of the future. The most that the parent or teacher of the new faith can do is to put before his charges what he believes to be best and truest and leave it to them to make what they will of it in the course of their lives' experience.

But that does not mean that the New Education is altogether impotent in determining the future. What it cannot do directly it can yet do indirectly in two ways.

(a) The central problem of social reconstruction is the creation of a stronger and better community than the one that is passing away, a community in which free men and women will find a richer and fuller life than they now enjoy and at the same time reach a fuller harmony with their fellows. To this the New Education has a definite contribution to make in the development of better human relationships in home and school. Why all the conflicts that distress men and nations? Not because human nature was perverse and pugnacious, but because the institutions through which the children get their training for society

have made them perverse and pugnacious. Get down to the roots of social life in the interactions of young and old in the home and the evil can be checked at its beginnings. Follow up the good beginning in home life by schooling when children find themselves members of a community of youth and grow into free human beings, and all later social relations are bound to be different.

(b) But more is needed than better personal relations: goodwill needs to be supplemented by good thinking. The desire for satisfactory life must be carried into practical effect by a cultivated intelligence. That means that the school needs to give the scholar a better training for intelligent citizenship. The intelligence which is at the disposal of every society in its better members only needs to be mobilised by an education which furnishes the materials requisite for the understanding of social problems and at the same time encourages the fresh, vigorous thought that leads to their solution.

The weakness of the present schools, and especially of the secondary schools, is their remoteness from the life of to-day. They are still living on the traditions of bygone ages with their gerund grinding and their concern about the physical sciences. What is essential is the elevation of the social studies into the place of influence and power. Only so can democracy become a reality, and a community of free intelligent human beings come into existence.

THE NEED FOR A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY

"Progressive education" is a phrase at least of contrast with an education predominantly static in subject-matter, authoritarian in methods, and mainly passive and receptive from the side of the young. But the philosophy of education must go beyond any method of education that is formed by way of contrast, reaction, and protest, as an attempt to discover what education *is* and how it takes place. Only as identified with schooling does a definition of actual education seem simple, though such definition gives the only criterion for judging and directing the work of schools.

Some suppose that the philosophy of education should tell what education *should* be and set up ideals and norms for it. In a sense this proposition is true, but not in the sense usually implied. For the only way of deciding what education should be, and which does not take us too far away from actual conditions and from tangible processes, is discovery of what actually takes place when education really occurs. Any ideal that is a genuine help in carrying on activity must rest upon a prior knowledge of concrete actual occurrences. A metallurgist's ideal of the best possible steel must rest upon knowledge of actual ores and of natural processes. Otherwise his ideal is not a directive idea but a fantasy.

So too with the ideal of education as affecting the philosophy of education we have to know how human nature is constituted in the concrete just as the steel-worker has to know about his raw material, to know about the working of actual social forces and about the operations through which basic raw materials are modified into things of greater value. The need for a philosophy of education is thus fundamentally the need for finding out what education really *is*. We have to take those cases in which we find there is a real development of desirable powers,

find out how this development took place, and then project what has taken place as a guide for directing our other efforts. The need for this discovery and this projection is the need for a philosophy of education.

What then is education when we find actual satisfactory specimens of it in existence? Firstly, it is a process of development—of growth, and the *process*, not merely the end result, is important. A truly healthy person is not something fixed and completed. He is one who through his processes and activities will continue to be healthy. He cannot say "I am healthy" and stop at that as if health were bound to continue automatically, otherwise he would soon find himself ill. Similarly, an educated person has the power to go on and get more education, to grow and to expand his development. Hence sometimes learned, erudite persons, as having parted with the capacity to grow, are not educated.

What is growth? What is development? Early philosophers, like Rousseau and his followers, made much use of the analogy of the development of a seed into the full-grown plant, deducing the conclusion that in human beings there are latent capacities which, left to themselves, will ultimately flower and bear fruit. So they framed the notion of a *natural* development, as far as possible left alone, as opposed to a directed growth, direction here being an interference resulting in distortion and corruption of natural powers.

This idea has two fallacies. In the first place seed-growth is limited as compared with human growth; its future is much more prescribed by its antecedent nature; its line of growth is comparatively fixed; it has not the capacities for growth in different directions toward different outcomes characteristic of the human young, which is also, if you please, a seed embodying germinal powers but may develop any of many forms.

This fact suggests the second fallacy. Even the seed of a plant does not grow simply of itself without atmospheric aids. Its development is controlled by external conditions and forces. Native inherent forces must interact with external if there is to be life and development. In brief, development, even with a plant, depends on the *kind of interaction* between itself and its environment. A stunted oak, or a stalk of maize with few ears of scattered grains, exhibits natural development as truly as the noblest tree or the prize-winning ear of maize. The difference in result is due not only to native stock but also to environment; the finest native stock would come to an untimely end, or give a miserable product, if its own energies could not interact with favourable atmospheric conditions.

There being two factors involved in any interaction (and hence in every kind of growth) the idea and ideal of education must take account of both. Native capacities of growth and inherent traits provide the raw material. What is lacking cannot interact with even the very best of conditions; there is then no leverage, nothing with which to co-operate. Traditional school methods and subject-matter fail in three ways to take this factor into account. In the first place, they ignore the *diversity* of capacities and needs of different human beings which constitute *individuality*. They virtually assume that, for purposes of education, all human beings are as much alike as peas in a pod, hence their provision of a uniform curriculum, the same lessons assigned for all, and the same conduct of the recitation.

In the second place, they fail to recognise that the *initiative* in growth comes from the needs and powers of the pupil. The *first* step in the interaction for growth comes from the reaching out of the tentacles of the individual, from an effort, at first blind, to procure the materials that his potentialities demand if they are to come into action and find

satisfaction. With the body, hunger and power of taking and assimilating food are the first necessities. Without the inner demand and impetus the most nutritious food is offered in vain; repulsion and indigestion result. No proper system of education could tolerate the common assumption, that the mind of the individual is naturally averse to learning and has to be either browbeaten or coaxed into action. Every mind, even of the youngest, is naturally seeking for those modes of active operation within the limits of its capacities. The problem is to discover what tendencies are especially seeking expression at a particular time and just what materials and methods will serve to evoke and direct a truly educative development.

The practical counterpart of this failure to see the source of initiative lies in the method of imposition by the teacher and of reception by the pupil. The idea of drill is only too suggestive of drilling a hole into a hard and resistant rock by means of repeated monotonous blows. Unwillingness to learn naturally follows failure to take into account tendencies urgent in the existing make-up of an individual. All sorts of external devices then are needed to achieve absorption and retention of imposed subject-matter and skills. This method of teaching may be compared to inscribing records upon a passive phonograph disc to secure their return when the proper button is pressed. Or again the pupil's mind is treated as an empty cistern passively waiting to be filled, while teacher and text-book form the reservoir from which pipelines lead.

The third failure is the result of the two already mentioned. Every teacher must observe that there *are* real differences among pupils. But, because these are not carried back to concrete differences of individuality in needs, in desires, in direction of native interest, they are too often generalised under two main heads. Some pupils are bright, others dull and stupid! Some are docile and obedient, others unruly and troublesome! Inability to fit into a cast-iron scheme of subject-matter or to meet the requirements of the set discipline is taken as a sign of either radical intrinsic incapacity or deliberate wilfulness. Conformity then becomes the criterion of judgment in spite of the value of initiative, originality, and independence in life.

While the raw material and the starting-point of growth are found in native capacities, the environing conditions to be furnished by the educator are the indispensable means of their development. They are not, and do not of themselves decide, the end. A gardener, a worker of metals, must observe and pay attention to the properties of his material. If he permits these properties in their original form to dictate his treatment, he will not get *anywhere*. If they decide his end, he will fixate raw materials in their primitive state. Development will be arrested, not promoted. He must bring to his consideration of his material an idea, an ideal, of possibilities not realised, which must be in line with the constitution of his plant or ore; it must not do violence to them; it must be *their* possibilities. Yet it cannot be extracted from any study of their present form but from seeing them imaginatively, reflectively, and hence from another source.

Similarly with the educator, save that the demand on him for imaginative insight into possibilities is greater. The gardener and worker in metals may take as their measures results already achieved with plants and ores, although originality and invention will introduce some variation. But the true educator while using results already accomplished cannot make them his final and complete standard. Like the artist he has the problem of creating something that is not the exact duplicate of some previous creation.

In any case, development and growth involve change and modification in definite directions. A teacher, under the supposed sanction of the idea of cultivating individuality, may fixate a pupil more or less at his existing level, confusing respect for individual traits with a catering for their present estate. Respect for individuality is primarily the *intellectual* study of the individual to discover material. With this sympathetic understanding the *practical* work then begins of modification, of changing, of reconstruction continued without end. The change must at least be toward more effective techniques, greater self-reliance, a more thoughtful and inquiring disposition more capable of persistent effort in meeting obstacles.

Some would-be progressive schools and teachers in their reaction from the method of external imposition stop short with the recognition of the importance of giving free scope to native capacities and interests. They do not examine closely or long enough what these may actually be; they judge too much from superficial and transitory reactions to accidental circumstances. In the second place, they are inclined to take the evident individual traits as finalities instead of as possibilities for suitable direction into something of greater significance. Under the alleged sanction of not violating freedom and individuality the responsibility for providing development conditions is overlooked. The idea persists that evolution and development are simply matters of automatic unfolding from within.

This is a natural reaction from the manifest evils of external imposition. But there is a radically different alternative between thinking of the young as clay to be moulded into traditional patterns and thinking of existing capacities and present interests and desires as laying down the whole law of development. Existing likes and powers are to be treated as possibilities necessary for any healthy development. But development involves a point of direction as well as a starting-point with constant movement in that direction, and the direction-point, as the temporary goal, is reached only as the starting-point of further reconstruction. The great problem of the educator is to see intellectually, and to feel deeply, the forces moving in the young as possibilities, as signs and promises, and to interpret them in the light of what they may become. Nor does the exacting task end there: it is bound up with the judging and devising of the conditions, the materials, the tools—physical, moral, and social—which will, once more by *interaction* with existing powers and preferences, bring about the desired transformation.

The old education emphasised the necessity for provision of definite subject-matter and activities, which *are* necessities for right education. The weakness was that its imagination did not go beyond provision of a rigid environment of subject-matter drawn from sources remote from any concrete experiences of the taught. Its conception of techniques was derived from the conventions of the past. The New Education needs more attention, not less, to subject-matter and to progress in technique for getting satisfactory results. More does not, however, mean more in quantity of the same old kind but an imaginative vision, which sees that no prescribed and ready-made scheme can determine the exact subject-matter for the educative growth of each individual, since each sets a new problem and calls for at least a somewhat different emphasis in either subject-matter or angle of presentation. Only blindly obtuse convention supposes that the actual contents of textbooks will further the educational development of all children, or of any one child, if they be regarded as the prescription of a doctor to be taken just as they are. As Louis Stevenson remarked, "the world is full of

a number of things," and no teacher can know too much or have too ingenious an imagination in selecting and adapting this and that aspect of some of the many things in the world to meet the requirements that make for growth in this and that individual.

In short, departure from the rigidity of the old curriculum is only the negative side. If we do not go on and go far in the positive direction of providing, through persistent intelligent study and experiment, a body of subject-matter much richer, more varied and flexible, and also more definite in terms of the experience of those being educated, we shall tend to leave an educational vacuum in which anything may happen. The old saying that "nature abhors a vacuum" embodies a definite truth. Complete isolation is impossible in nature. The young live in some environment constantly interacting with what the young bring to it, and the result is the shaping of their interests, minds, and characters—either educatively or miseducatively. If the professed educator abdicates his responsibility for judging and selecting the kind of environment conducive, in his best understanding, to growth, then the young are left at the mercy of all the unorganised and casual forces that inevitably play upon them throughout life. In the educative environment the knowledge, judgment, or experience of the teacher becomes a greater, not a smaller factor. He now operates not as a magistrate set on high and possessed of arbitrary authority but as a friendly co-partner and guide in a common enterprise.

There is a further truism about education as development, difficult to carry out in practice and easily violated. Development is a *continuous* process and continually signifies consecutiveness of action—the strong point of the traditional education at its best. The subject-matter of the classics and mathematics involved a consecutive and orderly development along definite lines. In the newer education it is comparatively easy to improvise, to try a little of this to-day and something else to-morrow, on the basis of some immediate stimulus but without sufficient regard to its objective or whether or not something more difficult is led up to naturally, raising new questions and calling for acquisition of more adequate technique and for new modes of skill. There is genuine need for taking account of spontaneous interest and activity but, without care and thought, it readily results in a detached multiplicity of isolated brief-lived activities or projects, not in continuity of growth. Indeed, the new educational processes require much more planning ahead by the teachers, for whom the old planning was all effected in advance by the fixed curriculum, etc.

But a sound philosophy of education also requires that the general term environment be specified as dominantly human with its values social. Through its influence each person becomes saturated with the customs, the beliefs, the purposes, skills, hopes and fears, of his own cultural group. The features of even his physical surroundings come to him through the eyes and ears of his community. His geographical, climatical, and atmospherical experiences are clothed with the memories and traditions, the characteristic associations, of his particular society. In the early stages, then, it is particularly important that subject-matter be presented in its human context and setting. Here the school often fails when, in proceeding from the concrete to the abstract, it forgets that to the child only that which has human value and function is concrete. In his nature-study and geography physical things are presented to him from the standpoint of the adult specialist as if independent and complete in themselves. But to the child these things have a meaning only as they enter into human life. Even those distinctively human

products, reading and writing, whose purpose is the furthering of human communication and association, are treated as if they were subjects of and in themselves, not used as is friendly everyday speech, and so for the child they become abstract, a mystery belonging to the school but not to daily life.

The same separation of school studies from social or human setting and function deadens the traditional recitation which, instead of being a scene of friendly intercourse as are the conversations of home and of ordinary life, clarified and organised by definite purpose, becomes an artificial exercise in repeating uniformly the identical material of some one text-book and a mere test of the faithfulness of the preparation. It thus becomes a first cause of the isolation of school from out-of-school life and experience.

As the material of genuine development is that of human contacts and associations, so the end, the value that is the criterion and directing guide of educational work, is social. The acquisition however perfectly of skills is not an end in itself. They are things to be put to use as a contribution to a common and shared life. They are intended, indeed, to make an individual more capable of self-support and of self-respecting independence. But unless this end is placed in the context of services rendered to others, services which they need to the fulfilment also of their lives, skills gained will be put to an egoistic and selfish use as means of a trained shrewdness for personal advantage at the cost of others' claims and opportunities for the good life. Too often indeed the schools, through reliance upon the spur of competition and the bestowal of special honours and prizes as for those who excel in a competitive race or even battle, only build up and strengthen the disposition that in after-school life employs special talents and superior skill to outwit others and "get on" personally without respect for their welfare.

And as with skills acquired in school so also with knowledge gained in school. The educational end, and the ultimate test of the value, of what is learned is its use and application in carrying on and improving the common life of all. The background of the traditional educational system is a class society, and opportunity for instruction in certain subjects, especially literary ones, and in mathematics beyond the rudiments of simple arithmetical subjects, was reserved for the well-born and the well-to-do, and thus knowledge of these subjects became a badge of cultural superiority and social status, which marked off those who had it from the vulgar herd and for many persons was a means of self-display. Useful knowledge, on the other hand, was necessary only for those compelled by their class status to work for a living. A class stigma attached to it, and the uselessness of knowledge, save for purely personal culture, was proof of its higher quality.

Even after education in many countries was made universal for all, these standards of value persisted. There is no greater egotism than that of learning when treated simply as a mark of personal distinction to be cherished for its own sake. Yet to eliminate this quality of exclusiveness all conditions of the school environment must tend in actual practice to develop in individuals the realisation that knowledge is a trust for the furthering of the well-being of all.

Perhaps the greatest need of and for a philosophy of education to-day is the urgent need that exists for making clear in idea and effective in practice the social character of its end and that the criterion of value of school practices is social.

The aim of education is development of individuals to the utmost of their potentialities. But this statement as such leaves unanswered the

question of the measure of the development to be desired and worked for. A society of free individuals in which all, in doing each his own work, contribute to the liberation and enrichment of the lives of others is the only environment for the normal growth to full stature. An environment in which some are limited will always in reaction create conditions that prevent the full development even of those who fancy they enjoy complete freedom for unhindered growth.

There are two outstanding reasons why in existing world conditions a philosophy of education must make the social aim of education the central article in its creed. The world is being rapidly industrialised. Individual groups, tribes, and races, once living completely untouched by the economic régime of modern capitalistic industry, now find almost every phase of their lives affected by its expansion. The principle of a report of the Geneva Commission based on a study of conditions of life of mine-Natives in South Africa holds good of peoples all over the world, "The investment of Western capital in African industries has made the Native dependent upon the demand of the world markets for the products of his labour and the resources of his continent." In a world that has so largely engaged in a mad, often brutal, race for material gain by means of ruthless competition the school must make ceaseless and intelligently organised effort to develop above all else the will for co-operation and the spirit which sees in every other individual an equal right to share in the cultural and material fruits of collective human invention, industry, skill, and knowledge. The supremacy of this aim in mind and character is necessary, not merely as an offset to the spirit of inhumanity bred by economic competition and exploitation but to prepare the coming generation for an inevitable new and more just and humane society which, unless hearts and minds are prepared by education, is likely to come attended with all the evils of social changes by violence.

The other especially urgent need is connected with the present unprecedented wave of nationalistic sentiment, of racial and national prejudice, of readiness to resort to force of arms. For this spirit to have arisen on such a scale the schools must have somehow failed grievously. Their best excuse is maybe that schools and educators were caught unawares. But that excuse is no longer available. We now know the enemy; it is out in the open. Unless the schools of the world can unite in effort to rebuild the spirit of common understanding, of mutual sympathy and goodwill among all peoples and races, to exorcise the demon of prejudice, isolation, and hatred, they themselves are likely to be submerged by the general return to barbarism, the sure outcome of present tendencies if unchecked by the forces which education alone can evoke and fortify.

It is to this great work that any ideal worthy of the name of education summons the educational forces of all countries.

EDUCATION FOR INDUSTRY AND LEISURE

PROFESSOR JOHN MURRAY

If it is an advantage to have a large theme, I have that advantage to-night. For the theme is the Education of the mass of the nation, that vast majority that will never reach the higher ranges of Education, or go to a University, or enter the professions. We have to consider

to-night the Education of those who will have all their schooling in the primary and the post-primary stages.

It is not only a large but a flattering theme. How is the mass of a nation to be fitted for its work and its leisure? In discussing the question the teachers make themselves, in a sense and in a measure, arbiters of the waking hours of their fellow-men and fellow-women, the hours of effort and the hours of ease of human life in its two chief keys. It is a theme not to be contemplated without a sense of responsibility for issues of wide reach, and indeed for ultimate directives: a theme too that evokes the sense of a mission, of a call, of a solemn opportunity.

And why, indeed, should not this great fraternity of teachers have its ambitions and magnify its office? Why should not it measure itself in the friendly rivalry of service to the community against the other groups of power?

There is the Press, for example, that lives in an emergency, rushing from the telephone-box to the linotype machine and back again, that has so many voices and keys, that hears of something in the small hours, when nobody can be at his best, and has to serve it up for us with wise comments by breakfast-time, when we ourselves are not at our best.

There are the Arts—music, the theatre, the cinema, the arts of movement, not to mention the still arts of painting and sculpture, which are poorly esteemed in this hectic age. The typical arts of to-day are enslaved by the mood or the manner of the moment and have no very firm foundation and no clear goal.

There is, again, the Pulpit. But the churches, like other institutions, have their ups-and-downs, and they suffer in this reactionary age, as do all forms of idealism, though in every age good preaching will rally men and women as much as, or more than, any other force.

And there are the politicians, immersed in present problems and constrained by the circumstances of the moment, impelled to act and perplexed how to act, harassed phantoms on a shaky stage—a class whose work has never been harder and never more thankless than now.

We here to-night belong to a profession of rising power and influence. The fraternity of the teachers has at last emerged into public view—organised, vocal, aware of its rights and also of its duties. It is showing a deepening sense of the importance of its work and a tenderer conscience and a brighter invention as to how the work should be done.

The teaching power of a country, moreover, works with its eye far ahead. It has its problems of the hour, how to teach this or that to this or that child, and it solves them hourly but not in the spirit of the hour. Education is like forestry. The father plants a tree and the son or the grandson fells it. So what is done at school in the teens or earlier tells in the thirties, forties, and fifties. If the young have been sent out from the schools with faculties awakened, with imagination kindled, with their moral force stirred up and practised so as to be a momentum for the whole of life, the community will know of it through long years after. Immediate results, and certainly examinations, will not test the work, but the qualities of the pupils in mature life when the teachers may be dead and gone. Between seed-time and harvest in Education there is a long gap, which many critics forget.

The imperious class of People-in-a-Hurry, who are imbued with the spirit of this age, provoke a certain disquiet, a certain induced and spurious cult of immediacy, of the tastes and ideas of the moment, even in the fraternity of the teachers. But in education the long and slow working view should rule. For Nature must not be hurried in the developing child to the danger of her kindly purposes. The evoking and guiding

of initiative into responsible and happy ways, into effective judging and acting, is not an easy technique. It is less a technique than a groping search for the forms of imagination that govern initiative. In this matter the spirit bloweth where it listeth. How to discover, how to stimulate and train, the varied imaginative bents in a child is a doubly personal task. It is an adventure for both teacher and pupil, and each time unique. It may settle down later into assured method and a mastery almost mechanical, but adventure is its character. The initiative rooted in imagination may broaden out and gather all the force and all the procedures of the nature to itself, but the initial mode is the key to the whole.

The business of the fraternity, therefore, is the deploying of the initiatives, so far as the resources of the individual nature permit. In mankind seeing is the master of doing. In the incipency of mind the natural gifts emerge and energise. For the key-moment in which that which was not becomes and is and perfects itself—I prefer the word “imagination.”

The business of the fraternity is the forms of the imagination in whatever order they may ripen. Some lie near the bodily and the material: and some of these we share with the animals, and in some we are surpassed by them. Some are distinctively human, and some are essentially human.

There is, for example, the muscular imagination, those intuitions of force, balance, motion, distance, pace, that underlie the command of the body, the body in movement and action. The birds have more of this than we have, and other forms of life, too, excel us in this respect. Some in fact of the most intellectualised human types have least of it, the imagination having long ago been drained away from the motor system. Their gait betrays them. They have no gait; they shuffle along. And yet these intuitions underlie the characteristic and happiest initiatives of multitudes of men and of some women. They are a form of imagination; they are to be respected and to be trained. Cultivate them, and their energising may awaken, even in natures that seem unpromising, other and perhaps higher forms of imagination.

Next take the feeling for stuffs, for material, which reveals, but only in part depends on, the tactile imagination, the feeling, the presentiment for the qualities, the habits, the reactions of materials, of what can be done with them and what cannot, the imagination of the hand. In the child making and unmaking, constructiveness and destruction, are much the same thing. These initiatives and these skills mankind shares with many other creatures—the birds, the honey-bee, the beaver, even the nesting-fish. But this very concrete imagination underlies initiatives of the utmost social value and of supreme value in innumerable lives. The fraternity must accept it and train it, and not regretfully because it is lower, forsooth, than e.g. the literary interests or mathematics, and not as a *pis aller*, but because it is among the best of Nature’s gifts.

There is, again, the imagination for pattern, order, rhythm in its varied range, the sense e.g. of musical phrasing, and the sense, far rarer, of mathematical form. But these varieties of imagination, whether simple or complex, are well established in the educational system and need no urging.

There is the form of imagination that has everything to do with knowing and learning, the instinct for meaning, the presentiment of what the general build and trend of a thing will prove to be, of the limits between which its qualities will be found to lie, of its characteristic ways.

Here is the root of innumerable initiatives of daily life, and also of Science. The knack of intuitive generalisation and the mixed procedures of analysis-synthesis, by which we pass in a flash, a flash of light, from not understanding a thing to understanding it, are familiar but unique and even miraculous happenings. They are of the essence of learning and study, but routine instruction too often ignores them.

And there is the human imagination, the most widely diffused but not the best cultivated. As consciousness of kind we share it with the animals. With us it is the sense of self and the sense of other, that actualise together, the intuitive grasp of man's nature, his attitudes and motives, the modes of response to needs and expectancies around him.

The contacts themselves provoke readily enough the strokes of intuition, of constructive insight, that build up society and also personality. These strokes, going beyond mere sympathy, place and qualify persons in schemes. They build up society and personality and therewith conscience. In the final resort they build up Religion. For in Religion the groping, searching mind, seeing very dimly or not at all, trusting its sense of direction, thrusting forward just where it finds progress most difficult, seeks for meaning, for unity, for value, being intent on believing, even if it seems to be a luxury belief, that it has a place in the scheme of the spiritual world. So strong is the human instinct of belonging, so urgent about that whereto we do belong, so strong, so deep, and so eternal. So hard is it for imagination, the living nerve of our life, to stop short of God.

Granted the primacy of imagination, the variety of the initiatives, and the essential creativeness of the child—of the type at least on which it is worth while to base plans of education—let us look closer at the work of the fraternity of the teachers. The broad formula of education must be a happy and intense individualisation in an intimate scene both friendly and disciplinary. How the initiatives of the imagination are to be deployed, in what order or lack of it, is the affair of the observant and skilled teacher. When to trust to inherent goodness, and how to deal with original sin, he must decide. When to let the emphasis rest on fostering and when on checking, on pupil activity or on teacher activity, on the loose rein or the tight, are questions for the teacher and questions of conscience as well as of technique. How to tide the retarded, the vacant, or the maimed intelligences through their long lack of self-activity, and how to handle the passive and the inert without confirming their deficiencies, are his puzzles. For in schooling it is still true that “to him that hath shall be given and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.”

And again in evoking and fortifying the initiatives of the human—or shall I say humane?—imagination the fraternity will be hard put to it. They must use the zest of rivalry without excess, and in promoting individualisation they must avoid the risks of self-assertion and antagonising. On the other hand, they must not let the social key sink into complacency and mere sociability, or the individualism of the conviction and conscience be mesmerised or paralysed by social pressure.

The fraternity, indeed, is a sort of Blondin, treading a tight-rope or a razor-edge. It must cherish self-activity above all in its pupils, but keep its realism in judging them. It must cherish self-activity but without risks to health lest Nature revenge herself in “nerves” or neurasthenia. It must uphold love as the prime motive in learning and study, and it must get rid of the fear-motives, as far as possible, and of all the perversions they bring. It must preach love, the love of doing things, being things, making things, and yet not as if the easy love,

the love at first sight, the mere spontaneity, were enough. For love is not mere momentary feeling ; there is art in it and method, which take time. The love has to become habit, second and better nature. Till love has grown, faith must do the work. *There* is the razor-edge, and the fraternity is on it. It preaches love and intends love as the key of all behaviour, learning and study included, and yet must use Faith, which rests on Authority. It must use Authority without over-use and without sinking into the mechanical.

The fraternity knows the razor-edge only too well. There can be no teaching without methodising, and the methodising of the teacher can hardly avoid mechanising the affair for the pupil. The razor-edge is sharp ; it is the problem of how to teach without teaching. The spirit of abnegation and the technique of self-effacement are of the essence of teaching. They are almost the whole of it at the early exuberant stages. They are still a great part of it at later stages, in the adolescent years, for example, when children are apt to be caught in a tangle of curricula and examinations.

But those very years are peculiarly liable to be the victims of rigorous drill and *ad hoc* teaching. Fear pervades the work and degrades it. Fear, the fear of examinations, turns what ought to be a brave adventure of the intelligence into a portentous burden on a lower faculty—memory.

The true master-faculties are imagination and intelligence, and memory—the humble handmaid, the basket-bearer—follows after. If their work is well done, vividly and with conviction, she will need no jogging. With memory it is the indirect method that answers, as in many great matters. The seekers after pleasure and happiness usually miss them. They would have fared better if they had first sought the Kingdom of Heaven and any sort of righteousness. The way to remember is not to make a business of it but to make a business of something else. To improve memory cultivate the understanding. To relieve memory and to give understanding its chance reform the examination system—or abolish it. And let me say, incidentally, that it would be difficult to exaggerate the harm done to English Education by the external examinations of London University, which for long taught nothing but examined all-comers. It converted a great part of England to the fetish of examination, and its influence was not confined to England.

If I seem to have travelled far from the original theme—Education for industry and leisure, it is because it is necessary in all educational matters to go a long way back before you begin.

It is flattering, as I said, to be the arbiters of the waking hours of the mass of a nation. But it is also risky.

For many decades of the last century Liberal statesmen, parties, thinkers, and writers, strove for the political rights of the working-classes, and the Crusade succeeded. But the results surprised the Crusaders. The newly-enfranchised millions had their own thoughts and purposes long brooded on. What these were they soon made clear in the Socialist movement that swept over Europe, a radical movement, somewhat explosive, vindictive here and there, a little revolutionary everywhere, and natural, and perhaps on the whole salutary.

Let the apostles of culture be warned. If the men in industry are going to have leisure, enough leisure to make the use of it a problem, they will regard their leisure as their private affair. Having escaped from schools and schoolmasters they will be jealous of the continuance of such influences. It is in the years sacred to schooling that the schools must shoot their bolt. If the schools have helped men and women, on the one hand, to mastery, assurance, and joy in some forms of personal

activity, if, on the other, they have put them at ease among their fellows, in a word have *socialised* them, and if they have reconciled them with themselves in a happy balance of effective powers, that is enough. The leisure hours will look after themselves.

It is again the indirect method that answers. To give value to leisure in manhood, boyhood and youth must be well handled in school. If the teens are looked after, the twenties, thirties, and forties will look after themselves. In any case, the leisure employments incline towards the receptive and the passive, and towards hobbies, *i.e.* towards the low-pressure activities. Encourage reading at school—if the school has a library, teach the young how to use books, how to read for reading's sake and how to read for a purpose, and the habit will assert itself in leisure. Train taste in any of its forms at school and you ensure appreciation and enjoyment throughout life.

It is somewhat similar with Education for industry. The indirect method, or shall I say the *broader* method?, again answers best. Narrowness, the strict *ad hoc* doctrine, is the standing danger in planning education for industry. It is tempting to anticipate at school the routine, the precise processes, the discipline of actual work. But there is a time for everything, for schooling at school and for working after school. It is better that the schools should do their own work well than devote themselves to craft-teaching which can be better done later "on the job." "*Vocational education*" is in general a better name than "*technical education*", and especially is it so in any country or region of predominant agriculture. It is better to adjust school aims to a way of life as a whole than to concentrate on particular skills.

So much for the preliminary cautions. What is to be said on the positive side?

The Keys of Success are obviously two. First, resourcefulness in discovering and training imagination and initiative in the children: second, readiness to see and use anything in the social and economic environment of the school that can stimulate and engage the powers of the young.

Here the question of curriculum looms up. In this it is obvious that there must be handwork and that it must be balanced by science, that craft training must be balanced by liberal cultivation, that doing must be balanced by expression—in writing, in speech, in dramatics and music, and in other arts. The techniques and the sciences to be cultivated will vary with the vocations—the industrial in the narrowed sense, the commercial, and the rural. The first two may almost be left to look after themselves, especially if the cautions against narrowness be accepted, but the third, the rural, needs care.

There is an old book, some centuries old, called "Country Contentment." Could any title better suggest a medicine for this age? In this book you learn how to do this, how to manage that, to prevent the next and cure something else, to calculate, and so on—in short, how to live on the land. The spirit of the book is as remarkable as its contents. A confident belief pervades it that life on the Land, despite its peculiar inconveniences and risks and deprivations, can be made a success, that with knowledge, resource, and patience it is liveable and humane, even if it enriches very few.

It is this over-riding belief that really matters most. Install a true believer in a school, give him equipment, instruments, books, tools, gardens and what-not—see that he has method, see that his environment of country folk are responsive to him as he to them, see that he has the assistance he needs, and the school will do all that a school can to re-make

life on the Land. It would be strange if a determined effort, first to discover the capabilities of the child, and next to energeise them in the immemorial framework of man's life, should fail.

Those are the Keys. A heavy responsibility rests on the fraternity of the teachers who use them. There must be insight in dealing with pupils, and equally a high degree of familiar sympathy with environment.

The teachers do their best under handicaps. They come largely or mostly from the two-year Training Colleges, the very circumstances of which enforce somewhat severe methods of *ad hoc* teaching and even a hardened drill, less now perhaps than in the past, that is contrary to the ideals of teaching. I blame no persons, but the system is blame-worthy.*

The whole question, first and last, is one of the personnel. Everything hinges on the fraternity of the teachers who come in large numbers from the Training Colleges, here criticised on the score of a too-close control. The alternative avenue to teaching, the Universities—I speak of England—might fairly be accused of a too-loose control. But whatever the present state of the Training Colleges there is plenty of hope.

It is often said of men and women that when they have got over their education they will be all right. I comfort myself by the thought that the fraternity of the teachers is not excluded from this hope.

Work re-makes the worker. Teaching breeds in the teacher a new responsible interest in the philosophy of the work, in method and in spirit.

These tastes can be, and are being, satisfied in various ways, by renewed contact with the Colleges, by discussions within the profession, by vacation courses. But private and voluntary plans will hardly suffice. The active help of the Public Authorities responsible for Education is also needed, for the betterment costs money which the teachers cannot find. It is to be hoped that the Public Authorities may be brought to realise that the making of a teacher does not end with his passing out of a College but in a sense only then begins. Besides the ordinary provision for the Colleges estimates should include sums for sabbatical leaves, so that some teachers may have spells of academic or professional study, however short, at institutions of their choice, or may be enabled to travel and inspect schools and methods of special interest.

The times are on the move and the teachers must move with them. It will be disastrous if, in an age that aspires to progress, the teachers are not helped from time to time to climb a little out of their rut and breathe a fresher air.

THE GREAT TECHNOLOGY

(*In relation to Culture and Education in America*)

PROFESSOR HAROLD RUGG

Like men in other industrial countries we in America stand at the cross-roads, one the highroad leading to the Great Society, others by-paths leading to social chaos, and as teachers we must accept the problems of current social trends as the basis of educational reconstruction. All phases of modern education, its philosophy, curriculum, apparatus, must spring directly from the culture of the people, whose social and personal

* See Prof. J. Murray's paper on *The Limitations of the Training College* in Chap. XII.

problems should primarily determine the organisation of its education, if our world-wide experiments in democracy are to succeed.

Our cue, then, is the direct study of the characteristics and problems of our times, as we recognise that we are caught in a Great Transition between two cultural epochs, not the few years since the crash of 1929-30 but the forty years of drastic social change since the startling events of the 1890's. During this period the First Industrial Revolution catapulted into the second, the wasteful Machine Age passed quickly into the efficient Power Age, and every aspect of our "modern" civilisation, production of goods, productivity of labour, ownership, inter-racial and international impacts, and the rest, changing with dramatic suddenness, left us confronted with devastating social problems.

The breakdown of economic institutions in all industrialising countries has awakened us to the interim nature of our generation. We are passing out of the *initial* industrial stage, which produced for the first time in history a highly productive economic system. It first invented efficient power-driven machines, central long-distance power-stations, and industrial corporations with their concentrations and standardisations, also their specialisations, of labour. It first gave unhampered application to the concept of economic *laissez-faire*: men were really free to exploit things—and people. It made the *first* attempt to organise the collective economic affairs of nations on a world-wide interdependent basis. It made the *first* experiment with the concepts of political democracy—government by consent of the governed, freedom of speech or assemblage, trial by jury, etc., and of education for all the children of all the people.

Thus the stream of events of the past two centuries was a First Day of a new culture and, as such, advanced by unique economic trends not merely in a new physical civilisation but with deeper-lying psychological problems, to understand and cope with which we must know the characteristics of the social trends and human traits which propelled them. Such traits are:—

(1) *Spectacularly rapid growth*, whether in production of goods, ranges of markets and communications, interconnections of cultures, concentrations of populations in cities, etc., the basic motive idea being *more*, more products, more buyers, more anything and everything, its most completely descriptive concept being "positive acceleration."

(2) *Absorption in physical construction*—the economic system, the school system. Dynamic catchwords energised the struggle—"Conquer and settle", "Build", "Construct", "Make it big", to which was added a patriotic nationalisation. "America", or another *new* country, must be built quickly for time is short; growth in wealth or power of the group will guarantee the good of the individual.

(3) *Undesigned and uncontrolled exploitation*, in restless haste for *immediate profits*: mining everything, soil, forest, minerals, without restriction or plan, design of which was impossible under the concepts of private ownership and free competition. A few saw the need, most looked after themselves, leaving the rank and file as the "Devil's hindmost."

(4) *Nervous tension of life*—the whole tempo of living for the man-in-the-street was speeded up in keeping with the new conditions. Thoughtful design became difficult; thinking was mere perceptual reaction, inhibiting of impulse was the rare exception.

Under these conditions an age of remarkable physical achievement produced baffling social and personal problems for to-day. The most pronounced point of change of epoch was the World War period of

1914-1918, though new inventions and changes had heralded the warning. This speeded up the new epoch by its forced advance of invention and technology, and by its alteration of every aspect of industrial culture and of international, economic, and social relationships. Meanwhile, under methods of mass production, every phase of the economic system was speeded up to the increased productiveness of human labour at the cost of permanent displacement of that labour. Increasing unemployment and fiercer competition for employment increased the power of owner and employer, while the worker lost control of his job, his wages, his standard of living, and his craftsmanship.

The crash of October, 1929, with its manifold physical and psychological effects awoke a thoughtful minority from the old fantasies to the vigorous launching of new scientific studies of industrial culture, and in 1930-31 a flood of criticism and protest from the pens of leaders of all classes of society prepared the way for study and "plans," for a controlled economic system. A new body of creative students included engineers and world-renowned scientists, all applying their particular talents and methods in the most promising creative period in the history of modern thought and social organisation.

Some contrasting characteristics of the two stages of change between which we are caught will illustrate their differences and set our chief cultural problem in America.

(1) The first epoch was of *expansion* and *acceleration*, the second will be one of *consolidation* to design a workable economic and social system.

(2) The orgy of sheer physical building is over. We have passed from the Machine to the Power Age. Hence the language and thought of educational design must now recognise that new problems require new ideas and attitudes. *We have passed from a régime of scarcity to a day of potential plenty.*

(3) The initial objective of private profit must give way to designed and controlled production for the whole group; distribution must become as effective as production; democratic society must learn the necessity for deep-running changes in ownership and operation of basic utilities and industries. Success *via* competition was useful, perhaps indispensable, in the initial stage, but under our modern régime—with its effective production system, a lost relation between the productive and the earning power of the worker, an undue tax on social income for profits and fixed charges, and the limitations imposed by personal competition—the old concepts of scarcity, *laissez-faire*, private ownership, etc., become as terms of a foreign and useless language.

(4) The second stage is intellectually and spiritually new as admitting of design and realisation rather than demanding action and precept. We have to design a structure which will produce the economy of abundance and yet admit of a creative and personal way of life within itself. Social control is the hub of the former, self-cultivation the hub of the personal living.

Technology and experiment guide the economic design, Art and Religion guide the living design. The truly great culture can ignore neither.

In America at least the old dominant ideas will no longer serve, and the devising of this new language will be the major creative task of our Great Transition. The solution demands a drastic revolutionary educational procedure. Western peoples must learn to combine efficient technological operation with democratic control, to establish government by consent of the governed through education in tolerant and critical

understanding, to develop interest and ability in creative labour, applying the scientific method to problems of men living together. Education, through many of the people taking thought about their society and their personal lives, alone can produce the new minds, personalities, orientation of life, language of thinking and discussion, required to solve our problems.

Educational Implications. While the characteristics and individual phases of the New Education will be discussed at our more intimate meetings, discussion is here necessary, however, of one basic problem—the erecting of “Schools of Living,” their test “creative labour,” in place of “schools of literacy” the essential product of the first century of education building.

In all industrialising countries the first century achieved physical structure and the education of words. Children were herded into school buildings, classified, and taught set courses from set text-books. Education was something that happened in a “school” for set periods of set days quite apart from home and community life; something done before entering on life, with books and words not with body and spirit. Even to-day the dominant school is the book-learning school, which has already produced a top-heavy, white-collar class and a vicious new stratification of the social classes, and begets an advancing contempt, which seems to be making headway in South Africa too, for any labour other than intellectual or verbal work.

Is the focus of the new culture to aim at a high physical standard of living, leisure and leisure-time activities, or at new concepts of labour?

The soundest foundation is the concept of *creative labour*, which finds happiness in the prolongation of its work. Labour will play a first part in the production of personality, its goal not goods but men, the process of creation being emphasised more than the product.

High-quality goods will result, but the mind and personality of the craftsman are the first consideration.

In pre-industrialism days each article was a craft production, unique and reflecting the mind and the skill of the worker. Such products were “quality” goods, a great gain in physical existence as making necessities and comforts more ready of access, which leads us to the cultural problem of men’s labour.

In the Great Technology most men will perform their present types of work, but more efficiently, in operation of the economic, social, and political system, in all occupations and professions, and provide “socially useful” goods and services. A smaller group of super-normal persons will devote all their labour to creative enterprises, arts, literature, philosophy, research, whose social utility is secondary to the freedom of the artist to create.

Creative enterprise is not for the talented alone, all have some endowment and a great culture will give this talent opportunity for self-expression. Our Great Technology conceives a social order in which all people will exercise creative activities in addition to service of social utility, and thus will also produce “quality” goods, some of permanent social value, not merely in manual but in professional and scientific occupations. Both kinds of goods, both kinds of labour, are necessary, each serving a peculiar function.

Here we have a cue to the solution of the “spare time” problem, and to the remedy for the social danger of idleness, through the pleasure of creative activities to supplement our means of personal cultivation. With this creative occupation in place of dissipation of leisure life will be focussed and organised around a dynamic and progressive centre, and the way will be straighter for the true design of personal living.

Education must accordingly amend past errors and give scope to creative expression. A great culture must instil a high order of appreciative awareness. Happily, the creative artist is making himself felt and has made his way into the school, and his entry and the concept of the growth are conspicuous contributions to our more modern education. The creative artist has replaced the pedagogue of art ; he is a master of his art and an artist-teacher, sensitive of youth's potentialities for expression and appreciation with art media, thereby revolutionising the creative atmosphere of the school and showing the way to self-cultivation.

In conclusion—a *civilisation of abundance, tolerance, and beauty is practicable*—if Man designs and operates a controlled and equitable distribution to supplement his efficient production system ; if Man combines technological operation with democratic control ; if Man establishes government by consent of the governed through education in tolerant and critical understanding ; if Man, having reduced working hours, develops capacity for creative labour and wise use of leisure ; if, in short, Man applies the scientific method to man-man relationships and lives creatively as Artist not merely as Technologist.

There are divers pathways open, leading in divers directions, some to social chaos and the possible destruction of interdependent ways of living. One road leads to the Great Technology, and the surest guide along it is *A NEW EDUCATION*.

EDUCATION IN THE NEW GERMANY

PROFESSOR GRAF VON DÜRCKHEIM-MONTMARTIN

Non-German people are in general only aware of the more exciting and spectacular events in Germany, though of far greater importance is the great and comparatively silent process of national reconstruction of the Fatherland and its rescue from the social and moral decay resultant upon the War and upon subsequent internal history. The effectiveness of this re-construction is not the outcome of political compulsion but of a change of mind and ideals in the individual man, a change which can only be made permanent by education not only of children in schools but of every community throughout the country.

The new system is more practical in its conception and has three basic roots :—

1. The unsettled state of post-War Germany.
2. The growing insight into certain national defects due to historical development and its character.
3. The awakening of the nation to the values characteristic of itself and of its heritage on which its culture depends.

These values have been obscured in post-War distress and by certain defects of character especially individualism.

A picture should be borne in mind of the national difficulties and threatened dangers, aggravated by a growing gap between the so-called educated people and the general community and by the ill-effects of individualism, which were endangering the continued existence of the Fatherland, the more so since education aimed at the development of personal individuality and individual personality. The recognition accorded to individualism was weakening links with the soil and the community and, reinforced by the 19th century materialism, was pro-

moting an egoism whose life-goal was private happiness and enjoyment. The nation was thus becoming the victim of the avarice of the profiteer, and alien powers and gospels were ousting old traditions.

When, therefore, the significance of the new ideals of "volk"—community, freedom, and honour was grasped, it took the country by storm, and resistance only aided belief in the new "Weltanschauung." It was the magic spell of Unity, of real socialism combined with real Nationalism for the salvation of Germany, linking up the enemies of yesterday in the natural unity of a folk-community. And with it, as light out of darkness, came a new faith in the folk-community and in a life whose worldly fulfilment is community-service.

The outside world finds it hard to credit the existence of a living faith as a basis of a national life reorganisation. If consequent action conflicts with private interest, this does not imply compulsion. That Faith is most real to which man submits in defiance of his own desires.

A realisation of this faith as existing in Germany is essential to any understanding of its current history. As an illustration of its effect, the new régime in 15 months has reduced an unemployed roll of 6 millions—representing with families 20 millions, or a third of the population—to two and a half millions.

The essential feature of the change was that *everyone was helping*, and the new faith reinforced by a new willingness has swept away internal barriers and divisions and the twenty-six little States. Once again this faith is the basis of the principles and practice of the new education in Germany, and it implies a belief in the aliveness of certain supreme virtues in man, the test of which is that he is enabled, and compelled from within himself, to make any and every personal sacrifice for his faith.

Faith-rooted education, then, realises the existence of virtues, and it aims at enabling man to make sacrifices for these through an inward urge which is the kernel of personality when combined with these virtues, the endangering of which has almost destroyed national existence, while on their life depends its future.

The principles underlying the new "Weltanschauung" are those of *peculiarity* and *wholeness*. Whatever is alive lives as part of a whole while at the same time realising its own peculiarity. The German ideal of a living whole is the whole German nation rooted in its own peculiarity or uniqueness. For mankind in general the ideal of an organised whole is too remote and is in any case conditioned by the existence of whole nations each rooted in its own peculiarity. German nationalism is inspired by the living, real whole "Germany"; her peculiarity, based in her racial composition, soil, and historical fate, reveals itself in her original culture and forms of life; and German nationalism implies inspiration by this peculiar whole to accomplish and defend it, while socialism implies inspiration by the idea of State wholeness which alone can realise a living peculiarity or organic wholeness, whose parts are not isolated but living members.

National-socialism recognises two dominating factors—peculiarity and wholeness, *national* indicating peculiarity and its condition of life, *socialism* indicating organic wholeness, which guarantees the peculiarity, both embodied in "Volksgemeinschaft" (folk-community).

Folk-community is to the German the highest worldly value. With the nation as the highest value the individual only has value in service, and education, meaning education of valuable individuals, implies primarily education to serve the nation, and is an attempt to re-forge the nation and especially the youth until they are one with the national

values. Any cultural perfection must be in keeping with the peculiar character of the nation, and folk-community does not bind by compulsion but by the spirit of wholeness.

On this basis National-Socialism teaches self-preservation of the race, destruction of sickly elements, rejection of alien influence, development of national life, and service to the whole ; it also aims at a firm bond with the culture, soil, and living history as a link for present and future generations with the highest traditions of the past. Every school and every camp, therefore, aims first at making a whole Germany alive in the individual to the exclusion of individualism.

Where then is freedom of personality in the Germany of Luther, Leibniz, Humboldt, and Goethe ? No nation has had a deeper philosophy of individuality, or more individualists in the population, but no nation has had greater experience of the dangers of individualism. Germany knows the mystery of individuality, because the mystery of peculiarity is also known ; she knows that the individual will remain the source of creative power and that all great things in the world were created by great and free personality ; hence it was in keeping with German tradition that "the Leader" wrote that the best State is that which gives the largest opportunity for free personalities to be creative. Individuality is of importance, not individualism which is merely egoism.

There is still a philosophy of education which, while taking into account individual abilities and ambitions and also general human values, overlooks the links of blood and soil which connect the individual with the community of family, nation, and race. This system produced the man whose so-called education and self-performance alienated him from the community and the ideal of unity. To-day this independent individualism cannot be reconciled with the development of the soul. The severance of the natural links of blood and soil endangers national existence, involves a false conception of "freedom of personality", and ignores the natural roots and possibilities of a man's life.

Such freedom is not rooted in individual independence but in attachment to the values which claim sacrifice and in the faith-rooted bond of the community. It is freedom from self-interest, freedom in faith and service. The right of the individual is to become a personality capable of bearing responsibility, of giving service, and of making sacrifice for the community.

Education then develops personality with a view to community-service as a member of the nation. Membership in turn implies no loose connection but team-work and reliability of service, which in turn includes subordination of self to the needs of the whole and also special vocational service. Vocational education and membership education go hand-in-hand and there is no education for individual careers for personal gain or advancement. Whatever his position in life the individual has full scope to serve to the best powers of his brain and muscle. He has personal responsibility for his task, a system which has led to abolition of elections and decisions by vote. Freedom is conceded but involves the sense of personal responsibility and the sense of leadership.

The changes of method and organisation in the new German education are based on these principles and aims, starting from a confession of faith in a Germany as a whole both of values and of conditions for a genuine German life, which is the heart of all school, University, or normal training.

Outside the religious sphere the 19th century inheritance of the "Bürgerliche Zeitalter" conferred higher status on the man possessed of money, power, title, or University degree, but to-day community-

service alone counts. Every man has to stand up to the judgment of well-instructed public opinion, whose sentence in case of shortcomings is no respecter of persons. Social position is no longer a form of security or insurance. The new measures of work and value are not only inculcated in the youth; adults also undergo a practical education through regular organisations it may be of all ranks employed in some business or vocation. The University professor is on the same footing as the primary teacher, and he recognises as it were membership of the same staff.

The undue valuation of scientific education and the consequent pursuit of the Certificate or Degree led to social differentiations and arrogance. To-day service is the only test; the peasant is no less than the professor; the importance of the primary school is enhanced, and High School and University education is accorded only to students of ability and to satisfy national needs. At one time 10,000 graduates were amongst the unemployed. To-day maybe only half the matriculants will be permitted to enter Universities, which lay stress not on purely intellectual qualities but on qualities of comradeship and leadership. The University therefore demands at entrance not merely academic qualification but proof of service for six months or more in the "Arbeitsdienst" or "Labour Service Camp", in which the future student has to serve side by side with any other member of the community, irrespective of rank, to prove his comradeship.

The training of the teacher also starts in this Camp, and those incapable of comradeship are not accepted for University or College. The work is hard, the initiation no happy term of amusement and pleasure. There is no respect of persons but equality of opportunity for all. Compulsory attendance at sports camps, schooling camps, and so forth, serves the same end of membership training and the inculcation of a greater appreciation of German cultural values and national needs, a commencement being made by the assembling of the younger people and school-children in the "Hitler Jugend" for disciplined group-education.

The new education does not ignore the pupil's aptitudes and aspirations, but it refuses him the sole or final decision as to his course and career, and it will not allow education to prepare him merely to achieve his own personality. With these restrictions circumstances of age and character are fully considered, though the way must not be made too easy and the best pedagogic art will create obstacles which must be overcome.

The new life is hard and demands hardiness in the individual even at the expense of some thousand weaklings, of whom no account can be taken if this would endanger the strength of the whole.

Another great change is the stress laid by the State on the primary importance to the nation of the peasant and the farmer. Festivals and meetings are held in his honour in conjunction with film, radio, and other instruction in schools and elsewhere. Youth studies, folk-lore, and rural excursions deepen sympathy and knowledge. The single-class country school is the centre of the Primary Teachers' training, and three Teacher Training Colleges in large towns have been replaced by similar institutions with rural bias in little towns. The disintegrating atmosphere of the large town is to be dispelled by every available educational means.

To link the youth of the town with the countryside, the Minister of Education has introduced the system of the "Land Year" under which groups of from thirty to one hundred and twenty boys and girls spend

one year at the expense of the State in a country home, identification with at least one corner of the German soil being regarded as an essential feature of each individual's education. This year 22,000 children took the course, their number being limited because only 1,800 teachers could be trained for the purpose of instruction. The teachers themselves are trained in Camps, and the system makes for folk-community by the abolition of the traditional barriers between town and country.

Stress should be laid on the educational power which lies in faith in the reality of the concrete community, the family, and the nation, and in its realisation.

As a final consideration, does a system such as this endanger the good relations between nations and so the peace of the world? Germany does not think so. Nationalism for itself alone might become Imperialism and lead to conflict with other nations. Socialism alone might become Bolshevism and a menace to Western civilisation. German National-Socialism, however, emphasising as it does realisation of the peculiar rights and values of German national life as the highest aim of the individual in his daily life, necessarily recognises similar rights and values in other nations, and children are taught this logical corollary. Nations are to help each other to be able to live each its own life within its own borders.

German National-Socialism therefore does not consider itself a gospel for other nations, but it expects the world to acknowledge its right to the German way for the German nation, which desires only to become and to be itself.

This ability to recognise and acknowledge the rights of others is within the range of all well-developed and ingenuous peoples, and ultimately the peace of the world is promoted thereby far better than by any attempt to destroy or obscure national individuality. The acknowledgment of the vital will of the nation to be itself, and freedom to achieve this, is the condition and the final step towards world peace. Less discussion of the world and of the individual will make it easier for the individual to perfect his personality through membership of a concrete community; the communities will then find it easier to form a sound and durable State; and such States, solidly founded on their own peculiarities and capable of recognising the peculiarities and needs of other nations, can alone become reliable members of a world community.

In this way the nations will become the best guarantors of personality and the peace of the world alike.

THE NEW COUNTRIES IN EDUCATION

PROFESSOR F. CLARKE

The famous boast of Canning—"I have called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old"—, on the occasion of England's recognition of the independence of the revolted Spanish Colonies in South and Central America, savours strongly of eighteenth century politics, and to-day the "power politics" manner of thought popularly estimates newcomers on the international scene in terms of their probable effects upon the world balance of power.

Democracy, improved communication, and growth of the "new countries" are leading, however, to the process of grasping the moral and intellectual implications of a settled and peaceful world-order, in

which power-politics will not cease, but their violent and lawless expression, under the restraints of the conception of the larger good. Law pre-supposes community, and community a necessary minimum of common ideas—in brief a culture.

Hence maybe is derived the new interest in the study of international cultural relations, which found organised expression in the Standing Committee (of the League of Nations) for Intellectual Co-operation, though prior to its institution far-sighted observers, amongst these the founders of the New Education Fellowship, had realised that a foundation of common ideas based on common influences in education was essential to the achievement of world-order. The original conception of these elements may have been modified, but the axiom is more firmly established that such elements must exist, and the concentration on the further search for them is more intense.

In the same way the growth of the study of Comparative Education tends to be for the specialist and of too narrowly technical and statistical a nature, while its more educative purpose is the understanding not of techniques but of peoples. This study is a dynamic aspect of comparative politics—the study of the influences which determine the collective mind and spirit of communities—and so has a very definite contribution to offer in a much more precise consciousness of national differences as inevitable and legitimate and of the common ground for the building of future world-steering institutions.

The dominating practical objective is the exploration of the intellectual, and therefore educational, foundations of a whole world-order, the necessary complement and corrective of the intensified modern nationalisms.

In indicating some possible lines of study the question may be put—what is to be the contribution of the “new countries” in terms of formative educational ideas to the common stratum of educational faith which will have to underlie all future national differences?

At present their attitudes, marked by inconsistencies of loud assertion and self-confidence alternating with docility and susceptibility to old-world influences, suggest a defence mechanism and an educational philosophy still unformed while blending true conviction and spontaneity with fashion, ancient prestige, and the desire to stand well.

New countries are apt to over-estimate their contributions and to confuse their new techniques with new principles. Old countries tend to under-estimate the contribution of the new countries, though there are signs of change due to alarm at seemingly harmful effects of the new influences on the old culture or to appreciation of the new reading given to an old principle.

Each group then must develop a conscious explicit awareness of its own cultural significance while working towards mutual understanding and interchange with the other group.

Western civilisation no longer stands single, confident, and unchallenged: it is in conflict from within and shaken from without. A re-vitalised Orient, the intervening vast mystery of Russia, Turkey, Egypt, Arabia—from which strange new things may yet emerge, throw out a challenge to old Europe: through the Americas, South Africa, Australasia, stretch in a broken chain the new lands, only in America perhaps securely held for Western civilisation. And it is in these new lands that the great Graeco-Roman inheritance that made Europe may build a new home and may discover new possibilities in the resources of its spirit. Any serious conflict between the old West and the new may well spell disaster for the whole world, and on them seemingly

must be laid the burden of the working-out of the intellectual and educational foundations of the new order.

While the conception of newness or youth of a land settled by European immigration may be challenged, for our present purpose "new countries" imply the two Americas, South Africa, and the settled lands of Australasia, specifically confined in this instance to those settled or occupied by people from Great Britain—or "Anglo-Saxon" lands for the purposes of this discussion.

While geographical and climatic or other physical conditions may lead to adjustments of habit productive even of a distinctive type, the migrations as a whole have been too late for any long period of isolation to develop a sharply distinguished type. Scientific discoveries and ease of communication have enabled man to establish European forms of life in the most unpropitious regions, an apt illustration of the fact that not geography but established historic culture determines man's way of life.

Contacts and mixture with other peoples, *e.g.* of English and Dutch in Africa or of English and French in Canada, do effect interesting and significant changes but are hardly distinctive sources of "newness."

A personal definite conviction declares that the essential factor of the "newness" applicable to all lands is the fact of *transplantation*, and a truer measure of the educational problem of new lands would be found by study of the consequences of the transplantation of a culture from the land of its roots and associations to a new soil.

To outward appearance ways of living, forms, and institutions in Capetown, Winnipeg, Melbourne, or St. Louis are much the same as those of London or Paris. By a contradiction the new worlds are liable to perpetuate the far off quarrels and animosities well-nigh forgotten in the old. The old things live on in the habits, rooted passions, and old loyalties of the settlers in the new lands: household furniture they can leave behind, mental furniture they cannot.

The argument that only countries of arrested development are young, the past being an equal inheritance and the present an open declaration to all, overlooks this cardinal fact of transplantation.

The transplanted man knows that things do become to some degree new in his own life, and the transplantation ultimately should awaken him to the real nature of his old institutions which he formerly took for granted. As a general rule he merely transfers his old ways of life to a new setting and often clings tenaciously to old things even though these are ill-adapted to the new conditions and a hindrance to effective living. How slow were educational authorities in South Africa to forego the lesson on William the Conqueror as the starting point of history teaching, so disloyal seemed the surrender! An early Tasmanian farmer congratulates himself on his typically English farm: England is to be re-created though thousands of miles away!

It is only slowly that the inevitable truth emerges, generally through the efforts of the "lower classes," that genuine new things are possible and old institutions can be revised and freely reconstructed to the advantage of the common man. Here again too little attention has been paid to the conflict in the new lands between the group of possessors, who sought to reproduce the old, and the mass, who sought to use freely the opportunities of the new, for the victory of the latter has been decisive in our field of education.

The factors of difference between old and new were mainly two. The first is that the transplantation altered profoundly the relation of culture to history, for the migrating people had now two histories,

the more recent indigenous to its new home and increasing steadily in cultural potency, the older and more potent indigenous to lands which the vast majority of succeeding posterity will never see. In America the growth in the potency of the new has gone furthest, but since 1910 its increasing grip on the life and habits of South Africa has been a central theme. How symbolic is the substitution of Afrikaans for Nederlands as an official language!

None the less the older history remains dominant and decisive. The Afrikaner, whatever his language medium, sets himself to adapt institutions to suit their African habitat, but his grand objective is to preserve himself culturally as European, to remain faithful to the inheritance of older history. The resulting attitude is contradictory as involving a passionate attachment to historic culture and a chafing at the dependence, seemingly imposed by this loyalty, on other lands. The over-hasty would be startled to realise the meaning of a life and culture bereft of all that is "mediaeval" in origin and spirit: the new countries must not exaggerate the measure of their own creative achievement thus far as compared with the fruits of the historic inheritance.

The significant fact, however, is precisely the form of the relation of the migrant people to this older heritage. In an old country such as England history works upon minds and lives less through books than through physical and moral environment: the countryside, historic buildings or monuments, usages, ceremonials, all tell the constant tale and stamp the type. But after the transplantation, which makes the call the stronger, the outward environment gives no such response. In the attempt at re-creation in the course of time the accustomed shell may be raised anew in form, but the eloquence of the *time-signature* has been lost, *the new forms are not and cannot be the same.*

Hence the discovery comes of a profound change in the relation of environmental culture to history: the history of their culture is no longer that of the land in which they live. As time goes on the once "new" countries gather history and the harmony between culture and land is restored: but meanwhile they are faced by the dilemma—are they to retain cultural inheritance at the cost of continuance of a to some extent dependent and derivative life, or are they to throw off dependence and so-called tradition at the risk of spiritual starvation?

From this *double-mindedness*, "historically necessary" as the Germans would term it, there is no escape: it is a major determinant of both politics and education. The man who fears cultural loss and acts accordingly risks the charge of being called unpatriotic and contemptuous of his new land, the fervid patriot risks appearing as a "broad-hatted" barbarian.

In education the conflict is ceaseless. Protestations therefore of cultural self-sufficiency and of "casting off outworn traditions," while representing the clash of one worthy desire against another, inevitably imply something of an inferiority complex.

Hence the conclusion that the fact of transplantation is the decisive influence in producing our group of characteristics in new countries; yet along with this the method of the replanting under the sweeping conditions of the industrial revolution must be considered.

A striking quality of the settlement is its *simultaneity*. The pioneers were working against time, and to safeguard the chain for their children they had to provide the essentials without delay and to achieve, on a single plan and at once, necessities and amenities built up in regular order through centuries in the older lands. Thus the third dimension of *depth* tended to drop out of history and popular consciousness, and we

get the *two-dimensional* way of thinking still strongly exemplified in the new countries.

Under favourable conditions, as in the United States, this original historic necessity can produce the confident spirit of the conviction that all things can be made new, that economic laws can be made to move to order, that life can be planned as a whole, if thought is orderly, scientific, and comprehensive.

With their thought determined by history the old countries retain depth, though pressure of urgent need has its effect. Yet in older countries Mussolini looks back to Imperial Rome, Hitler to the Niebelungs and the Meistersingers, an element of romantic inspiration which does not mark the reconstruction process of the U.S.A.

The gulf between old and new awaits the bridge of mutual modification. The new countries will give as their most valuable contribution to the composite philosophy the notion of periodical review of institutions as a whole. Living under written constitutions alterable by defined legal process each has modified profoundly its original inheritance and shown capacity to meet the demands of transplantation to disentangle itself from habit and history. Their strength is to be in command of their own new history, their weakness is to underestimate the extent of the command over themselves of an older history.

To sum up the characteristics of the resultant societies which bear upon education—first there is the optimistic forward-looking confidence in power to re-shape, accompanied strangely enough by a streak of fundamentalism and conservatism especially in the field of religious beliefs and customs. Are schools in the "new countries" generally as free and adaptable intellectually and spiritually as those of *e.g.* history-ridden England, or does not rigid adherence to safe orthodoxies impoverish curricula and paralyse much teaching? Fear, due to loss of old moral supports in the transplantation and in the hampered growth of community life due to excessive mobility, leads to entrenchment of old beliefs and symbols. Hence we find intellectual timidity of ideas accompanied by almost reckless inventive and material enterprise.

Prejudice and absence of sense of values, however intelligible or justifiable, are hostile to education, and a critical attitude of new towards old must be enlightened if it is not to impoverish. Our *plain-mindedness*, considerably modified by attachment to historic habit, is still a potent factor of error in education and leads to its "planning" without clear conceptions of objective or clear sense of distinction between plans in human life and plans in handling inert material and, while new-country experience gives us strength and opportunity, we must guard against peculiar dangers and facile superficialities.

Yet another characteristic of new countries is neglect of ideas and of the life of speculative thought, possibly a real trait of "newness," due maybe to the new type of social order as much as to economic pre-occupations. Money, organisation, and planning cannot really produce real exploratory thought, and unfortunately present tendencies in social development and popular culture tell against distinction, seclusion, and reverence for the spirit, so essential to the really intellectual life.

Optimism in this matter is difficult. Dominant influences are adverse to conditions favouring intellectual creativeness. Formal provision in Universities, mass education in the schools, in response to mass demand for equal opportunity, give no help. Thousands go through the motions of formal enquiry, but can administrative provision and planning produce a William James, an Emerson, a Darwin, a Pasteur, a Bergson, and—

more serious—could the democracies recognise and appreciate such a product when it emerged?

All this may be a matter of time and long history, but the comparative poverty and indifference of the new countries in this matter of ideas both puzzles and causes misgiving. We are prone to deception by our professions and our elaborate apparatus, but if a truly intellectual life does not blossom easily and gracefully out of the social soil, as in Athens, in mediaeval Europe, in patrician France and England, a pretentious unreality must infect the whole educational system, leaving it pointless in spite of all the boosting and expense.

Modern democracy has yet to pass this, it may be the supreme, test, and the thought may beget humility.

Yet another feature in the educational organisation of the new lands is that of "Social Solidarity," so striking to the immigrant. Behind it lies a lively sense of common effort and joint achievement, a conscious reaction, too, against the cleavages and inequalities of old Europe. At the foundation of the new countries there was clearly in the settlers a resolute determination to form a truly equalitarian society and in the old governing classes a certain irritated and uneasy contempt towards such efforts.

A critical impression of an early nineteenth century traveller in Canada, while amply illustrating the above, includes the following objection to democracy as he sees it: that no individual possesses more influence than another, and all others would strenuously oppose any assumption of authority or attempt at improvement by anyone whose qualifications and pretensions justified his leadership, and that hence the whole settlement marches sluggishly forward at one pace, while if one goes ahead in the least degree he is at once pulled back to the ranks. Gibbon Wakefield, on the other hand, in 1844 concludes that the rich man, failing his own industry and enterprise, quickly sinks, the poor man, failing his own vices or follies, as surely rises, hence everywhere there is a strong natural tendency towards equality of condition, which makes hereditary aristocracy impossible and admits neither of the extreme wealth nor yet of the extreme destitution found side by side in the old world.

The picture to-day is somewhat modified: the new countries in general remain faithful to the principles of their lowly founders, but they have yet to refine and spiritualise the idea of equality, the crude interpretation of which by the mass in conception and action is perhaps the greatest single hindrance to the higher forms of educational achievement in the new lands.

And now to estimate the strength and weaknesses of the "new countries" as co-operators in a world-wide education.

The weaknesses generally arise from over-emphasis of the characteristic virtue and from a more or less serious misunderstanding of the old countries, the correction of which offers an obvious cure. A useful experiment would "try out" a few traditions to counteract a tendency to assume that long continuance is in itself a mark of disutility.

A first weakness is the dislike of distinction and the shying away from excellence, both due to the victory of the mass. In this lies the Achilles' heel, the temptation to achieve equality by abandoning real standards of excellence. Every society must have an élite and, failing the setting-up and maintenance of the necessary standards for an élite of its desire, the undesired élite will arise leading to revolution.

The task of the new countries is not to suppress but to bind all educational planning to the discovery and training of the natural aris-

tocracy, which is a first essential of true democratic life. The only alternative, among spirited peoples, seems to be a dictatorship of Fascist type in the interests of excellence and of maintenance of real standards.

Along with this main weakness go a certain indiscipline, a readiness to mechanise the things of the spirit, a liking for the self-deception which claims to have "democracy" or decentralisation while having in reality dictatorship or centralised bureaucracy. There is too a certain dislike of real intellectual *discipline*, however high the degree of laboriousness and patience. School and University studies are not resolute to force the student to realisation of what is at the bottom of his mind, whereas European disciplines, however seemingly irrelevant to the demands of modern life, do purge a man of the last terrors of intellectual adventure, so that, if he responds, he emerges ready for anything.

Then, again, there is the under-appreciation of style and of the Greek "finesse" of personal habit and intercourse, not incompatible however with generous support of the Arts. Crudities of speech, manner, and intercourse are often exalted. Scrupulous care of personal external appearance may march with slovenly, ugly "unfinesse" of speech, manner, or gait.

Summed up, the weaknesses may be attributed to lack of depth and absence of enough heart-breaking experiences as a people, and they are maybe relatively less observable in South Africa, which has had the greater share of such experiences.

And the cure?—time, a quieter spirit of self-examination, an easier and less truculent attitude towards the older lands, not in blind imitation but in intelligent pupillage to our mentors in these great matters.

And for the pleasanter task of indicating some great values which the new countries can contribute, if they do not, in ignorant self-conceit, cut themselves off from the main roots of traditions which have nourished them so far, chief stands the social generosity of the attitude towards education. Assuming that the solicitude of the old countries for excellence can be reconciled with the new countries' solicitude for the mass, there is a better prospect of achieving this if we set out with a desire to offer the means of cultivation to all, *and the infection of the world at large with the generous spirit of this faith*, granted possible limitations in its expression in operation, *is the first great mission of the new lands.*

Allied with this generosity is the attitude and habit of "spaciousness" in the scale and comprehensiveness of educational planning and readiness for adaptation, a general and quite distinctive characteristic of the new lands as a whole as contrasted with the cautious, almost niggling, achievement of new developments in the old countries.

This quality expresses itself in the experimental spirit, not necessarily lacking elsewhere in the absence of familiar techniques, in which absence the whole spirit may be experimental where teaching competency is regarded as implying ability to achieve the teacher's own appropriate course of study.

This spirit is a characteristic gift in the sense that the new countries can more readily afford to experiment, conditions are still fluid, there is less reason to fear resulting social inconvenience. In the older countries vested interest, sheer indolence, or what not, may suspect experiment, *but it will be a characteristic task of the new countries to strengthen and sustain the free and fearless play of the critical mind in the whole field of education.*

Another marked difference between the new and the old is the readiness of the new to rank education with law, economics and politics, and the rest, as one of the fundamental human studies. Europe has

been apt to assume that the educated man can educate, the new countries to assume that to be educated is unnecessary if you have studied education, but new countries, and America in particular, cutting out much that is ephemeral and worthless, have made a great contribution of solid work which is vindicating the great cause to which it is consecrated. And for *the recognition of education as a subject of serious and systematic study the main credit is due to the new countries, and particularly the U.S.A.* for showing that, however much it is a thing of history and custom, *education is far more plastic and capable of rationalisation than the old countries recognise.*

To conclude—what is the challenge of to-day to all peoples of the liberal tradition? On the one hand some regard the quality of individual life as the ultimate criterion and seek to keep the sources of culture alive and open by giving the fullest release to the riches of the individual spirit. Others again, Fascist, Communist, and the rest, make their criterion the standard citizen pattern and seek to set defined limits to creative sources of human good, their weapon being State authority. We know the choice of most of us: shall we have the grit and character to achieve and maintain?

The nineteenth century gave democracy its chance, the twentieth presents its difficulties. We begin to realise that these involve problems of character even more than of intelligence. Realisation will show the relative insignificance of much of our thought and practice, will lessen the delusion of the omnipotence of the school, will deepen the moral and social foundations.

The problem is of *character* first and foremost. There can be no character without tradition and discipline, without roots in the spiritual soil of the race, without settled dispositions of thought, feeling, and action established in the early years.

The new countries will fail in their mission if they cut themselves off from deep and ancient sources of education itself. They will succeed gloriously if they learn to "bring out of their treasure things new and old," and to give the old their own new quality of warmth, universality, and generosity, which will make it the means for the healing of the nations.

They have the secret of the new life, if they will but develop the patience, the self-discipline, and the inwardness of the self-examining spirit, which are necessary for its complete unfolding.

CHAPTER II.

THE INTERNATIONAL IDEAL

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM IN EDUCATION

PROFESSOR PIERRE BOVET

Surely a great subject. But, if I may say so, a very bad title.

In the first place, the words as used here are ill-defined. Let me make my point clear by telling you a story. An inspector of schools coming to a class found written on the blackboard two words—*Patriotism*, *Nationalism*—on which a young teacher had evidently been giving a lesson, so he asked the children :—"What does Patriotism mean?" Receiving no answer he said : "But surely you know. You have heard the word *patriot*; what is a patriot?" A timid hand was raised : "A patriot is a rebel." And "What about nationalism?", and there came the answer "A nationalist is a man who disagrees with the Government." Am I not right in asking that we should first define the words of our title?

But there is a further objection to the wording in that there is no opposition between nationalism and internationalism, provided that we distinguish between a good and a bad nationalism, between a good and a bad internationalism. Bad internationalism and bad nationalism are opposed; good nationalism and good internationalism each imply the other. A double allegiance is possible to one's country and to humanity, which ought not to be difficult to South Africans. The three flags on this platform are by themselves a testimony that a multiple allegiance implies no painful psychological conflicts.

I therefore rather choose as the title of my address—"We in Education."

We, as a pronoun, is well-known to all of you. It needs no special explanation. It is a plural pronoun—*WE* and not *I*; it is a pronoun of the first person *We* and not *They*. It stands halfway between egoism and altruism—"I and others like me"—"Others like me" are included with me in this *WE*. "Like me" in what respect? In any respect. It may be just in space : "*We* on this platform", or in time : "*We* 20th century people", or in race, "*We* Europeans", or in any other respect: e.g. "*We* bearded men!" There may be an indefinite number of "*We's*."

You may have the impression that some of my examples are far-fetched, that they might be all right in a Logic course, in a lesson about classes, when I should draw on the blackboard a variety of circles showing that the same point *I* is included in an infinite number of circles *We* (each of them excluding a different area *They*), if it was not that some of my *We's* have no actual reality.

Well, there is an old philosophical puzzle : What is the existence of general notions? Are they just words, as the Nominalists thought them? Have they an actual reality, as the Realists claim that they have? Are they not things but ideas, concepts of the mind? What are we to think about those mediaeval distinctions?

Let us see how *feeling* and *action* are connected, unequally connected, with *We's*.

Some *We's* have this strange quality that pride may be connected with them. And not only pride, but sorrow, pangs of anxiety, even of shame. *We*. . . .

To start with pride, and not taking the *We's* in which I am included : "I feel proud of being a Swiss, because *we Swiss* have given Pestalozzi to the world." (Loud cheers). "I feel proud to have been a professor of philosophy, because *we professors of philosophy* contributed Saint Thomas, Jaurès, and Cardinal Mercier." (Silence). "I feel proud of being a speaker at this Conference, because *we overseas speakers* have furnished you with John Dewey." (Silence). "I feel proud of being a bearded fellow, because *we bearded fellows* contributed Sophocles, Socrates, and others." (Loud laughter.)

Now, your response has proved my point. These *We's* have not all the same existence. Some of my sentences appear to you purely ridiculous : the class they allude to is to you merely a '*flatus vocis*'. Others, which logically stand on exactly the same level, are felt by you to have a *reality*. Such are the *we-consciousnesses* related to the tradition of a country, of a language, of a so-called race. Pride connected with them is quite customary. Only a few days ago I heard a member of this Conference saying : "I am proud of being an Englishman, because it was England that first put an end to slavery." Without discussing the fact, most of us will be able to understand a feeling like that.

And still, when a moment ago you seemed to approve of my allusion to Pestalozzi, was not this sentence as absurd as any of the other ? Why should I be proud of being a Swiss because Pestalozzi was a Swiss ? I was not born when he died ; I never contributed anything to his ideas or his deeds . . . and yet we must admit that the logical absurdity of the feelings connected with this *we-consciousness* is no sufficient reason to deny that it covers a psychological reality.

To go further. The same *we-notion* may shift from one class to another. From being a mere word it may become a reality or, vice versa, after being a reality for centuries become a mere '*flatus vocis*' with no connected feelings. This is especially true of the *we-consciousness* which a moment ago appeared most real to us, the *we's* related to country and race.

Let me take examples from Europe. The three peninsulas south of the continent afford a striking illustration of my contention. Not a century ago a great statesman pooh-poohed the rising *we-feeling* of the Italians. "Italy," said he, "is a geographical expression." Well, to-day he would surely admit that "Italian" is an expression charged with feelings, the manifestation of a psychological reality. Yet what no longer holds true of Italy still applies to the Balkan peninsula. It is a geographical expression. Never have I come across the words "we Balkanics." There are no feelings connected with a class which is perfectly sound logically but has no psychological reality.

And to make my example complete, the third peninsula seems to be halfway between the other two. A few people there seem to have an Iberian *we-consciousness* ; they are beginning to see that the geographical expression might recover something psychologically real, in which the Lusitanians, the Catalonians, the Andalusians, the Castilians, the Basques, and the others, should assert what they have in common.

But the most striking proofs of the differences in the reality of *we-consciousnesses* I have found during my stay in South Africa. It is here that I discovered how weak the *we-consciousness* of the inhabitants

of Europe still is. If we had in Europe a real feeling of our being European, you should never here use the word *European* to include people coming from America and Australia. And the same thing may be said about the way you make use of the words *African* and *South African*; they are by themselves a testimony of what there is, and of what there is not, in the line of *we-consciousness* connected with this country and this continent. And all these expressions show us that what is psychologically non-existent to-day may be a tremendous force to-morrow.

The lessons of the past point in the same direction. In a celebrated speech Pericles boasted of being an Athenian. But for long centuries in the Middle Ages, nay to the threshold of contemporary history, there was scarcely any *we-feeling* in Europe about one's country as a whole. The word *patriot* in French is not found before the XVIIIth century. Other *we-consciousnesses* on the other hand were more active than they are now. Imagine the Crusaders as "we Christians."

The psychological reality does not only show itself in feelings; it prompts men to *actions*. The actions called forth by a *we-consciousness* correspond to the double aspect of our pronoun.

"We, not I," is the slogan for wonderful acts of devotion and self-sacrifice. It has been my privilege to visit many countries where the *we-feeling* has been quite recently developed to a marked degree. I should like to tell you something of the Turkish Normal School girls, of the Catalanian teachers, of the Jewish students, of the Polish patriots, whose sufferings and earnest efforts have been for years stimulated by the thought of their debt to the group to which they feel to belong.

But that does not tell the whole story. "*We, not they*" is another and a very potent slogan. The logical differentiation between "*we*" and "*they*" often leads to an emotional attitude of hostility and hatred, and even to actual fighting. The relation is wonderfully close between the *we-feeling* and the fighting spirit. A few days ago we had a very striking example brought to us by the newspapers. If a *we-feeling* does relax and you wish to revive it, just paint "*them*" black.

We all know that in most of us our *we-consciousness* as fellow human beings is very weak.

Indeed in a great number of people it has no great psychological reality. If there should ever be an attack on our planet by the Men in the Moon, or by any outsiders, then we might feel our unity as Terrestrials, but not now.

The feeling of belonging to one great body is not yet alive in us. We have no word parallel to *patriotism* to express our allegiance to humanity and the feelings connected with it. We have no symbol for it, no flag, no hymn. There is no solution as some have thought through a prize competition. It will come through a spiritual experience, for all material conditions are now realised which show us that the *women consciousness* is logically sound.

Teachers may also contribute to this psychological realisation, if they see that their attitude towards the two *we-consciousnesses*, which our title termed as nationalism and internationalism, are to be absolutely different. Those connected with nation, country, race, or creed, are there; they ought to be enlightened so as to direct our conduct towards self-sacrifice ("*We not I*"), and away from war ("*We not They*"). But the larger *we-consciousness* connected with mankind is not there. The teacher has to create the atmosphere which will make possible its development.

There have been great experiences in the past to which we may look back for inspiration. We may think of the French Revolution, proclaiming the Rights of Man, as participant to Reason. We may think of the Renaissance proclaiming Humanism, the unity of mankind as interpreted by Art. We may think of the XIIIth century asserting in one great Church the value of every individual man, "the man for whom Christ died." We may think of the original Christian experience as proclaimed by the Apostle who no longer boasted himself of being of the tribe of Benjamin, of the seed of Abraham, or of the Pharisaic denomination, to whom there was neither Greek nor Barbarian, neither scholar nor illiterate, neither free nor slave, neither Black nor White, neither Gentile nor Jew, but just "*we*" "who, though being many, are all members of each other."

There are signs of possible, and actual, sublimations of the fighting spirit in a fight for peace, when the fighting tendencies in us shall no longer be directed against animals threatening our lives, but when all our upper-selves shall feel united in a higher *We* at war with the forces of Evil and Hatred.

I shall never forget an experience I had whilst passing a Sunday at Gregynog in Wales amongst teachers who combine a strong "national" *we*-feeling with a most loyal allegiance to world-brotherhood. The group gathered round Gwyllim Davies, the man of the Yearly Message of Welsh Children. We were singing hymns together from a Welsh hymnbook. The first was to the tune of Bortniansky which accompanied all the celebrations of the Czarist régime—"Boje tsara krani"—"God save the Czar", but the words here adapted to this dynastical tune now united in the same prayer the whole of mankind. And then came as a second hymn, new to me and deeply touching and prophetic, "God save our native land", the completed version of the "God save the King"—

" And not this land alone—
But be thy mercies shown
From shore to shore.
Lord, make the nations see
That men should brothers be
And form one family
The wide world o'er."

Here in South Africa I have heard the same feeling expressed in Leipoldt's verse: "He is the greatest patriot who loves all mankind."

Is this preaching? Yes, if preaching differs from teaching in that it aims at recalling to mind and heart things that are already known and believed. To me it is indeed one of the lessons of this Conference that Education in a Changing World means adapting and perfecting our technique, but not altering or lowering our ideals. As Goethe put it:—

" Das Wahre war schon längst gefunden,
Hat edle Geisterschaft verbunden.
Das alte Wahre, pack es an."

(Long ago has Truth been found. By it a noble company of spirits has been bound together. This old Truth, let us grasp it.)

THE LEAGUE AND EDUCATION

DR. GUSTAV KULLMANN

Every epoch in world history struggles to affirm a universal integrating principle which would make possible assurance of the free expression and the development of all the various national cultures with their particular and unique endowment and yet, at the same time, make possible orderly and peaceful relations between all the component parts of the world community. Such a universal principle was Christianity in the Middle Ages. The then known Western World was united in Christendom. Above the variety of tongues and climates there was an unchallenged universal culture. Scholars from different countries met to express in varied forms and modes of thought, but in one universal language, the common certainties inspired by a common faith. Christianity was the basis and the source of intellectual co-operation.

The new spirit of experimental science and the new assertion of religious individualism, Humanism, the Renaissance, and the Reformation, broke up the old universal order of the Middle Ages. A splendid and tragic development takes place, man delights in the new power of his creativeness, in the boundless possibilities of his reason—the new humanism and rationalism lead men to tear down the old edifice of Christian universal culture. Each realm of man's thought and action breaks gradually away from its religious foundation, declares itself autonomous, subject only to the laws and principles inherent in its own nature.

We are here concerned with one aspect only of this tremendous process of disintegration whose inheritance is our common destiny. There grows up the conception of the Modern State. When Bodin proclaims his principles of sovereignty, the State breaks away from the old conception. The principle of political organisation of human collectivities is henceforward of such nature as to deny the existence of a universal principle which would co-ordinate the various collectivities of the human race into a world system. Later on, and more particularly with the evolution which becomes manifest in connection with the political events of the French Revolution, the Sovereign State becomes a National State. People with common ethnographic characteristics, with a common tongue, living in a given geographical area, aspire to be organised in one political structure, the National State. The emancipation from the old rules, the new assertion of the principles of democracy, is concomitant with the movement toward the National State. The grant of the franchise, of the right of self-determination, of government by the people, goes parallel with military reforms, with the introduction of universal compulsory military service on the European Continent. Democratic emancipation and struggle toward the National State are dominant themes in the history of the 19th and the early 20th centuries. And the parallel growth of national cultures overshadows the old universal cultures.

But the development of political organisation into sovereign National States is seemingly in contradiction with the growth of economic and technical civilisation. The New Natural science leads to the great discoveries which in time give birth to the Machine Age of to-day. While the universal principle is lost in political and cultural organisation, the industrial revolution, the enormous growth of population in some areas of the world, the astounding development of the means of communication, integrate the various countries and continents of the modern world

in one unified system of world trade and credit. While National States and national cultures grow apart, trade and the growth of material and technical civilisation bring about a multiplication and intensification of relationships between the various parts of the world unknown heretofore. But there does not exist any more a universal principle which enables men to control the dynamic forces he has set to work. The result is the World War—the climax of the multiplication of relationships is a death-giving and not a life-giving one.

In the agony and misery of the World War there awakens in the consciousness of men a new desire to shape relationships between States according to universal valid principles of law and justice. The League of Nations is born—a new venture in world government by mutual consent of sovereign states. Only the untold suffering of the War made this new venture possible. Yet the inescapable tragedy is that, by being born at this juncture, the new venture in international co-operation was burdened from the outset by all the bitterness and resentment created by the peace settlements which terminated the World War.

If the revolutionary change embodied in the principles of the Covenant was to succeed, public opinion in the various countries and, more particularly, the coming generation had to be confronted by the facts of world interdependence making world co-operation and world collective action not merely an ethical postulate but a tragic necessity of the law.

It was only natural that in this attempt to educate the people of all countries toward a better understanding of one another, and of the need for peaceful co-operation, the League should turn for assistance to that section of the population which by the very nature of its activities must have kept a vivid consciousness of the fundamental unity of mankind and of universal valid principles. People of the Universities, scholars and researchers, students and professors, artists and thinkers, were to be rallied to serve the cause of Peace and the League. Thus the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League was established. An International Committee of Intellectual Co-operation was set up composed of prominent thinkers, scholars, and cultural administrators, from all parts of the world. Thanks to the generosity of the French Government an Institute was created in Paris to serve as its main executive organ.

Avoiding the method of noisy, large Congresses passing beautiful but often meaningless resolutions, the Intellectual Co-operation Organisation started modestly by endeavouring to render practical service to the various cultural bodies and agencies of official or non-official character in the various States. By bringing specialised institutions like Art and Science Museums, libraries, archives, national education information centres, into helpful co-operation and exchange of experience with one another they were gradually trained to organise for and to grasp the need of international co-operation.

The Intellectual Co-operation Organisation of the League did not stop there. It envisaged a much wider programme. At the request of the Assembly a special committee of experts was established to enquire into the best methods of training the younger generation to consider international co-operation as the best method of conducting world affairs and to become acquainted with the principles of the Covenant and the working of the new League machinery. The recommendations of this committee of experts were adopted by the Assembly and passed on to the Governments of the member-States with the request to report to the League all measures which had been envisaged to give effect to the recommendations. At the same time all major international

organisations of a private character dealing with young people were grouped in a committee under the auspices of the Paris Institute and requested to give effect to the findings of the committee. Thus a great convergent movement was initiated by the League. On the one hand more than 40 States took suitable administrative measures to train the younger generation in their national systems of education for international co-operation and, on the other hand, public opinion and those serving youth were enlisted in a similar movement.

The educational programme of the League as outlined in the recommendations of the Committee of Experts contained positive and negative, direct and indirect, measures. Suitable machinery was set up to assist in the elimination from text-books, more particularly history text-books, of all passages and references not conducive to a better mutual understanding between countries. The teaching of contemporary history was advocated. Freedom was left to the school authorities and to the teachers to embody teaching about the League in whichever subject seemed the most suitable, a special reference being made to History, Geography, Civics, and Ethics. Great emphasis was laid upon indirect measures. In this connection the study of foreign languages and all the various forms of exchanges between students and teachers, international conferences, study travel, attendance at summer schools in Geneva, were emphasised.

Efforts were made to standardise and nationalise existing methods of exchanges. Various handbooks and directories were published on the subject. The major international student organisations were grouped in a special committee for mutual co-operation and information. Directors of University Information Offices and Directors of Higher Education were invited to consider all the problems connected with the promotion of the more numerous and better academic exchanges.

One of the outstanding achievements of the League Intellectual Co-operation Organisation in this field is the establishment of the Permanent Conference of International Studies. The setting up of the great international bodies, the League, the International Labour Office, and the Permanent Court of International Justice, gave a new stimulus to the development of the science of international relations. Contemporary and diplomatic history, international aspects of economics, and public international law were brought into closer relationship to study complex problems of international relations. New Chairs or University Departments, in other cases new Institutes, were established. The League took the initiative to group all these institutions in a Permanent Conference of International Studies called upon to undertake in an unbiased and impartial scientific spirit the study of some burning problem of international relations. As a first subject the Conference dealt with the problem of the State and Economic Life. As a second it drew up a programme to study the arduous problem of collective security. Thus the League's Intellectual Co-operation Organisation groups the best experts in History, Law, and Economics to study some of the most momentous problems with which the organisation of international co-operation is confronted.

The World War, which gave birth to this new movement toward the application of a universally valid principle in the relations between the States, which can only grow with the help of an enlightened public opinion and by the proper training of the younger generation, has also given birth to a nationalism which, in some of its aspects at least, seems to be of such nature as to paralyse the new movement for international co-operation.

Is nationalism a curse or a blessing? Is it inherent in its nature to deny the existence of universal valid principles which alone can assume the peaceful development of the community of nations? Is it fundamentally opposed to the new movement of world co-operation? These are some of the questions asked to-day.

Nationalism is an elementary reaction out of the experience of the War. In itself it is neither a curse nor a blessing, but it may become the one or the other. If the great collective individualities which we call nations experienced in the War their relationship with other nations as something making for death and destruction, must we wonder if the world witnesses to-day a gigantic recoiling of one national self from the other? Must we wonder if the nations, after having experienced the deadly contact with other nations, are now seeking the springs of life within themselves, in their own spiritual tradition, their own landscape, their own history and, first and foremost, in the cult of their own language, which they so rightly apprehend as the mysterious vehicle carrying that which they feel is most precious and unique in the national genius? All nations are to-day passionately endeavouring to re-discover "*das Wunder der Eigentümlichkeit*," their "national wondrous own." And in so far as nationalism stands for this re-discovery of that which is great and unique in a national self should we not greet it? Nations are like ourselves, they cannot enter into life-giving and fruitful relationships with other nations unless they become conscious of their mission and contribution towards the world.

The danger of nationalism for the new movement of international co-operation lies not there. It lies in the tendency of some national movements to assert their "own", and their right to existence and unhampered development, by denying the right of existence of the other national selves, by ignoring universally valid principles which alone can ensure the harmonious development of all the national selves in the world community. Self-assertion which ends in self-sufficiency, in a tendency toward isolation, in suspicion and contempt for the other national self, for the other national culture, is the danger of nationalism to-day. Nationalism is in need to-day of the kind of leadership which the old Jewish Prophets gave to Israel. They were patriots with a burning love for their own country, with a powerful vision of the mission of their own country in the world, and yet they had the moral courage to confront their own nation with the stern demands which the obedience to universal valid principles of righteousness and justice made upon the nation. Such an enlightened nationalism is the only true basis of the movement towards world co-operation. Not by denying the legitimate aspiration of the various nationalist movements can the new internationalism be achieved but only by transforming the national movements from within by making them aware that the only sure foundation for their own growth is life according to universal and valid principles. To establish a better and more peaceful world order the unique contribution of every nation is urgently needed. A nationalism which is comprehensive enough to have the vision of it is a blessing for the building of the world order of to-morrow.

In this connection I make bold to state what my short stay in the Union of South Africa has impressed upon me. Here is a young nation in the making—far away from the entanglements concomitant with a geographical position close to some of the danger points of the present international political situation. Here is a nation which has not experienced the suffering of foreign invasions, which has no controversies with its neighbours with regard to territorial borders, which has no

minority of its citizens living under a foreign rule, in short which is not burdened with an inheritance of resentment and ill-feeling, which has no political aspirations which would bring about conflict with other States.

Yet more, its task to achieve national unity calls for the integration of three different races. There is the English-speaking South African, there is the Afrikaans-speaking South African, there is the Native. South Africa would be poorer if any of these three elements were lacking. They are all the destiny of South Africa just as the destiny of my own country, Switzerland, was to integrate into one whole the German, French, and Italian-speaking trio. A South African nationalism which will enable each racial community to express freely its "wondrous own", in friendly co-operation with the other community and permeated by that spirit of unity which is based upon a common landscape and spirit of belonging together, is bound to contribute to international offices an experience and a wisdom which will enable it to speak a constructive word in the business of building up the world order of to-morrow.

WHY A WORLD POLICE IS INEVITABLE*

DR. J. J. VAN DER LEEUW

To make war impossible has, in our days, become a grim condition of survival; we must abolish war or perish by it. It would have been nobler if we had come to this conclusion on ethical grounds—if, after confessing and propagating for many centuries that man should love his enemies, we had realised that this was incompatible with the destruction of these enemies by increasingly painful and thorough methods. It would at least have been honest if we had either rejected Christianity as a deluded, unpractical, and mischievous teaching, or else attempted to follow its precepts in earnest. To protest a belief in Christianity and yet to accept war are incompatible attitudes.

Unfortunately, the abolition of war is not being brought about by ethical conviction. The humiliating truth is that our technical progress is forcing us to do reluctantly what religion and philosophy failed to make us do freely and gladly. We are about to become brotherly by force of circumstances.

During the last century intellectual progress has far outrun moral and social convention. As a result, science has practically abolished space and linked the nations together into one real and living organism, while, socially and politically, man still thinks and feels in terms of separated and independent units. These no longer exist; world unity is—technically—a fact: the world has become as one organism, with a very real circulation of goods, money, and ideas, and an extremely sensitive nervous system, whereby the entire organisation is immediately aware of whatsoever happens to any part. Trouble in Manchuria will immediately affect the prices of steel and cotton in the United States, a political upheaval in the Balkans will raise the temperature of every capital in Europe within a few hours. It would be noble if all this had been caused by a belated realisation of brotherhood between nations and races; it is humiliating to think that world-unity is being inflicted

* Reprint of Lecture published by "The New Commonwealth"—the only complete available record of Dr. van der Leeuw's address on this subject at Cape Town and Johannesburg.—E.G.M.

on an unwilling humanity by a reckless technical progress far ahead of all moral and social evolution.

World-unity is no longer a Utopian dream, it is a terrible reality, here and now, denial of which means world-wide suffering. There was a time when one tribe or nation could conquer, destroy, or rob another and materially profit thereby, when the economic welfare of a man's neighbours could be supremely indifferent to him. But now that the life of nations is woven together into one pattern, it is impossible to profit by war or conquest. The sad story of War-reparations and War-debts ought to have made this painfully clear. We must face the fact, whether we like or not, that, having made the world into one organism, we can as little wage a profitable war on another nation as one member of the body can make war on another. Conquest means suicide in an organic whole.

A second result of technical progress in the art of war is that its destructive possibilities have become so vast that a serious war would destroy more than a generation could build up again. We dare not risk such destruction of our cultural achievements. No "profits of war" could ever be worth its certain losses. If we are to save the fruits of our own cultural work, and that of past generations, we must make war *entirely impossible*. I repeat it—we are forced to this by technical progress, while we should have come to it by force of our religious, moral, and philosophical convictions. It would have been a nobler way than this of brotherhood by compulsion.

It will not be enough to make war unlikely or less painful, to prescribe in what ways men shall, or shall not, be allowed to kill and maim each other. The moment a war breaks out nations fighting for their existence will disregard such prohibitions and use any means to survive. War must be made *entirely impossible*, nothing less is of any use. Strife may last as long as human beings live, but it must no longer take the form of war.

The Dangers of Unreal Pacifism.—If, to-morrow, a vote were taken on the abolition of war, it is certain that the majority of men and women would vote for it. There is but little enthusiasm among the masses for war, they know only too well that they are bound to be the ones who suffer most in war-time, they do not hate their neighbours, nor do they have any wish to kill them. It ought, therefore, to be a comparatively simple matter to eliminate war. Yet, though statesmen protest that they are steadily working towards that end, nothing real has been achieved. Is, then, militarism so strong that it can prevent the popular hatred of war from having its way?

It is not militarism that is the real obstacle, but a pacifism that refuses to face reality, that will not accept facts that are unpalatable nor abandon illusions that are comforting. This pacifism is not determined that war must be made impossible, it considers such an idea "Utopian" and says that we must "have patience and go slowly." But what is really Utopian is its way of peace pacts and limitations of armaments.

The Dangers of Pacts without Sanctions.—All pacts which outlaw war, all agreements which arrange for arbitration in international disputes, which contain no provisions for the event that war may refuse to stay outlawed or arbitration may not be sought or abided by, are a dangerous delusion. They yield a false security, doomed to be rudely shaken in the test of reality; they give an unwarranted feeling that "something has been achieved," whereas the doing of something real has only been

prevented. Behind them stands a half-hearted, compromising, and cowardly attitude, that dares not face war, nor does it dare to face its abolition. These pacts are so many sops to the guilty conscience which feels that war ought to be abolished but which will not take the steps to do so. Never yet have international conferences started frankly with the demand that war must be made *impossible*. Until they do so, nothing will be accomplished, war remains possible and armaments necessary. In this matter no compromise is of any use, nor even possible; compromises simply perpetuate war. The worst of such compromises are these "pacts without teeth," which, in increasing numbers, soothe humanity into a dangerous apathy. Better no pacts than pacts without teeth, better a poor pact with teeth than a fine one without. It is the doing not the saying that matters; we cannot make peace by incantation. It is but a form of primitive magic to believe a thing is done because we have said so.

The one vital question in all international agreements should be: What is going to be done if any nation breaks or evades the pact? This question is more important than the pact itself, yet it is the one question which is studiously avoided by the makers of pacts. The result is that they themselves do not really believe in them. Had any nation really believed that the Kellogg pact outlawed war, would that nation have been foolish enough to spend another penny on armaments? Or would an endless succession of pacts piled upon agreements and of agreements piled upon pacts have been necessary since? It is a bad sign that the nations feel the necessity of affirming again and again what they cannot even pretend to keep.

Truly, a frank militarism is a better enemy than this spineless pacifism drugging itself with sonorous phrases of peace. If not hypocrisy, it shows a self-delusion more dangerous than the crudest war talk.

The first international complication brings down the paper edifice of peace pacts over the ears of those who made it. The result is a growing scepticism and cynicism on the part of vast numbers of people who begin to feel that "nothing can be done anyhow" and that we can only trust to luck that no war shall break out.

The Danger of Disarmament without Security.—The same half-heartedness has undermined the disarmament conferences. Here again the idea of genuine disarmament is never seriously considered, being regarded as too "Utopian." Instead, the far more Utopian schemes of partial disarmament are discussed, with inevitable lack of results. A reduction in armaments will be a very welcome economic relief in this time of crisis, in fact it is sheer madness to spend a large proportion of our Budget on arms while people starve. But it is no safeguard against war. Even with all national armaments decreased to half, a very nasty war could be started and—once on its way—would soon bring all armaments back to full effective strength.

If the Disarmament Conference had started with the purpose of genuine disarmament, it would have had to face the problem of maintaining international order when all nations are disarmed. But, discussing only the compromise of partial disarmament, it could safely shelve this unwelcome problem of international security and lose itself in fruitless discussions.

Just as pacts without teeth are a greater danger than no pacts at all, disarmament without security is more dangerous than no disarmament at all.

It is only French logic that has—from the beginning—insisted on discussing security first and foremost. But then the French are realists and Anglo-Saxons idealists in the more dangerous sense of that word. It was Anglo-Saxon "idealism" that produced a League of Nations, of which a war-weary world expected the maintenance of international order and peace yet refused to give that League the means to maintain that order. It instituted an international Court of Justice, expecting it to decide disputes between nations, but refused it the power to carry out its verdict. And ultimately, when an emasculated League proved impotent to keep the peace of the world, it mocked that League for the impotence it had inflicted on it. Such are the fruits of a pacifism that refuses to face facts.

It is these same pacifists that are a danger within each nation, demanding that their nation should disarm without enquiring who or what is going to safeguard a disarmed nation. Disarmament without security means national suicide.

Anarchy or Order ?—This security can only come when the present condition of anarchy governing international affairs is replaced by one of law and order. If that same anarchy were to prevail within the nation, citizens would go about fully armed and put their houses in a state of defence, keeping as large an armed retinue as their means would allow. Such was the case not so many centuries ago in Europe, and not so many years ago in the Wild West of America.

Imagine anyone preaching disarmament to a group of men living under such conditions. He would be laughed at, if not killed, for his pains. All the half-measures he would suggest, reduction of armaments, non-aggression pacts, or guarantees of assistance in case of attack, would one and all leave the principal factor unchanged—the condition of anarchy under which all lived. This condition could be ended only by the institution of an armed police force whose protection made complete disarmament safe and possible.

It must be emphasised that there is no intermediate condition possible between anarchy and order. All compromises favour and perpetuate the condition of anarchy. Once the principle of law and order is recognised, its inevitable consequences must follow: disarmament and the organisation of a police force. The reason why, so far, all conferences to abolish war and bring about disarmament have proved futile is that the nations will not relinquish that state of anarchy, but would combine it in some mysterious way with freedom from war. They would have their cake and eat it.

"Sovereignty" a Mask for Anarchy.—The principle of anarchy is preferably called "national sovereignty." This sounds better, but it means the same. The sovereignty of a nation gives it the proud right to settle its own disputes in its own way without asking anyone's permission or advice or suffering any interference. And this is exactly what becomes impossible under a reign of law and order; the nation can no longer be sovereign once an international authority is instituted. Hence the outcry that is heard the moment it is suggested to give real authority to the League or World Court.

The abolition of the state of anarchy within the nation must have called forth much the same indignant questions from proud noblemen who hitherto had settled their own quarrels in their own way. "Surrender my independence?"—"Allow strangers to decide my disputes?"—"Yield my sovereignty to a lot of policemen?"—"Risk

my enemy influencing the appointments in the police force?" No doubt a certain type of independence was lost when the authority of the nation or city superseded that of the individual, but such is the price we must pay for belonging to a group. Having—by the magic of science—linked the nations into one community we must pay the price of that achievement.

Then, and then alone, will war be impossible and complete disarmament inevitable, when an *authority* above the nations is recognised. For without such an authority no law and order can exist, no League of Nations can keep the peace, no International Courts see that justice is done. Authority means power, we must place power at the disposal of the League and the Court. Only then do we lift them out of the realm of amiable and innocuous committees into that of realities to be reckoned with.

Justice a Mockery without Force.—There is no hope of justice taking the place of force until we place force in the service of justice. Because force has often been misused, it is not therefore evil; force is good or evil according to the end for which it is used, in itself it is neutral. Unreal pacifism shrinks from force in any form, and rejects the idea of a police force in the service of League and Court. This, they say, would be fighting war with war, thus perpetuating violence. Their belief is in brotherly love and kindly thought. Without questioning the power of these spiritual weapons I doubt whether they are sufficient. I should like to place pacifists, who maintain they are, for a year in a city with the usual admixture of criminal elements, with courts of justice but without a police force. If, after that year, they were still alive, I would ask them if they still objected to force in the service of justice.

Unreal pacifism, a pacifism that vaguely desires the end of war but firmly refuses to use the means to make war impossible, is the greatest obstacle to world peace. It will make non-aggression pacts till the archives of the world are bursting, but it will steadfastly refuse to incorporate in these pacts real sanctions—that is to say, to institute an authority above the nations which will see to it that the pacts are adhered to and the verdicts of the court are carried out. As within the nation, such an authority will never be able to carry out its task without a well-organised police force and an entire disarmament of all members of the group.

Distaste of Sanctions.—Since a false pacifism refuses to face facts, it will not recognise that there can be no end of war without an international police force. More than that, it shows an intense dislike for discussing sanctions of any kind and—if forced to do so—will seek refuge in the more harmless and ineffective varieties. Reluctantly it will admit that it may happen that a State breaks its solemn pledges, but even then it seeks to postpone an immediate ruling on such an eventuality, stating that when an emergency arises the signatories of the pact "shall discuss what steps to take next." Of course—by the time such a conference takes place, and has come to a decision, it is faced by a *fait accompli* which it is powerless to change.

The Manchurian incident was an object lesson in this respect.

Japan had just grievances but, instead of submitting these to the League of the Court as a party to the Kellogg and other pacts ought to have done, she took the way of anarchy, which is that of settling one's own quarrels without outside interference. By the time the Lytton Commission had been sent out, investigated, and published an admirable

report, the Japanese action had taken the form of a *fait accompli* and the powers were helpless in the face of it. All they could do was to express a mild disapproval, which is a singularly ineffective form of sanctions.

Agreements to confer about a course of action to be taken are not really sanctions, they can only lead to them and thus do but imply a vague threat to a possible transgressor.

The Inadequacy of Economic Sanctions.—Definite sanctions are the economic boycott against, and the withdrawal of credits from, an aggressor nation. Theoretically they might form a powerful weapon to force a nation to its knees. In practice they are powerless against self-sufficient economic units such as the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. These would suffer less through a boycott or a severance of financial relations than some of the nations eventually ranged against them.

In fact, a great objection against economic sanctions is that they not only cause the aggressor nation to suffer (and incidentally all innocent civilians in that nation) but also react seriously upon the nations applying the boycott. It is a double-edged weapon, striking guilty and innocent alike, and it involves nations that have nothing to do with a conflict, upsetting their economic life thoroughly. This may well be why there has never been an attempt to apply them, even though the Covenant of the League provides for them. The nations are reluctant to damage their own economic life in order to stop a conflict which is comparatively indifferent to them. Thus—if forced through—an economic boycott may well be so slow and ineffective that a war is on its way before it takes effect at all. It is hard enough to effect a complete boycott under pressure of war; without such pressure its half-hearted execution of the measure might leave such leakages that the aggressor nation would have achieved its ends before it was seriously affected.

The fundamental insufficiency of all economic sanctions, however, is that they come too late, they do not *prevent* aggression. It is a small satisfaction to the victim of aggression to know that his enemy may in due time be forced to yield to economic pressure. Meanwhile, he and his family may have been wiped out.

Our starting-point has been that war must be made entirely impossible. Sanctions, in the sense of coercive measures after the crime has been committed, are, therefore, not enough. What is needed is prevention and protection. And unless these are provided, no nation will be foolish enough to disarm.

All concerted action, economic or military, to be taken by nations in a case of aggression or violation of agreements, is compatible with and perpetuates the state of anarchy. It is comparable to a state of lawlessness amongst individuals, which the latter try to curb by joining forces. When this is effective, the state of anarchy is mitigated, not ended. This can only be achieved by recognising an authority over the individuals concerned, whose duty it is to maintain law and order and to see justice done. Then, and then only, is there an end to the freedom of the individual "to do as he likes." Then alone is there safety from aggression and protection against the "bad man."

This is the cardinal question around which hovers all talk of world peace, obviation of war, and disarmament, without daring to approach and face it. Hence the strange ineffectiveness of all international conferences and agreements since the War. This will remain so until the necessity of an authority with power at its disposal is recognised.

A World Police Inevitable.—This means, in practice, a World Police, at the disposal of the World Authority, protecting the nations against aggression or injustice, carrying out the verdicts of the World Court, and making real disarmament at last possible. I repeat it, nothing but a world police can fulfil these essentials. Even then it must be a permanent world police, not a police force recruited or assembled *ad hoc* in case of emergency. Here again, any compromise would rob the scheme of its value. Thus the French plan, which expected nations to place their deadlier weapons at the disposal of the League in time of need, would of necessity fail in practice, since it is just in such emergencies that nations would be loath to part with their most effective arms. Also the assembling and organising of such a force *ad hoc* would be slow and ineffective.

A world police, to be effective, must fulfil the following requirements :

It must be *permanent*, ready to act at once wherever its protection or intervention is needed. The police force will, therefore, have to consist largely of an air force with enough troop-carrying planes, stationed at a number of strategic points.

It must be *de-nationalised*. Though the various countries will all contribute their fixed ratio of men, money, and materials, those who enter the police force should for the time of their service lose their nationality and receive a super-national status. In fact, they would be the first world citizens : it would be expected of them to think in terms of the world, not in terms of any one nation. Of those who belong to the General Staff it might even be required that they give up their nationality for life. In order to build up the desired *esprit de corps* of the world police it may be essential to raise the quota from each nation on a voluntary basis so that those to whom the task appeals can apply.

It must be *concentrated* in a number of denationalised zones of strategic importance. Such zones would fall directly under the World Authority and be chosen not only for their international importance but also for their being suitable centres from which swift action is possible.

It requires *complete national disarmament*. Nations refusing to disarm would be forced to maintain an armed force equal to the world police. All national production of armaments would be forbidden and prevented. As to private production of armaments, this ought to have been forbidden even in the age of anarchy : its continuation after the Great War is one of the most shameful proofs of international insincerity.

It requires a *Tribunal* for all those non-legal disputes which hitherto were settled by war and for which the World Court is not the suitable place. A world police—without such a Tribunal—would but perpetuate existing injustices, it would cause a rigidity of international conditions which the forces of historical evolution and change would inevitably break in due course. Conditions which are just at this moment must cease to be so in due time ; the conflicts of interests thus caused would not call for legal decisions but for common sense and fairness in their solution. The status of those composing the Tribunal will also have to be super-national.

Such a police force and such a police force alone will make possible the momentous transition of world anarchy to world order. It fulfils, indeed, all the conditions we found essential in our arguments :

It makes war impossible, not just unlikely.

It can prevent—not only punish—aggression.

It can operate without involving the nations in any way.

It makes complete disarmament not only safe, but essential.

It can carry out verdicts of World Court or Tribunal.

It can guarantee that international pacts and obligations are kept.

It fulfils the desire of France for security, that of Germany for equality, and that of America for not being involved in foreign conflicts.

Objections to a World Police.—The objections generally raised can hardly be called genuine. It is asked: "Who will direct such a police force?" The answer is, a General Staff, denationalised—preferably for life. "And who is to appoint that General Staff?" If that could be answered, the answer would anticipate the work of the organisers of the world police, who will certainly need a long time to find a suitable form and even then have to alter it as time goes on. One thing is certain, no member of the Staff may "represent" a nation; all must think and feel in world-terms. The first group will have to be chosen from amongst those men whose impartial world-citizenship is even now acknowledged.

The thought of a World Authority has been feared by many as erecting a "Super-State." This is a term without definite meaning. If by "Super-State" we mean an authority above the nations which will prevent aggression and see that justice is done between nations as it is within the nation, then we need a Super-State. But if we mean by it a monstrous super-government whereby all national government would become but an administrative unit in the World Government, then this new authority is not a Super-State. To the World Authority will be delegated only those powers which the single nation cannot exercise. It is the expression in politics of what we have already achieved technically.

There are even more problems. The relation of a World Police to the League of Nations must be determined, also the changes necessary in the League if it is to form the World Authority, also the constitution and working of the Tribunal and its relation to World Court and League. All these are difficult problems which will take able brains to solve. But the fact that organisation of a world police will be surrounded by difficult problems is no argument against it. For these problems, difficult as they are, are as nothing compared to the problems of a world without a police force. The former problems can at least be solved, the best brains in the world can never solve the latter!

No doubt the World Police, when organised, will be faulty and make mistakes. But that can be improved, and it is better to have an imperfect police force than none at all. Remember that what is being built up is without precedent in the world's history; for the first time a central authority is to be recognised with power over the different nations. Naturally, all the pride of the sovereign nations rebels against the loss of the joyous lawlessness which they called Sovereignty. But the freedom they are losing is in reality but the freedom to perish jointly: the sacrifice of it means a great gain. At present the world is paralysed by fear: no genuine recovery can be expected until that fear is gone. We can hardly realise what it will mean to live in a world free from the fear of war, free from the burden of armaments, free from the distrust and the intrigues which scared nations need so that they may live. We do not know what it will be to live in a world where frontiers need not be barriers any more, where they will mark administrative and cultural divisions but no longer economic and political barriers.

Economic Peace a Condition to Political Peace.—Behind political strife lies economic strife, behind the slogans under which nations fight are hidden economic interests, without which most wars would not have been. Once again it is the technical world unity which we have achieved that is making economic strife impossible in its present form. In an organism such as the world is now becoming the health of every part is necessary to the health of the whole, and *vice versa*. Any part of the body that would separate itself from the rest and try to live at the expense of the whole would endanger the life of the organism. This is exactly what the fatal doctrine of Autarchy is trying to do ; it is a cause of the strange paralysis in which the world is held ; it is the denial of the unity of the world which technical progress has brought about. Man cannot with impunity deny reality.

It must not be thought that this world-unity means the elimination of nationalism. There is a destructive nationalism which must disappear with the reign of anarchy. But there is a creative nationalism in which every nation contributes its own genius to the cultural wealth of the world. Unity does not imply homogeneity ; on the contrary, the very idea of an "organism" implies differentiation, each part or organ having its own function in the whole. Thus political and economic world unity does not imply that cultural differences are to disappear. They are the wealth of international life ; in the life of thought, of art, and of religion, men must be individualists.

In our days there is a choice between world anarchy, competition of armaments, continued economic decline, and ultimately war, on the one hand, and World Authority with World Police, Court, and Tribunal on the other hand.

The choice should not be difficult.

SOUTH AFRICAN ISOLATION

PROFESSOR LEO FOUCHÉ

I belong to a peculiar people, the Dutch South Africans ; I have studied their history, their characteristics, and their outlook on life, and I claim to know something about them. They do not believe in interdependence ; they believe in isolation ; they love it ; they seek it ; they have made, and will make, great sacrifices to attain it.

They do not love their brother unless he is of their own blood. They look upon their neighbour with suspicion and distrust. An invitation to love their neighbour, whether he be Bantu or British, is to them an invitation to commit race suicide.

Dr. van der Leeuw and Dr. Kullmann have shown, as apostles of brotherly love, how vitally necessary it is to develop a sense of neighbourliness among the nations. They have made their listeners realise the complete dependence of the nations upon each other. They have shown that men, bound together as nations, cannot live alone and that isolation means death.

We know that we, in common with all other social groups, are caught up in the nexus of international relations and cannot escape from it. We know this is as an irrefutable fact, but we do not, and we will not, believe it.

So far in our history we have always sought to evade interdependence. Throughout our past, if any section did not like its govern-

ment or its neighbours, it simply girded up its loins, inspanned the ox-wagon, and trekked to found another State more to its liking. Even those who trekked did not always like each other, and so split up into sections—each going its own way.

The Great Trek is a remarkable historical phenomenon. As remarkable are the little treks within the Greak Trek—the blind determination to seek isolation at any cost. Think of Potgieter and his party—the Dorstland Trek—the Jerusalem Gangers. Even after the Anglo-Boer War there were treks to the Argentine.

Dr. Kullmann (of Switzerland) explained to us how we could instil a sense of neighbourliness into our children and make them good citizens of the world. Most of us do not care for our children to be good citizens of the world but prefer to bring them up in isolation, to keep them apart—even as citizens of their own country. Some of us (a minority, fortunately) want them brought up with so strong a racial bias that they will never want to fraternise with their fellow-citizens, let alone the citizens of other countries.

Mr. Hankin (of England) gave us practical illustrations of how to bridge the gaps of time and to explain occurrences of to-day by linking them with the events of the past. He urged us to teach contemporary history, but does he realise what contemporary history means for us, and that not so many years ago we were chasing each other across the veld—friend shooting friend, brother shooting brother, and that there are men present here who were trying to shoot each other not yet twenty years ago?

There is a great gulf between our crude young civilisation and the older civilisations of Europe. They have achieved national unity and can now strive after a larger union of nations, but we still fight amongst ourselves in a dreary squabble of sections. As a simple example: A Netherlander or a Swiss must speak three languages besides his own to feel comfortable and civilised—we have heard with admiration and envy how beautifully Dr. van der Leeuw and Dr. Kullmann speak English—but there are groups of extremists, both Dutch and English, amongst ourselves, who despise the language and culture of the other race, and who do not, or will not, realise that in this bilingual country a child, to obtain a place in the race of life, must have two legs—an English and a Dutch. They would prefer to see him hop through life on one leg rather than walk sensibly on two.

How has this come about? Consider the remoteness of South Africa from Western civilisation. When it was first colonised by Europeans there were no harbours, no navigable rivers, and the whole of this vast sub-continent was penetrated from one single point—Cape Town. It was by a slow laborious process of centuries that the nomadic cattle-farmers took possession of the country, and these ancestors of ours lived lives as remote and cut off from European influences as any group of men on this globe—as remote as the Eskimos.

The result has been that we have come to love our isolation. It produced grand pioneers, self-reliant, independent, impatient of control, but, inevitably, it also produced a lack of perspective. There were no neighbours of equal status to keep them alert, to keep them modest. There was no standard of comparison. Born and bred in isolation, knowing nothing else, they cling to it still.

In Europe to-day there are potent factors at work which make for union. There is the fear of destruction by powerful neighbours, which compels the nations to form alliances or to support the League of Nations. We, however, are so remote from all this as to make it seem unreal to

us. We are so safe behind the buffer of the British Commonwealth of Nations that no bogey-man—not even “the Yellow Peril”—can frighten us. Some of us even want to set up an independent republic here—provided that the British Empire will promise to protect it. Instead of supporting the British Commonwealth in the League of Nations they want to break away from it.

Our visitors may ask why such people are not sent to a mental hospital. I would point out that, instead, we sometimes send them to Parliament. Political pressure, therefore, does not apply in South Africa.

Economic pressure is another force making for co-operation in the Old World. The European nations must exchange products with each other or starve. We produce so much gold that we do not, at present, feel the pinch in the same way. True, sometimes there is an outcry, when our wool or maize or wine cannot find a ready market. But then we do not blame our own lack of the spirit of reciprocity or neighbourliness. We blame the Government, and—if there is an election—we throw it out.

Roughly speaking, our attitude is this: Other nations may have to live by taking in each other's washing: We will send them our washing, but we will not take in theirs.

I think I may say that our people have a strong moral sense. But while other nations are brought to support the League and its aims from moral motives, we are led to seek an opposite course—isolation, from the same moral motives.

Surrounded as it is by a sea of Natives this small handful of people has striven for centuries to preserve its racial purity. This has meant isolation. The 19th century brought a new danger. Racial identity was threatened by the overwhelming “pull” of British civilisation. One race feared absorption by the other. One cannot wonder that it sought safety in isolation.

Nor are the members of that race ashamed of this instinct. They make a virtue of it.

So, when they are invited to recognise the brotherhood of man, this means for them in the first place a possible loss of their identity—absorption by their fellow citizens of a different race. Therefore they regard such invitations with fear and suspicion. The majority of Dutch South Africans can, as yet, see no reason why they should think or feel internationally.

It is the duty of our teachers of history to change this attitude and to detribalise the minds of their countrymen. They have no easy task as having themselves passed through the Anglo-Boer War and having their own prejudices to control. They have also had to handle successive generations of children growing up in the aftermath of that war, many of whom received their first and most lasting impressions in Concentration Camps.

Our friends from Overseas ask us to preach goodwill and brotherly love to these children. The fathers fought to the bitter end for independence, and we must now preach dependence to the children, though the wounds are still quite raw.

We carry our emotions into our politics and we are constantly tempted to emotionalise our history.

Our teachers of history must possess exceptional qualities of character and judgment.

We must teach contemporary history, and especially post-War history, to link up with the League. And we must do this in a spirit of

brotherly love and with strict impartiality. I agree. But if we are to teach contemporary history someone will have to write it for us. We must have text-books.

May I, in this connection, relate a personal experience? I do it reluctantly, and merely because it is actual experience and illustrates one practical difficulty.

I was once foolish enough to write a little bit of contemporary history. During the Great War we had a little rebellion here. I was instructed, as part of my military duty, to write a report for Parliament on this rebellion. I did so, carefully using only official documents and avoiding personal comment. The result was, for me, disastrous. My friends cut me dead, I was avoided like a leper, pointed at as the horrible man who wrote the horrible Blue Book. Yet I had merely gathered together the bare and undisputed facts. This must have been so because both a Parliamentary Select Committee and a Commission of Inquiry, consisting of Supreme Court judges, sat for a long time upon that report, (and upon me!), and found that the facts were as stated. Yet I was regarded as a sort of criminal because I had written that report.

Seriously, it is no simple matter to get text-books on contemporary history which will satisfy every section.

If suitable books are provided, our South African teachers of history will not be found wanting. I have had a hand in training some of them during the last 20 years, and I know them as a body of men and women with high ideals and a deep sense of the responsibility of their task. They believe that the study of history develops a love of truth for itself, that it gives a sense of perspective. It provides a wide knowledge which will produce a tolerant outlook. Through the teaching of history as it should be taught they hope to develop in their young charges a healthy patriotism as far removed from jingoism as sanity is from madness.

But they labour under grave handicaps. They have to deal with national feeling in its most acute and unreasonable form. Our friends from Overseas will tell you that acute nationalism is a world-wide danger to-day; I am not going to expatiate on it. I will simply say that our form of nationalism, nourished by long and bloody struggles, revitalised by the Great War, is rooted in a narrow racialism. It has developed a race consciousness in some of us which is so hypersensitive as to be a positive disease.

The League is fully conscious of the dangers of ultra-nationalism. European statesmen are trying various remedies for the disease—for in its acute form it is a disease. So we get political pacts—a sort of poultice for swelled heads, or commercial treaties—an emollient, perhaps.

But in our case the disease is too deeply rooted. It will not yield to these European nostrums. We await the real panacea, the sovereign remedy. We need a great doctor, a new Pasteur, who will lay the spectre of brother-fear like Pasteur laid the dread spectre of water-fear (hydrophobia).

It is obvious that we must cure this disease before we can hope to produce good citizens of the world in South Africa and make it a true member of the League. To cure the disease we must, I suppose, remove its causes: and for that job specialists are needed.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF THE TEACHING OF
CONTEMPORARY HISTORY AND CIVICS

MR. A. E. DU TOIT

I agree generally with the sketch by the last speaker (Prof. Fouché) of the effects of isolation and the race struggles on the elder part of our population, but I would like to point out that the younger generation is growing up in a totally different atmosphere. Through the combined influence of agencies such as the cinema, the field of sport, the wireless, and the aeroplane our young people are taking an increasing interest in world affairs.

We should, however, not forget that they grow up not only under circumstances peculiar to a country far removed from the main current of the busy world but in a sub-continent in which distance is something real. Very often teachers are brought to a sudden halt at the discovery of some lack of concepts which they had taken for granted in the course of a lesson. Some time ago an Inspector of Schools was much struck by the fine rendering of a poem by a girl in a local High School. Imagine his surprise when, in reply to his question as to the meaning of the "harbour bar" in the line "The harbour bar was moaning," she answered: "The place where you get refreshments, sir" . . . evidently a child who had never been to the coast!

Last week Dr. Kullmann enquired what had been done in our schools to promote an international-minded youth. In the Transvaal Junior, as well as Secondary School, Certificate syllabuses topics of international relationships have been definitely laid down. In the Junior Course is required:—

"South Africa's relationship to the world:—

(a) as a member of the League of Nations;

(b) as a Mandatory Power;

(c) as an economic unit; agricultural and industrial development, involving the setting up of trading relationships with other nations."

But beyond this recent addition to the course of study practically nothing has been done in our schools. This means that both teachers and pupils simply accept this part of the history syllabus as a new source from which examiners may draw questions, and accordingly the former take the usual precautions to outwit the latter.

Very few schools show real enthusiasm for this part of the syllabus for reasons which are not difficult to adduce:—

1. The prevailing system of rigid syllabuses, which allows very little straying from the straight path, stifles all initiative, and certainly kills whatever enthusiasm there may be in the teacher-for-life.

2. The teachers themselves lack definite knowledge of international relationships since the study of International Politics has not yet been introduced as a fundamental subject in our University curricula. It may be studied as a special course but is not yet treated as a necessary part of the education of the future citizen.

3. Very little literature on the subject of the League of Nations is in circulation and, owing to lack of interest on the part of the public, our libraries evidently do not feel the necessity of filling the gap on their shelves. A monthly magazine, entitled "The Liga" and published by the League of Nations Union in Pretoria, has had to discontinue publication for want of support. May we hope that Dr. van der Leeuw will act as the "*Deus ex machina*" to break the vicious circle and give the necessary impetus?

5. Very few of our text-books on history show any grasp of the principle of progress. Our writers of school "histories" stress the political to the exclusion of the sociological and scientific development of mankind.

6. Is it any wonder that our teachers, living as they do in a country far distant from the storm centres of the world, but having themselves been brought up on wars and rumours of wars, should overlook in the class-room the importance of the factors of national interdependence as well as our historical obligations to the cultures of other nations—besides those of Greece and Rome? Indeed we fail to grasp the full significance of the Unity of Civilisation as exemplified in the discoveries of scientists and the contributions in Art, Literature, and Music, for the simple reason that in Southern Africa we have for many generations been the only torch-bearers in the surrounding darkness.

As a practical teacher, I may be allowed to suggest some lines of reform along which our two crusaders from the North may direct their energies:—

1. A survey of our text-books on History is urgently needed, and those which are definitely chauvinistic in spirit should be banned from our schools. A new orientation in the writing of these books is needed along the lines suggested in the Hadow Report (1926) on "The Education of the Adolescent," namely that "The growing sense of interdependence of communities, as shown for example in the work of the League of Nations, should receive due prominence."

2. Can we not apply the holistic principle to our teaching of history? Besides local South African history an outline of world history must of necessity be attempted in the secondary school, if only to give a correct perspective of our own history and to show how that has developed as the result of happenings *outside* South Africa.

3. I agree with Prof. Webster of Wales, who advocates spreading the knowledge of international affairs not so much by direct teaching as by the formation of junior branches of the League of Nations Union.

4. The general tone and atmosphere of the school should be that of co-operation and good-fellowship. This can be promoted, as is done in a number of schools already, by encouraging pupils to correspond with boys and girls in other countries and by referring in the economic sections of our geography lessons to our dependence on world markets for the sale of our wool, maize, wine, and fruit.

In the Science lessons abundant opportunities for illustrating the tremendous range of our obligations to men of all races are constantly cropping up. The Red Cross branches, the Scout and Voortrekker movements, the Student Christian Associations, are all so many agencies for cultivating an international outlook in our youth.

We have, however, advanced somewhat! In 1910 I roused angry protests in a small rural community when I taught my young pupils that the world was round; to-day the young lads of the countryside are intensely interested in the radio, so that, when General Hertzog recently launched the Dutch liner "Bloemfontein" in the Amsterdam docks by pressing a button in the Union Buildings at Pretoria, they were at great pains to explain to their elders the mechanism by which this was accomplished.

In view of the present parlous state of affairs in Europe teachers cannot do better than train the youth of the country to the idea of peaceful co-operation to save Western civilisation from itself; yea, "the race is indeed between educators and destruction!"

DISCUSSION

DR. G. KULLMANN described what had been done in the sphere of education to inculcate the ideals of international co-operation into the younger generations in many different countries of the world.

The younger generations in all countries should be trained to regard international co-operation as a normal state of affairs. No fewer than 40 nations had introduced into their school curricula the subject of world interdependence and international co-operation.

The aims of such education were these: first, to have the younger generations grasp the present conditions of economics in the world—the economic, social, and intellectual interdependence of all nations. All history teaching should take the subject right up to the present day.

Secondly, the young people in all nations should have a world background; national history should have a world background.

Thirdly, in all teaching, emphasis should be laid on the fact that the fundamental feature of human life was co-operation, whether it was co-operation in the family, co-operation in the village, township, municipality, province, State, or Empire. Emphasis should be laid on the fact that most of the problems of the nations could only be solved by co-operation with the wider unit. And in this education it was not merely necessary to impart the facts. The teacher should be inspired by the true spirit of international co-operation.

But the school was not the place for propaganda. In teaching the value of international co-operation propaganda must be avoided. Nor must the subject be approached from a romantic viewpoint. The League must not be described as the perfect ideal. It was very far from being that.

MR. G. T. HANKIN gave some practical hints on how the idea of international co-operation and international unity could be inspired.

In the teaching of history, for instance, it was essential to get away from the specifically national pride and to give children the world background and an idea of the continuity of history. Some teachers in England told their children that Caxton had invented printing and claimed an achievement for English culture and genius in that. Actually, printing had been invented in China and had come through Germany to England.

Every time they taught history they must try to give the world background and they must repress their national pride. They must be very careful in teaching history about wars and not make them appear a splendid thing.

CHAPTER III.

THE PROBLEMS OF BILINGUALISM

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF BILINGUALISM

PROFESSOR JOHN HUGHES

Bilingualism is a world problem already affecting about thirty countries and likely to spread further. Usually arising in a scene that has been the battleground of two nation-groups, it has aroused much passion. The need is for less heat, more light.

D. J. Saer was the first to explore the problem on a large scale. He considered that it should be referred to the "Cool arbitrament of Science." He subjected to the technique of intelligence-testing thousands of school children of all types of intellect. His work, therefore, should be of considerable applicability for the purposes of educational statesmanship. By contrast a selected and solitary individual type is Jules Ronjat, who, born of highly cultured parents of two different nationalities, is a very interesting and valuable psychological study, though Saer himself remarked that, in such cases, his own conclusions would hardly be likely to apply.

What are Saer's findings? He never said that bilingualism, *per se*, was a disadvantage, neither did he say that bilingualism in the early years of childhood was invariably, or necessarily, a disadvantage. He did say that the premature *formal* study of the second language, before the mother-tongue was firmly established, seemed, under certain conditions of school instruction, to impair the child's intellectual development, but he made an exception of cases where the child picked up the second language in play or informally by play-way methods. He suggests that play has a cathartic influence that appears to nullify the harmful effects that might otherwise have arisen. His research was carried on with meticulous care over a long period of years. Professor Frank Smith, working at first independently of Saer, employed various tests over a period of years and arrived at a similar conclusion. Later they collaborated, and their pioneer work formed the main basis of discussion at the First International Conference on Bilingualism convened at Luxemburg by Professor Pierre Bovet of Geneva. The work done since at the London and Nice Conferences and elsewhere has been summarised in the article contributed to the *New Era* in 1933 by Dr. Bovet as Chairman of the International Commission on Bilingualism. There he refers to the further contribution to the study of the problem made by Saer's daughter, Doctor H. A. Saer. Since that article appeared, a further study has appeared in the *British Journal of Educational Psychology* (Vol. III, Part III, November, 1933), by Miss Ethel M. Barke. Her results are put forward as supplementary to Saer's; and it may be of interest to note that the idea of applying non-linguistic tests to the study of this problem was one that he approved.

The bearing of Saer's work on practical questions of educational policy may be gathered from his suggestion that the formal study of the second language should begin at the average age of *nine*—ten for backward

pupils, eight for bright ones—but he favoured the *informal* study of the second language by play-way methods before the above age.

Saer's work has attracted the attention of scholars and educationalists in the four continents affected by the bilingual problem. Its bearing on the problem of education in Africa, and in South Africa, has been recently pointed out by Professor Julian Huxley in *Africa View*, and by Professor Robert Herndon Fife, of Columbia University, in his recent report as Carnegie Visiting Professor on *Tendencies of Education in East and South Africa with particular reference to language questions*.

Saer's plea, that, in the interest of the child's mental development, the mother-tongue should have time to become firmly established before the formal study of the second language is begun, has happily fallen on responsive ears in many parts of the globe. All progressive educational statesmanship is, in all bilingual countries, heading in that direction.

His work, however, was concerned exclusively with the *individual* psychology of bilingualism. In this paper an attempt is made to explore the field of the *Social* psychology of Bilingualism, referring particularly to the emotional or affective aspects of the questions.

Nothing has, to my knowledge, so far been attempted in this field with the exception of a few very slight and sketchy references of my own in a paper at the World Conference at Nice in 1932.*

In the attempt to provide a more elaborate structure some material of very great help has been forthcoming from the works of McDougall and Adler. The additional material is drawn from the History and Literature of some bilingual lands, and from personal study and observation in bilingual communities in Great Britain, on the Continent of Europe, and in South Africa.

McDougall, in his works on *Social Psychology* and *The Group Mind* has put forward the view that patriotism is the extension of the self-regarding sentiment: that nationhood is essentially a mental condition and must be defined in psychological terms. He shows that nations have, in varying degrees, the capacity for collective deliberation and volitional action. "It is the extension,"† he says, "of the self-regarding sentiment of each member of the group to the group as a whole that binds the group together and renders it a collective individual capable of collective volition." He accepts Renan's view that two factors comprise nationhood, viz. (1) a common legacy from the past; (2) the element of consent or volition, the desire to live together. He emphasises the "essentially psychological nature of nationhood." Its problems are "psychological through and through . . . and only to be attacked with some hope of success if we call to our aid all that psychological science can give us." The study of nationhood, to him, is "by far the most important branch of group psychology." For elucidating the problems of the nations he looks for help from "the psychological social science that is now beginning to take shape." There is a "great mass of human activity due to the group spirit with its fusion of egoistic and altruistic motives." The group spirit is not entirely swayed by egoistic motives. A nation sometimes stubbornly follows a course that it knows to be against its own economic interests. Increasing self-knowledge is, according to him, important for the national self-consciousness: it is not the idea but the sentiment of nationhood that is powerful. He insists on the affective or emotional factor. He rejects the merely intellectualist viewpoint as insufficient. His main theme in this field

* *A New World in the Making*. Ed. by Wyatt Rawson, pp. 253-7 (more especially pp. 256-7).

† *Group Mind*, p. 56.

is that the nation may be regarded as a "group mind" comparable in many respects to the "individual mind."

The bilingual nations of the world to-day are special types of the group mind, with pathological characters of their own that may be explained genetically and historically. They generally live together in pairs, not always too happily. Two usually occupy a territory for the possession of which they have disputed in the past. The physical fight may be over. The wounds still remain—not in the vanquished alone. One recalls Dr. Kullmann's illuminating phrase referring to the ex-belligerent nations of the War of 1914-1918—"deeply wounded collective selves."

With bilingual nations too the wounds are still there, psychologically speaking, both in the ex-victor and in the ex-vanquished. They are pathological cases, these group minds: special types of 'group selves'. Observers in various bilingual countries have drawn attention to these morbid conditions. Dr. E. G. Malherbe has referred to the inability to co-operate, which he describes as characteristic of the Afrikaner nation, and which he attributes to the fact that the Afrikaner is not sure of himself. In a word, there is a psychological lack of poise, a disease or *malaise*, which affects every nation that has known physical defeat.

The Social psychology of bilingual societies would seem to deserve careful study, and I have found very valuable suggestions in the general psychological doctrine not only of McDougall but also of Adler. Adler's central psychological theory is the importance of the feeling of inferiority. "Let me direct your attention to the fundamental and at the same time the determining factor in the psychic life of both healthy and nervous people—the feeling of inferiority."* "Every psychic expression of the neurotic possesses within itself two presuppositions—the feeling of inadequacy, inferiority on the one hand, and the compelling hypnotising striving towards the goal of godlikeness, on the other."†

The same, or a similar, inferiority-feeling perhaps characterises the psychology of all groups—for example, the so-called "lower" classes, or the female sex—that have been in the past deprived of privileges of any kind. Adler refers to certain traits that stand out very clearly as masculine protest traits—"defiance, hypersensitiveness, domineering desires, vanity."‡

This Adlerian inferiority-feeling may be clearly traced in the life and history and literature of bilingual communities. In Welsh Literature, for example, there is a typical character, Dic Shon Dafydd, the type of Welshman not uncommon under the Anglicising régime in Welsh education, who is secretly or openly eager to disclaim his Welsh connections and gives rise to an abstract noun—"Dic-Shon-Dafyddiaeth." In Afrikaans Lagenhoven satirises this type in *Doppers en Filistyne*, for example, where honest Oom Stoffel lays bare the motives of social snobbery that animate his wife. She has insisted on leaving her homely farm and taking up town life. She has surrendered her homely rural habits as a housewife to her social ambition. She no longer cooks and bakes—"Sy Kôl."**

Professor Zimmern in his book *Nationality and Government* (Chatto and Windus, 1919) notes the same phenomenon in America on the evidence of Jane Addams, and in the Far East on the testimony of Sir Mark Sykes. He calls the type the *déraciné*, the "uprooted", type.

* Adler: *Individual Psychology*, p. 100.

† p. 102.

‡ Adler: *Individual Psychology*, pp. 112-113.

** "She pays calls."

It is our task as students of bilingualism to *study* this, and to discover if possible how the type arises.

Adler speaks of the effect on an individual of "some inherited stigma". A nation, too, can bear an inherited stigma, conducive to McDougall's "negative self-regarding sentiment," that is not to race-pride but to race-shame. Joseph Jacobs, in his book on *Jewish Contributions to Civilisation*, gives an interesting instance (p. 17, Introduction):—

"Under the Caliph Omar, Jews were ordered to wear a distinctive dress, and in 849 the Emir Mutawakkil emphasised the distinction by ordering the Jews to wear a badge as a sign of infamy." Is it surprising that some Jews have sought to deny their race? But similar disgrace badges were in vogue within living memory in Wales and South Africa to discourage the use of Welsh and Afrikaans by school-children.

So arises, as a matter of simple cause and effect, the *déraciné*, the denationalised type, manifesting a desire to disavow race connections.

Dr. Daniel A. Prescott, working on bilingualism among the immigrant children of New Jersey, found a similar phenomenon there. He holds (with Jane Addams and Zimmern) that the effect is unhealthy when a child becomes ashamed of his nation (and consequently of his parents). Old traditional sanctions disappear, and the seven devils of slum and gangster morality rush in to fill the vacuum, so that the *déraciné* is apt to become a moral and a spiritual derelict. Dr. Hugh Dalton, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, tells of people in a certain region of Europe who, when asked what they were, had no idea of national connection and replied "I am a man from hereabouts," and he expresses his gratification at discovering such a type, free from the influence of national passions and agitation.

Mr. C. H. Schmidt refers to national loss of pride in his interesting book on the *Language Medium Question* (Pretoria. J. L. van Schaik Ltd. 1926, p. 88). These are his words, and they are worth noting carefully in this connection:—

p. 88. "The effect of substituting a language would mean the loss of pride, of self-confidence, in the people whose language and tradition are treated as inferior"; and again p. 91: "The children who learn the new language are ashamed of their parents, become disrespectful, and are ashamed to introduce their new friends to their people"; and Wales offers parallel illustrations.

One does not so often encounter the *déraciné* type among the ex-victor nations, but he does occur occasionally. According to Dr. G. J. Renier, he may be found even among Englishmen. He cites the Italianised Englishman. He tells us that "Capri boasts more than one variety of 'Inglese Italianato' or 'Italianised Englishman' (compare 'Verengels') among its remittance-men."

The *déraciné*, or renegade, or denationalised type exerts a marked psychological effect on his compatriots. His pathological race-shame seems to give rise to a reaction of pathological race-pride in the others, by way of protest. Some years ago a Welshman wrote a book on the Welsh. One wise Welshman summed up the whole affair as follows: "He is fooling two nations. The English believe him; and the Welsh are losing their tempers." The Welsh nation still marvels at the innocent credulity of English reviewers.

One recalls in this connection that very wise dictum of Burke's—"You cannot indict a nation." A correct appraisal of any nation can only be made after long study and intimate acquaintance—and even then by sympathetic and sensitive observers alone.

It was the wisest of teachers who said : " Judge not " ; for we never have all the data. " Onbekend maak onbeminde " * says one very wise proverb. The proverbial wisdom of France reminds us that to know all is to forgive all. Educated people should set a standard.

Another way of reducing friction and irritation in bilingual lands would be for the ex-vanquished to train themselves out of their admitted hypersensitiveness. Adler finds in the individual " a permanently irritable hypersensitiveness, mistrust, and querulousness ", which " repeatedly disturbs the peaceful and even flow of the psyche."

Here is another well-marked feature of the social psychology of bilingual communities. In bilingual countries even fair and sympathetic constructive criticism by the most sincere and friendly of well-wishers is apt to be resented. This is the result of a " deeply-wounded collective self " which, as a result of its morbid psychological condition, scents " humiliation or slights " (Adler) even where nothing of the kind is remotely intended.

It has been suggested that this trait of hypersensitiveness may be found in young countries as well as in bilingual lands. Dr. G. J. Renier,† speaking of American superiority, holds that it " is not unmixed with a fundamental doubt. Were it otherwise, Americans would not always feel the need to enquire from strangers whether they really do believe in the perfection of America. There would not be that extreme sensitiveness to criticism—which is so entirely absent in the English."

Another reaction characteristic of the inferiority feeling in the individual is, according to Adler, a tendency to contrariness. In America they have a term which they apply to those who hasten to agree with everyone they meet. They are called " Yes-men." Adler, however, discovers a different type—the " No—but " man, who introduces every remark with a " No," or a " But," or an " on the contrary." This phenomenon in the growing child is generally attributed to an overdose of authority. Is not the trait familiar in bilingual nations, and may not the reason be the same ? Professor Haarhoff justly says : " Let us view their aggressiveness in the light of history and in the light of psychology."

Of this defiant contrariness the outstanding historic example is to be found in the British Isles, in one of which the process of being " agin the Government " has been reduced to a fine art. The Irish have become, through centuries of misrule, a race of " Aginners." It will take a long experience of successful self-government to eradicate this germ from their nature.

Another characteristic, closely allied to the above and arising perhaps from similar historical and psychological causes, is what one may term an " isolationist " psychology. McDougall in *The Group Mind* places nations in a scale of nationhood, the arrangement depending on the " degree of intercourse they have had with other nations. At the bottom of the scale would stand the people of Thibet, the most isolated people of the world ; near them the Chinese," and so on. He mentions America in the same connection, referring to " that self-complacency as regards their national existence which hitherto has characterised them in common with the peoples of Thibet and China." One may note that the juxtaposition of " isolationism " and " self-complacency " is not entirely accidental.

Sir John Adamson, in his latest book, *Externals and Essentials*, pictures a Jeans Philosopher replying with another question : " Why

* " The unknown is unloved."

† *The English—Are They Human?* pp. 213-4.

South Africa first? Why not X.Y.?" He proceeds with real insight and sympathy to show that there is one sense in which South Africa should come first to the South African. I myself have had an uneasy fear lest, when my Welsh students had "*Wales first*" for ever on their lips, they really had "*Wales only*" in their hearts, and if it be so, that, psychologically and on all other grounds, is fatal. Here is a matter which calls for rigorous self-searching on the part of the patriot.

Adler tells us (*Individual Psychology*, p. 23) that "individual psychology" consists of a "withdrawal from the demands of the community"—and he defines these community demands as "co-operation, fellow-feeling, love, social adaptation, and community responsibility."

Is there not a similar tendency observable in the Social or Group psychology of bilingualism? Ireland takes for its watchword "*Sinn Fein*" (variously translated as "ourselves" and "ourselves alone"): Wales tends to say "*Wales first*": Britain says "*Buy British*." Bilingual nations show a like tendency to sidestep the demands of the wider world. Is there not a marked tendency to dodge the demands of the wider allegiance? McDougall, in *The Group Mind* (p. 296), pleads for a wider outlook. This, he says, will lead to the discovery "that those (men) of a different nationality (are not) necessarily despicable and possessed of no ideas worthy of admiration and adoption."

So much for the ex-vanquished. Now what shall we say of the ex-victor? It has already been hinted that the ex-vanquished has no monopoly of psychological wounds. No one wins in war—we all lose. The victor is no exception. Mazzini reminds us that—

"the morrow of the victory is more perilous than the eve."

The victor does not emerge spiritually unscathed. The moral price of victory is apt to be very heavy. Is there not at least a *temptation* to collective pride? Is there not perhaps a danger of an undue ministering to the positive self-regarding sentiments? Mr. A. N. Basu, of India, referred at the World Conference at Nice to the efforts made at Santiniketan, under the inspiration of Tagore, to promote co-operation by Westerners and Easterners. He also spoke of Western condescension as a hindrance to the truest fellowship. Patronage is quickly resented as a veiled form of haughtiness and—what is worse—contempt. Scorn is the denial of the worth and dignity of personality; scorn of an individual is always resented. Scorn of a nation group is no less keenly felt.

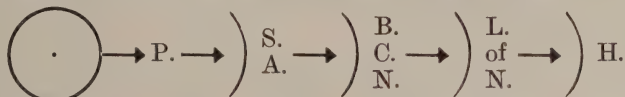
Adler speaks with penetration of man's quest for "Godlikeness" and "superiority." He refers to certain "attitudes of saving, directing and bestowing" (p. 9). All these, be it noted, are regal attitudes, "victor" attitudes.

It should not be assumed too hastily, however, that the ex-victor nations have a monopoly of national self-conceit. Every nation regards itself as the chosen nation. The ex-vanquished, too, indulge in ridiculous poses of superiority. I have heard foolish Welshmen, in private and public, speak contemptuously of the "uncircumcised Saxons." Is it not time that our sense of humour brought us to a truer perspective? John Bull is neither a knave nor a fool but just an ordinary blundering fellow-human: to quote Dr. Kullmann—"Not too bad, and not too good." So are we all. The Englishman, with all his admitted limitations, is no better and no worse than his critics of other nationalities. "His heart is in the right place," as Langenhoven, in his more genial mood, makes old Oom Stoffel say in *Doppers en Filistyne*.

The foregoing considerations indicate that the whole question of bilingualism is bound up with the psychological examination of nation-

ality and internationalism. Some people, aghast at the great havoc wrought in the world in the past and the greater havoc threatened in the future, by nationalism of a certain type, would say: "Away with all nationalism and patriotism!" But Professor Zimmern holds that the only road to internationalism lies through nationalism. I have heard the same doctrine from the lips of Viscount Cecil and Professor de Madariaga, the Spanish Ambassador to Washington. Lord Cecil compared it to an international footballer's double loyalty to his own town club and to the national team, which loyalties are not mutually exclusive but quite compatible. But not *every* type of nationalism will serve as a road to internationalism. Zimmern distinguishes two types—the "true nationalism" and "the false nationalism." Some, of course, would define true nationalism as *my* nationalism, false nationalism as the other fellow's nationalism; just as "there are always two points of view—mine and the wrong one." Let us clarify our minds on the subject.

Sir John Adamson, in his *Externals and Essentials*, represents man's loyalties graphically by a series of concentric circles thus—



(P.=Province. S.A.=South Africa. B.C.N.=British Commonwealth of Nations. L. of N.=League of Nations. H. for Humanity.)

A man's level of culture and breadth of mind may infallibly be gauged from the place his mentality occupies in a scale of this kind. How widely can his imagination reach? Many years ago we were invited to "think imperially." That circle is no longer wide enough in 1934. "Patriotism is not enough," neither national patriotism nor imperial patriotism can suffice.

McDougall agrees with the views of Zimmern, Lord Cecil, and Professor de Madariaga. These are his words: "While loyalty to humanity as a whole is a noble ideal, it is one which can only be realised through a further step of that process of extension of the object of the group sentiment, of which extension patriotism itself is the culmination at present for the great mass of civilised mankind. The attempt to achieve it by any other road is bound to fail, because psychologically unsound." As Dean Inge has remarked: "If they love not those whom they have seen, how shall they love those whom they have not seen?" McDougall refers to patriotism as the limit reached by the great mass: but the leaders, the teachers, should strive further, and climb higher.

The concept of nation-loyalty demands a higher quality of thinking than, shall we say?, "Dorp-loyalty." It needs, also, a higher quality of thinking, a broader sympathy and imagination, a better type of mind, a more cultured mind, to realise vividly the wider loyalty of world-citizenship. Patriotism, even of the best type, is insufficient. Can we objectively distinguish between true and false nationalism? Is not false nationalism narrow, self-centred, suspicious, aggressive, ungenerous, provincial, self-seeking, blind to the virtues of other nations, blind to its own weaknesses? Does it not say "*My country, right or wrong*"? Is not its vision limited to one nation? Are not its sympathies restricted to "our own people"? Is this worthy of the twentieth century? Even in pre-Christian times one old Pagan could say "*Nihil humani a me alienum puto*."—"I regard nothing human as alien to me"),—and shall he put us to shame because of our narrow outlook?

How shall we describe the *true* nationalism? Is it not broad in outlook, altruistic, unaggressive, generous, unselfcentred, magnanimous,

keenly aware of its own national weaknesses and working hard to remedy them, equally alive to the good points of other nations? Here is the nationalism that provides the practicable road to internationalism.

Sir William Watson, the poet, has well expressed it in the lines :—

An ancient folk speaking an ancient speech—
 “In whose fiery love of their own land
 No hatred of another finds a place!”

Would it were true of my native country, Wales. Would it were true of my adopted country, South Africa. It must become true, for the sake of our children and our children's children.

Leipoldt has a memorable and poignant line—

“Vergewe, vergeet, is dit maklik vergewe?”*

There you have the cry of the heart, the “deeply wounded collective self” speaking through one of its poets. “Is dit maklik?” It is not easy—I know as a Welshman. But it is not impossible.

We must try. At the League Assembly in Geneva that orator-statesman, M. Briand, pleaded for the children, for peace, and envisaged world peace coming through the schools, through the youth of the lands—
“Ut per iuvenes ascendat mundus.”† Listening to that plea one felt how utterly mean, unworthy, and contemptible it would be for one to return to one's own people to sow among the young children any feeling of hatred or resentment towards another nation. You will remember Mrs. Beatrice Ensor's allusion to the problem as to whether indoctrination of children is legitimate. One type at least must stand condemned—the indoctrination of hatred or contempt. What right has any teacher anywhere to fan the flames of old feuds? The care of growing, living young children is a sacred and a solemn trust. Who is sufficient for these things? One recalls that stern warning of the Teacher of Teachers—
“It were better for the one who causes them to stumble that a millstone be placed round his neck, and that he be cast into the sea.” The Prince of Peace stands for the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, the love of love, the hate of hate. Teachers of History and Literature have a very special responsibility, shared in lesser degree by all teachers or others who mould opinion—the Press included.

Here comes the acid test of the bilingual nations. It is easy enough, and cheap enough, for the Welshman to feel and to act fraternally towards the Swiss, who are far away (and whom we never fought, anyway), or for the Afrikaner to recognise his brother-kinship with the Scandinavians. But the test of my breadth of sympathy as a Welshman, and yours as Afrikaners, is precisely this acid test of our attitude towards our hereditary enemy, the Englishman. The best among my compatriots, and among yours, can rise, have risen, to that fine plane of life and thought. They can, and do, love their own folks sincerely as good patriots, without shutting any fellow-human out of the circle of their own sympathy: *“Ut Omnes Unum Sint.”*‡ “Ye are members one of another.”

Man's soul is too great to be for ever content with the narrower loyalties. The great men of the earth have caught a vision of the finer fellowship that is to be. “These things shall be,” says John Addington Symonds. Tennyson caught a glimpse of it in that fine prophetic vision, when he envisaged a time

“When the war drums throb no longer, and the battle flags are furled
 In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the World!”

Man — the World — humanity —

Civitas Dei.

* “Forgive, forget, is it easy to forgive?”

† “That the world may ascend through the youth,”

‡ “That all may be one.”

Robert Burns saw it. He was an apostle of the wider brotherhood—

“It’s coming yet, for a’ that,
That man to man the world o’er
Shall brothers be, for a’ that.”

And none has expressed this dual love more finely than Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, British Ambassador at Washington in 1918, in his confession of a great faith—“*I vow to thee my country.*”

“I vow to thee my country—all earthly things above,
Entire and whole and perfect, the service of my love,
The love that asks no questions, the love that stands the test,
That lays upon the altar the dearest and the best:
The love that never falters, the love that pays the price,
The love that makes undaunted the final sacrifice.

And there’s another country I’ve heard of long ago
Most dear to them that love her, most great to them that know.
We may not count her armies, we may not see her King,
Her fortress is a faithful heart, her pride is suffering—
And soul by soul and silently her shining bounds increase,
And her ways are ways of gentleness, and all her paths are peace.”

BILINGUALISM AND ITS PROBLEMS

PROFESSOR PIERRE BOVET

Administrative problems raised by the bilingualism of a State are as old as the Empire. In the Old Testament the book of Esther (VIII-9) bears testimony to the care taken to make the King’s will known “from India unto Ethiopia, unto every people after their language.” Somewhat nearer to us two famous inscriptions are recalled to our mind in this context—the Rosetta stone which rendered possible the interpretation of Egyptian hieroglyphs, and the inscription on the Cross of Golgotha—which latter also shows the custom of the Romans to make their judicial decisions known to the various populations of their multilingual Empire.

A history of the devices employed all through the ages by different bilingual States has not yet been written as far as I know. For Switzerland and its cantons we have a very good book of an exclusively historical character by Weilemann—*Die vielsprachige Schweiz*.

To-day, in matters of Parliaments, law-courts, army, railways, post offices, or other public services, the means adopted to meet the various problems which a bilingual State has to face are many and diverse. In Belgium all postage-stamps bear the name of the country in the two official languages of the State—*Belgique, Belgie*, in the Union of South Africa the two languages alternate (either *South Africa* or *Suid-Afrika*), and in my own country stamps have neither *Schweiz*, nor *Suisse*, nor *Swissern* written on them, but a Latin name revived for the circumstance—*Helvetia*.

The educational problem stated in terms of psychology is so recent, no doubt because the responsibilities of the State in matters of education were nowhere recognised until a century and a half ago. The idea of, and the very term, “National education” only go back to 1763, after the Jesuits had been expelled from France. The first equivalent of a Ministry of Education was the Education Commission in Poland. It is to the French Revolution that the idea that schools are as much

a public concern as the army or the police owes its triumph, and it took England long to make this idea her own.

Before the reign of the public, free, and compulsory schools, the problems of bilingualism were not raised. In the great educational movement of the XVIth century, that Humanism which gave birth to the Gymnasiums of the Reformed Church and later to the Jesuit Colleges of the Counter Reformation, there is no question about the vehicular language of the schools. Children are sent to school in order to learn Latin, the teaching is in Latin, they learn to read Latin before being taught reading in their mother-tongue. Calvin's teacher in a picture of the good student writes—"Never does he speak French." The problem of bilingualism did not at the time exist for the conscience of the teacher. And, though this prohibition of one's mother-tongue may appear to us thoroughly anti-natural, we must admit that it did not in Calvin's case bring with it noteworthy disadvantages; his I.Q. was not seemingly lowered by it, neither was his ability to write in his mother-tongue diminished. His 'Institution chrétienne' has been termed by the great French writer Lanson as "the first masterpiece of moral and religious philosophy to which our vernacular showed itself equal."

For two centuries Latin was the school language, though less and less exclusively. But still in the XVIIIth century Rollin, who had been teaching letters in the University of Paris through a long life, complained before his readers of the little practice he had of expressing himself in French, and begged their indulgence.

The mother-tongue, the vernacular, was only gradually raised to the dignity of a school subject. Dante's *De vulgari eloquio*, Du Bellay's *Défense et illustration de la langue française* (1548), had no immediate influence on the school curriculum, and when reading came to be taught in French it did not mean that French was taught as a school subject in France.

It was probably not the practice of the schools and the conflict between Latin and vernacular that raised the problem of bilingualism in education but rather social custom and the rivalry between the mother-tongue and some foreign language that was held to be socially superior so to speak. The radiance of the language spoken at Versailles to the courts of Germany, Poland, and Russia led many princes and noblemen to have in their homes French-speaking tutors or governesses for their children, and this was soon no longer a monopoly of the palaces and castles.

There seemed to be only social and practical advantages in this practice; certain scruples however made themselves felt. Is there no drawback to this way of loosening the ties that bind a child to the language spoken around him? Does not the pupil of a foreign teacher speak less precisely and think less clearly than he who has not had the benefit of distinguished training? We are not in the XIXth century; the compulsory school has reached bilingual areas, in which teachers are prone to make bilingualism responsible for all the shortcomings of their pupils in propriety of terms, logical strictness, etc.

Traditional opinion which favours bilingualism and the new scruples that are hostile to it were in conflict for a long time. All educational problems are in such cases stated in vague terms. No one thinks of solving them by methodical observations or by a scientifically conducted experiment.

A new era dawned in 1913 through the study of "the Development of a Bilingual Child" by a French lawyer, Jules Ronjat, who had married a German lady. By mutual agreement neither of them ever addressed

their child otherwise than the father in French and the mother in German. The acquisition of both languages by young Louie was carefully recorded and the practice followed carried with it no disadvantage whatever. The boy was exceptionally intelligent. Both languages were spoken by him with unusual fluency and equal familiarity.

A second study, not linguistic but psychological, was published in 1917 by a Welsh School Inspector, J. D. Saer, and reports on a statistical investigation bearing on 1,400 children in different rural and urban districts of Wales. Applying to these children Binet's Intelligence Scale Saer measures the Intelligence Quotient of his school population which he then divides into two groups, monoglots and bilinguals. At the time of this enquiry the Welsh schools ignored the mother-tongue and the language of the school was, from the very first, English only. Hence for the children who came from Welsh-speaking homes there was a school bilingualism very different from the home bilingualism of the boy Ronjat. Saer calls monoglots the children who, coming from homes where English is spoken, get their teaching in the same language, and bilinguals those who come from homes where Welsh is spoken. He makes also a distinction between urban and rural districts.

In rural districts bilinguals are decidedly in a state of inferiority; their average I.Q. is 86 compared with 96 for the monoglots. In urban areas there is no difference—100 for bilinguals, 99 for monoglots.

The difference between urban and rural areas is explained by Saer as follows: in town English is not only the language of the school but also the language of the street where the child plays with its fellows. In urban areas bilingualism is not strictly and exclusively a school bilingualism as is the case in the country where teacher and school alone bring the English language into the child's life, the home and the playmates being Welsh.

Confirmed by researches of Frank Smith and John Hughes Saer's enquiry had an immediate effect on Welsh schools; the use of English as the only vehicular language of teaching was delayed until the age of 9, and its importance was seen in 1928 at Luxembourg where an International Conference on Bilingualism and Education was convened and appointed a permanent International Committee for the study of its psychological problems.

As in the case of Ronjat and Saer the papers read at Luxembourg showed the existence of different varieties of psychological bilingualism and pointed to the necessity of a separate study of their apparently contradictory effects so as to discover the essential factors. Attention was also drawn to the extraordinary extension of school bilingualism in its different phases due to the existence of bilingual States, countries with linguistic minorities, immigration areas, colonies, provinces with a dialectal patois, etc., etc.

Lack of resources has prevented the Committee elected at Luxembourg from starting at least an Information Centre and a Bulletin, but perhaps one of the psychological or educational periodicals will now publish from time to time a supplement devoted to this kind of research. We in Europe and America should welcome such an initiative. Meanwhile the Chairman of the Committee in Geneva and its Honorary Secretary in Aberystwyth, Miss H. Saer, serve as '*agents de liaison*' between research students in different countries. The Conference in Luxembourg has not been repeated, but two Conferences of the New Education Fellowship have in some way served the same purpose, namely, to acquaint teachers with the facts of the problem and to emphasise the necessity of studying them with the dispassionate methods of science.

A few experiments have attempted to measure the grades of individual bilingualism, to ascertain its action on various psychological processes, especially in the realm of emotions, and to discover whether the various effects of bilingualism on mental and linguistic abilities are chiefly dependent on the native linguistic abilities of the children or on the diversity of the emotional situations connected with the beginnings of bilingualism. M. Charles Junod, in Geneva, who is now studying the relation of individual linguistic ability, fluency of speech, and bilingualism, has only just started. The other hypothesis, which seems to meet both Ronjat's and Saer's findings, has yet to be explored. It is to the effect that "bilingualism has the danger of hampering speech, thoughts, and emotion, when the second language is imposed on the child against its will or connected with negative effects; it is innocuous, if the second language is learnt without compulsion in surroundings emotionally favourable such as those which are found at home or with playmates."

The distinction already made in Luxembourg between three chief types of bilingualism—home bilingualism, street bilingualism, and school bilingualism—emphasises the importance of the context in which the second language is presented to the child and assimilated by him.

The emotional factor leads us to distinguish in home bilingualism the cases where the second language is the idiom of one of the parents from those where it is spoken by a servant or a governess. (Psycho-analysts even suggest that the emotional coefficient may not be the same for both parents and that we shall have to take into account the sex of both child and parent.)

The same considerations may show us that there are two street bilingualisms—the one due to playmates, the other created in the child's consciousness by the language he uses on his errands or when working outside the school hours—a play bilingualism and a labour bilingualism.

School bilingualism itself may take very different shades according to whether the language used in school is a language eagerly sought for, or the language of a nation feared, hated, or despised. "He who teaches Greek to his child," says the Talmud, "is as bad as he who is breeding swine." Thus administration has to take into account the factors brought to light by psychological studies.

Traditionally, and instinctively, the States where the problems of bilingualism have to be faced have adopted in school matters one of two opposing principles. "*Cuius regio eius lingua*" or "The child must be taught in the language of the place where he lives" might be called the Swiss principle, for by strict adherence to it the Swiss cantons have secured for themselves a "linguistic peace" which, together with a "confessional" peace of a much later date, has made them an object of envy to many countries in Europe. The school language is the State language.

The school authorities are in Switzerland the municipal authorities (not the authorities of the Confederation, which is trilingual, nor those of the canton, which may also be bilingual or even trilingual); except in the cities of Fribourg and of Bienne the Swiss municipalities are not bilingual, they have one language which has remained the same for centuries.

In contrast with the Swiss principle there is the South African principle—"The child must be taught in the language of his family"—"*Cujus stirps ejus lingua*." South African law is positive. English and Afrikaans being on absolutely equal standing as the two official languages of the Union, every child must be taught through the language of the home. Practical difficulties are involved in the carrying out of this legal dis-

position and we have medium schools, parallel schools, classes where a bilingual teacher teaches the same lesson in both languages, and other devices, in an endeavour to satisfy both the letter and the spirit of the law.

Belgium presents a combination of the Swiss and the South African principles. The kingdom has been divided into three linguistic areas: here Wallonie—the French-speaking part, there the Flemish country where Flemish is spoken, and thirdly the remainder of the country including Brussels, considered a bilingual region. In this last area the South African principle is applied, in the other two the Swiss principle.

Local continuity and racial continuity—it would be vain to try to demonstrate the superiority of either of these two great principles. In countries where the educational duties of the State are still largely discharged by private corporations independent of the State (churches, missions, etc.) the South African principle will scarcely be disputed. Some areas are, and always have been, multilingual. On the other side, where what we have called the Swiss principle has become part of the local tradition, an application of the opposite principle would mean such a revolution that nobody could be found to advocate it. In the city of Berne about one-third of the inhabitants speak French in their homes, yet nobody asks for a French medium public school and there are scarcely any private schools to which French-speaking parents might turn if they wished to enjoy the South African principle.

A third solution is conceivable, which would be—if not in keeping with the race and national ideas of to-day—entirely in accord with the liberal development which has ensured to democratic States the confessional peace they are enjoying, and this would be to recognise that the child belongs primarily neither to its country (*regio*), nor to its race (*stirps*), but to himself, and that he has a right to be taught in the language of his choice.

Of course as long as he is a minor his father and mother will have to decide for him, just as in confessional matters; to-day a request in Belgium or South Africa for non-home language as a medium to ensure for the child a complete initiation in a second language, as being in the parents' view more beneficial than adherence to family tradition, since it would be contrary to the principles embodied in the law, would not be granted. But one may well ask if, from the point of view of the higher interests of the State, this would be a wise decision and if, from the point of view of the child, this interference is not excessive.

A school Principal of the Cape Province, Mr. E. T. Logie, presented as a Doctor's thesis to the University of Cape Town the results of a work of research. He taught his pupils, partly English-speaking partly Afrikaans-speaking, through a dual medium, giving a lesson first in Afrikaans and then asking questions about it in English or vice versa; the English children would of course give better answers on English medium days but the Afrikaans children would take their turn alternately. The experiment has been going on for four years. The results have been methodically tested with all the resources of modern experimental psychology. The achievement of the pupils has been measured in four subjects, the mother-tongue, the second language, arithmetic (in order to test intellectual development), and geography (as a less formal subject). Unilingual schools, both English and Afrikaans, were used as control schools. The results have entirely justified the enterprise. In no subject have the pupils been found inferior to their fellows taught in the customary way, and in the second language they show a considerable

superiority to the pupils of other schools. Is this individual bilingualism of the citizen not all for the best interest of a bilingual state?

These results may be considered as a proof of the importance of the emotional factor. Here both languages were presented by the same teacher with a clear intention not to make any difference between them. The children were taught under the best conditions for avoiding any division into two linguistic camps or parties during the play hours, and they were led naturally to unite in a fraternal fellowship most favourable to the acquisition of the second language.

But of course the ultimate conclusion of it all is—that in so complex a problem we must still go on with careful, dispassionate research.

THE BILINGUAL PROBLEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

PROFESSOR J. CHR. COETZEE

Ever since the arrival of the first European settlers in South Africa in 1652 the language problem has been an actual one.

The first real language problem arose with the arrival of some 160 French-speaking families between 1685 and 1690. The first solution was drastic and effective: the French-speaking immigrants were settled amongst the Dutch-speaking colonists in such a way that French as a spoken language gradually disappeared. This solution was successful because the one language, French, actually dropped out, while the other language, Dutch, remained during the 18th century the common medium not only of the Government and in public life but also of ordinary intercourse between the Europeans.

The second real problem arose with the annexation of the Cape by the English in 1806. By this date the original population, composed mainly of Dutch descendants, had one language, viz. the so-called "Cape Dutch." The new régime immediately had to do with the problem of two languages—English, the language of the Government, and Cape Dutch, the language of the governed. The second solution, proposed by Lord Charles Somerset, was as drastic as the first, but was less effective and hardly ever successful owing to the overwhelming majority of the Dutch-speaking over the English-speaking population, the strongly-developed national spirit of the older settlers, and the wrong way in which the solution was sought.

The proclamation of Somerset in 1822 made English the official language of Government, commerce, public, and school life, while Cape Dutch (or Afrikaans) remained in the case of the large majority of the older section of the population the language of the home. By the law of 1865 English was made the sole medium in all European schools, except in the third-class schools where Dutch was retained one year longer. But by this time reaction against this anglicising policy found definite expression in the formation of "Die Genootskap van regte Afrikaners" under the leadership of the Rev. S. J. du Toit, of the Paarl. This Genootskap was instrumental in awakening the national pride of the Dutch-speaking Afrikaners in their own language and history.

In 1882 a law was passed to legalise the use of Dutch in Parliament and, in 1884, in local and central law courts. In 1892 parents received the right to choose the medium of instruction for their children, but this right was never exercised before Union, because all public examinations and inspections were conducted in English, and also because man-

Dutch South Africans were under the impression that education and a knowledge of English were synonymous. In the South African Republic the language problem was less acute, Dutch being the official language up to the end of the 19th century, when, owing to the influx of English immigrants, the problem became more acute. In the Orange Free State and in Natal there was no real language problem before the 20th century.

After 1902 the language problem became national after the annexation of the two Dutch Republics. For the third time a drastic solution was attempted, but this too failed, mainly owing to the still more strongly developed national policy and spirit of the Dutch and to the depth of the passion with which they were attached to their own language.

The South Africa Act of 1909 united the four British Colonies in South Africa and gave the final solution of the language problem when, according to Article 137, both English and Dutch received official recognition as languages of Government, public life, and schools. By this Article South Africa was created a bilingual country with two official languages with equal rights: "Both the English and the Dutch languages shall be official languages of the Union and shall be treated on a footing of equality and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights, and privileges: all records, journals, and proceedings of Parliament, shall be kept in both languages, and all Bills and Acts and notices of public importance or interest issued by the Government of the Union shall be in both languages"—a vital and effective, but costly and troublesome solution.

How far has it been successful?

In 1910 the Union Government appointed a Language Commission to draw up recommendations for the use of the two languages in instruction in Government schools. The Cape, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal Provinces accepted the majority report of the Commission and, with slight modifications, made it the basis of their language ordinances. For instance, the Transvaal Ordinance, No. 5 of 1911, laid down that the medium of instruction up to and including the fourth standard shall be the home language (*i.e.* the language best understood and spoken by the child) with the right given to parents of requesting the gradual introduction of the other language as medium; and, further, that above the fourth standard the parents were definitely given the right to choose either Dutch, or English, or both as media. After 1914 the principle of including Afrikaans, the real home language, in the official Dutch was accepted by the Cape, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal Provinces, and by 1919 all three of these Provinces had passed ordinances to give to Afrikaans recognition as a medium in elementary and secondary schools. In the Transvaal the language ordinance received very prominent attention and was most extensively carried out, especially in the establishment of separate English and Dutch medium elementary and secondary schools.

At the present moment we have in the Transvaal three definite types of schools (or shall we say four?), viz. mother-tongue, other-tongue, dual-tongue, and parallel-tongue medium schools.

From the statistical data given in Part III. of the Third Census (1921) and in Part IV. of the Fourth Census (1926) Reports we get the following interesting and important figures:—

Table I. gives the figures for the total population for the years 1918, 1921, and 1926, indicating in (*a*) the number of people who are bilingual (AE), the number who are unilingual (A and E), and the number who know neither of the official languages (O), and in (*b*) the percentages

of AE, E and A, and O. Figures are given to the nearest thousand in Table I. (a).

TABLE I. (a).

			Total.	AE.	E.	A.	O.
1918	..	..	1,421,000	549,000	437,000	424,000	11,000
1921	..	..	1,519,000	705,000	382,000	428,000	4,000
1926	..	..	1,677,000	902,000	365,000	406,000	4,000

TABLE I. (b). PERCENTAGES.

				AE.	E.	A.	O.
1918	..	..	..	39	29	31	1
1921	..	..	..	46	25	28	.3
1926	..	..	..	54	22	24	.2

The progress in bilingualism indicated here, from 39 per cent. in 1918 to 46 per cent. in 1921 and 54 per cent. in 1926, is really very remarkable. In 1918 four out of every ten people were bilingual, in 1926 five out of every ten were bilingual. We may safely conclude that at present six out of every ten will be bilingual.

Tables II. (a) and (b) give the figures for pre-school population and for the school-going and adult population for the same years under the same headings.

TABLE II. (a). (PERCENTAGES ONLY.) UNDER 7 YEARS OF AGE.

				AE.	E.	A.	O.
1918	..	..	..	24	28	48	—
1921	..	..	..	26	25	49	—
1926	..	..	..	30	23	47	—

TABLE II. (b). (PERCENTAGES ONLY.) OVER 7 YEARS OF AGE.

				A.E.	E.	A.	O.
1918	..	..	..	42	30	27	1
1921	..	..	..	51	25	24	.3
1926	..	..	..	58	22	20	.2

For the pre-school population the increase is from 24 per cent. in 1918 to 26 per cent. in 1921 and to 30 per cent. in 1926, and for the school-going and adult population from 42 per cent. in 1918 to 51 per cent. in 1921 and to 58 per cent. in 1926. From a comparison of Tables II. (a) and (b) the school is a very potent factor in making our South African European population bilingual.

In Table III. (a) and (b) we compare the progress of bilingualism in the case of urban and the rural populations of the Union.

TABLE III. (a). PRE-SCHOOL POPULATION. UNDER 7 YEARS. PERCENTAGES.

				AE.	E.	A.	O.
1918:	Urban	..	..	28	47	25	—
	Rural	..	..	19	11	70	—
1921:	Urban	..	..	35	40	25	—
	Rural	..	..	18	11	71	—
1926:	Urban	..	..	37	37	25	.4
	Rural	..	..	23	8	69	.3

TABLE III. (b). OVER 7 YEARS OF AGE. PERCENTAGE.

				AE.	E.	A.	O.
1918:	Urban	..	..	41	45	12	1
	Rural	..	..	42	12	45	.7
1921:	Urban	..	..	54	36	9	.4
	Rural	..	..	46	11	43	.2
1926:	Urban	..	..	61	31	8	.3
	Rural	..	..	55	8	37	.2

For the pre-school urban population the increase is from 28 per cent. in 1918 to 25 per cent. in 1921 and to 37 per cent. in 1926, and for the pre-school rural population the increase is from 19 per cent. in 1918 to 23 per cent. in 1926, with a decrease to 18 per cent. in 1921. As regards the school-going and adult population, the percentages are respectively for the urban population 41 to 54 to 61 per cent., and for the rural population 42 to 46 to 55 per cent.

We may close this summary by stating briefly our aims and ideals as I see them.

Our first aim must be to maintain the Union solution of the official equality of both English and Afrikaans. Each section of our bi-racial nation must maintain not only its own language but also its other language. Both languages must be the languages of Government, commerce, industry, science, education, and social intercourse. Our first ideal will then be the fullest development of each section and each language.

Our second aim must be the education of every citizen to the level of a working bilingualism, *i.e.* every citizen must be as far as possible 100 per cent. proficient in his own language and from 50 to 100 per cent. proficient in his other language. Our second ideal will then be a bilingual citizen who will be able to use his own language for speaking, for reading, and for writing, and to use his other language for understanding and reading, for speaking and writing. Every citizen will thus have two languages, mother-tongue and other-tongue. The emphasis in the acquisition of the first language falls in order on speaking, reading, and writing, and in acquiring the second language on understanding and reading, and then only on speaking, and, lastly, on writing.

Our third aim must be the fullest use of the mother-tongue as medium of instruction throughout all stages of learning. Hence, our third ideal must be a mother-tongue school system in which very special attention is given to the learning and the teaching of the other-tongue.

BILINGUAL CONDITIONS IN CANADA

PROFESSOR F. CLARKE

Canadian conditions differ greatly from those of South Africa. The non-English form a minority. Contact with the United States of America affects language problems; the non-English groups are largely segregated, and problems of adjustment are not primarily linguistic.

Under the British North America Act of 1867, as subsequently defined—

- (a) Guaranteed "rights" are denominational not linguistic.
- (b) "Class of persons" does not depend on language.
- (c) "Rights" are those of 1867 and may not be transferred from Province to Province, and immigrant groups have no linguistic rights.

The Provincial Governments have complete control in the school use of language as a subject or as a medium, and there is no constitutional guarantee of language rights apart from section 133, which gives freedom of language in Parliament and law courts and provides for official publications to be in both languages. In Quebec there is a single State *law* but no State system of education; the basis of distinction is not

language or race but religious allegiance, hence there is a dual administration.

Protestant thus means in effect non-Catholic so far as school attendance and taxation are concerned, and Catholic includes English-speaking Catholics, Catholics being to Protestants as 5 to 1. Protestant schools all have English as medium with French as a subject from Grade IV. Teachers are not trained to be bilingual as such, but all must pass a test in written and oral French, and regular class-teachers teach French in elementary grades.

Catholics have in large centres both French medium and English medium schools. In small centres schools are exclusively French medium, but bilingual teachers meet wants of small minorities. French Normal Schools offer some bilingual training, and English is generally taught efficiently, especially in larger schools.

In Ontario the issue is more definitely one of language. There are public and separate schools, and practice was ill-defined up to 40 years ago. A movement to force English then became stronger owing to the general "English" feeling of the Province, the Orangeman influence, and the number of English-speaking Catholics.

By Regulation 17 of 1912, the Minister was left to determine the school medium :

- (a) French to be used "when necessary," but not beyond Form I (i.e. for 2 years) except by approval of the chief inspector ;
- (b) English to be studied from the first and used as medium as soon as possible ; and
- (c) French as a subject to be taught at the request of parents for no more than an hour a day, and not to interfere with the efficiency of English instruction.

This led to much bitterness and political trouble. In 1927, however, it was decided to abolish any uniform regulation and secure, by wise supervision of the inspector, the adaptation of the practice best suited to the circumstances of each school, which meant that English was freely used as medium and the whole issue was treated as purely pedagogic under two "Directors of Instruction."

There are also in Nova Scotia some 30,000 Acadian French, usually compactly grouped in villages, and a handful of Gaelic, who were largely left to a similar discretion of the inspector, which meant early work in French followed by English as soon as possible. These people are not migratory so that defects of English become of less importance.

In the *Prairies* there has been a strong opposition to any second medium.

In Alberta and Saskatchewan the tendency to organise separate private denominational schools has been more widespread.

The general conclusion would appear to be to keep formal regulation to a minimum, where the political situation permits this, and trust to well-trained sympathetic teaching and competent inspection to meet the needs of varied circumstances.

CHAPTER IV.

CURRICULUM PROBLEMS

WHAT IS LEARNING ?

PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY

To discover the reality behind such educational terms as study, teaching, learning, reference to their meaning in outside life will be helpful. How then does the professional or business man or other adult learn and, as judged by these, what conditions are most favourable to learning ?

Occupation implies consecutive activity bringing man into contact with materials, instrumentalities, and persons. For success there must be constant observation, reflection, and search for new information. Learning is the product of the exercise of powers needed to meet the demands of the activity in operation. Consideration of the qualifications necessary in the physician and of his actual activities shows that he is not merely externally busy but that his faculties are always on the alert, sharpened by constant use, and that he is constantly enlarging his information. His primary aim is to do his work better, but learning is a necessary accompaniment, the more so as being largely the unconscious effect of other acts and experiences. To the pupil in school the knowledge that he is, or should be, studying actually distracts his attention from his work.

It may be urged that the child has no parallel occupation, but he has various urgent lines of activity corresponding in function if not in contents. They are less unified and organised though, in fact, most adults have more than one axis of activity. The young, however, have to find their way about and become at home in a complex world, and to do so must learn by experiments their own powers and the uses of these. Nor are their activities sporadic and dispersed ; their separate acts are linked along a number of axes. An infant is urged to do a number of things involving ordered procession in time. No one operation is a single disconnected act. All are accomplishments demanding a continuous knitting together of individual doings in a sequence moving steadily forward in a given direction. The impetus that threads the impulses together until definite abilities or habits emerge comes from an inner, though unconscious, purpose as truly as do the actions of the adult.

In no three later years of life does any human being learn as much as in the first three years of infancy. If we realise the complexity of the task, its obstacles, and its seemingly slight equipment, the achievements of standing, walking, talking, are by comparison with those of the adult marvellous.

Analysis of this spontaneous learning in the young shows the presence of " active needs ", which are not conscious purposes but none the less dynamic moving forces. Needs are not merely negative—lacks awaiting external satisfaction, but positive—actually searching for the materials which will bring satisfaction. Hunger is not merely emptiness but also active uneasiness, seeing implies hunger for light or colour, hearing

implies hunger for sound, reaching implies hunger for contact. A need is thus a demand working unceasingly for its own satisfaction, which can only be met by external objects and forces. External stimulus does not come first; outgoing activity seeks for this and decides whether this or that will stimulate further activity. An adult ignores events around him, if they do not bear upon his immediate activity, and the difficulty of distracting an infant from some object which it has at heart brings the lesson home still more clearly.

In learning then first, in time and importance, is an inner pressure in some direction which constitutes the reality of need. The infant learns so rapidly because his needs are so intense and of such a nature that surrounding things naturally and almost inevitably provide means of satisfaction and hence of that continual forward movement or growth which is learning. An adult may wonder at the fascination to a child of the repetition of some process of noise-making, which is really only the way in which, in response to his inner urge and demand, he learns the properties of things and the nature and meaning of his own powers and acts.

A second need in learning, then, is the existence of materials and objects, or means of realising impulses. Environment takes us to a certain point, possibly a minimum if we observed carefully dawning activities and gave conscious thought to provision of conditions which would evoke a graded series of new stages of behaviour to be mastered. Growth, however, comes as infant activities prompted by inward pressure make contact with external conditions which make possible their successful exercise.

In the third place, in the infant the criterion of success is internal rather than external. Satisfaction is personal; an unaided success in an attempt to stand or walk gives the sense of elation in accomplishment and victory, and this same sense of progressive achievement is the motive power which, joined to need, will carry the child on to greater external perfection of execution.

In school education on the other hand there is comparative neglect of the element of inner need, as is shown in the external imposition and authority exercised without reference to such need. The parent, however, does not leave the hungry infant to forage for himself, and it is for the teacher to co-operate with the child's needs to enable him to achieve execution and satisfaction to the maximum of fulfilment possible.

A more common error is the assumption that there is one set body of subject matter and of skills to be presented to the young, only requiring to be presented to and "learned" by the child, whose failure to meet the material supplied is attributed to his own incapacity or wilfulness, not to failure of the educator to understand what needs are stirring him.

A comparison between the natural processes of learning to speak and to understand the speech of others and the old methods of teaching reading and writing is instructive. In the better modern schools great progress has been achieved by wise and ingenious teachers in assimilating the process of learning to read to that of acquiring ability to talk by finding the occasions and creating the situations in which the pupil finds a need and a satisfaction in meeting this.

Even in the home the negative aspects of behaviour and failure are apt to be stressed with the result that fear to try new modes of action is induced, while, if failures are passed over lightly and a line of action, involving some measure of difficulty, is provided in which the child

can make progress and have the glow of positive achievement, he will be better enabled to develop his own intimate standards of achievement. Standards of *external* accomplishment tend to the laying of stress on failure which breeds lack of confidence, while stress on external good achievement fosters conceit and pride, which also arrest development.

The presence of objects which respond naturally to activities leads to intelligence and purpose. The formalities of the old class-room are artificial and develop the truant disposition which also operates through exercise with an adequate variety of materials. At the same time, while the materials must be of the right kind, they must not be so numerous as to lead to distraction or confusion nor shut out opportunity for seeing the needs for further instruments to carry an activity further and the demand for constructive imagination and manual skill in supplying what is needed.

This implies that there must be selection and organisation, not haphazard provision, of material for the young. There must be variety to meet different capacities, and plans of work must be sufficiently worked out to prevent casual flitting from one thing to another. The child is not consciously aware of what he wants, and the educator by careful study must judge the dominant and enduring needs as distinct from passing whims which the child might, in response to direct enquiry, state as his wants.

Learning under these conditions is an inevitable result. In the learner it is a product rather than a conscious aim, to the teacher it is an aim but to be realised on defined principles. In teaching effects follow causes, and the attempt to get the effect without first setting up the conditions may at best meet with accidental success but at the worst leads to loss of time, dissipation of energy, dulling of curiosity, and establishment of corrupting and weakening habits.

The character of activity changes as development matures. In early years it is mainly direct and, as viewed from without, is largely physical. Gradually it becomes more indirect as imagination, stimulated by intercourse with others and informed by communications of ideas and facts, plays a greater part. In later years reflective thought operating by artificial symbols plays the larger part, but all three elements, though the proportion varies, are involved in all stages of development. The ratio varies in different individuals and the teacher must realise this fact and be guided accordingly, whereas in the past the schools have provided mainly for those to whom activity along the road of symbols is congenial more adequately than for imaginative expression or concrete instruction, the individual thus suffering through thwarting of natural tendencies and the community losing through failure to turn to account distinctive talents. Too often only in later life does the individual find the conditions which make whole-hearted learning possible, conditions which all too many never find at all.

A well-balanced curriculum means, then, one in which there is adequate provision for all the elements of personality, for the manual and overtly constructive powers, for the imaginative and emotional tendencies that later take form in artistic expression, and for the factors that respond to symbolic statement and that prepare the way for distinctively abstract intellectual pursuits. A genuine school of learning is a community in which special aptitudes are gradually disclosed and the transition is made to later careers, in which individuals find happiness and society is richly and nobly served because individuals have learned to know and use their own powers.

VOCATIONAL FACTORS IN THE CURRICULUM

PROFESSOR FRED CLARKE

I substitute the word "Factors" for the programme word "Elements" since the latter implies a mechanical and inorganic view of the curriculum which I cannot accept. It conveys the idea that a curriculum is a mixture of ingredients like a plum-pudding or a witch's cauldron rather than, like a plant or animal form, a vital unified result of the play of diverse factors. The "Elements" theory assumes that "vocational" or "cultural" virtue resides in the subject itself, like the virtue of a drug, rather than in the learning of it and in the mode in which it is related by the learner to the ends of life: hence it can treat curriculum-construction as though it were the making-up of a prescription with guaranteed elements.

In point of fact a curriculum is not so much a prescription as a *regimen*, a programme, envisaging a total result in terms of life-capacity and adjusting its treatment according to the observed results at each stage. Hence vocational considerations, not being specific objective ingredients in a prescription but motivations and influences in the teaching, are more correctly described as "Factors" than as "Elements".

Educational philosophy has no more difficult problem than the discovery of a sound criterion in this matter.

By way of preface we may admit that vocational values are present in all good curricula, not only legitimate but inevitable. Even the old Liberal curriculum was vocational both in origin and effect. Its objective, to quote Milton, is entirely vocational in spirit: "Perform all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war".

In modern conditions it is natural and inevitable that the success motive should be prominent for the pupil. It is entirely natural that the secondary school to-day should be expected to do for the many what it did for the few in a simpler age, and the vocational motive is prominent in every parent's planning for the education of his offspring.

On the collective side the motive is strengthened and exaggerated through the "polite war" now being waged among the nations upon one another's commerce. To cannon-fodder we now wish to add factory-fodder. Such a motive is intelligible enough with a certain type of business man, but there is something like a *trahison des clercs* when professed philosophers of education lend themselves to the process of rationalising it and making it look wise and respectable. Serious perversions of sound educational thinking may ensue, not only in a general over-emphasis on the narrowly vocational but more subtly as an overdriven stress on *work* and the work atmosphere in schools. In Universities professors will talk as though the training of professional scholars was the supreme function of the place, and in popular thought there is encouraged the vicious association of "liberal" training with the pursuit of leisure occupations. Thus is encouraged both the fatal dualism of work and leisure and the tendency to regard the necessary food of the spirit as a dispensable accessory which concerns only the irresponsible frills of life. Some of our much advertised "frontier thinkers" seem to have reached in this matter no farther than when Herbert Spencer said, in effect, of the great central activities of the human spirit: "As they occupy the leisure part of life, so they should occupy the leisure part of education."

The sickness has gone deep and is only made worse by those who would affect to ignore vocational considerations altogether, as if a man

could dispense with feet if you gave him artificial wings, and the cure is to be found only in a fundamental re-thinking of the whole problem in terms of the actual situation with the object of arriving at a balanced and satisfactory synthesis which will include all the necessary values in due proportion.

I wish to suggest that the real problem is one of a *re-definition of culture*. In all stable periods of human history culture and vocation have been effectively integrated. They are not so integrated to-day, since the forces that determine vocation have outrun the correlative capacities to unify a culture. One might almost say that vocation now belongs to the future and culture to the past and education tends to fall into the time-gulf between them. No wonder then that the tyranny of too absolute distinctions bewilders us and that we are timid and traditional in matters of culture, reckless and shortsighted and over-anxious in matters of vocation.

Curative processes are already at work but education is still insufficiently in touch with them. One section urges that the very idea of a Liberal Education must now be discarded, another that the old Liberal Education offers us still the only way of salvation. Both are wrong. We need Liberal Education more than ever, but we need it in a drastically revised form. The central activities of men remain what they were, though the conditions have changed enormously. Language and literature, arts and crafts, science and mathematics, are more rather than less indispensable. But their *content* and above all the *manner in which they shall be taught* need the most thorough-going revision. Real progress will reveal many of the present problems of curriculum as problems of teaching. We shall then learn that the way of approach to our tasks is through a re-vitalised training of the teacher, not through tinkering with the curriculum.

Through this revised concept of a Liberal Education vocational needs will find an adequate and no longer de-humanised expression. It is true that culture grows out of vocation, but it is still more true that vocation grows out of culture, if vocation is to have its necessary dimensions as a thing of large discourse looking before and after. I prefer to say that the vocation is in the culture rather than that the culture is in the vocation, or in practical terms—in education communicate culture first and lead it to fruitful and personal expression in a vocation, rather than begin with vocation and pray hopefully that some kind of culture may emerge from it.

In the present situation the line of approach is all-important. In days when the real fact of far-reaching change in externals is being represented as a revolutionary change in the inner essentials of human life and society, and when it is argued that the rapidity of change makes it quite impossible for us to forecast the kind of world in which our children will live, it is well to remind ourselves of the *great permanences* and to remember that a necessary revision of cultural content is something quite different from a revolutionary change in cultural needs. To what extent will English language and literature, art and history, and science and mathematics, have become obsolete in fifty years' time? These things are culture and remain culture, and a vocation not rooted in them is seed planted on the rocks. Much of them may come through the medium of teaching which has a vocational intent. But the essential stuff of which they are made is cultural none the less and, as such, is indispensable.

For some applications of this general doctrine, we will take two main categories:—

A. Vocational Factors in the General Curriculum.

B. Specific Vocational Curricula.

I have in view the secondary school where the true vocational considerations emerge. They are not absent at the primary level but here are negligible as being so completely merged in the overwhelming demand for the building of the cultural foundations.

A. Vocational factors in the general curriculum need not necessarily mean the provision of a group of "vocational" studies. Indeed I am deprecating this division both of subjects and of pupils into cultural sheep and vocational goats, in such a way that those pupils labelled "cultural" are contemptuous, to their own loss, of activities which are really involved in adequate culture but now happen to be called "vocational", while those labelled "vocational" are encouraged to sniff at so-called cultural pursuits as being in some way high-brow and unpractical. Such division only perpetuates that fatal dualism of life which is at the bottom of so many of our modern troubles.

If, however, we put vocation in its place as an integral and essential part of culture, and if, further, we view the function of the ordinary school as being exploratory rather than preparatory, we shall provide for the play of vocational factors much more subtly than by a bare external tinkering with the formal prescriptions of the curriculum.

There are two ways in particular which may be stressed :—

(i) Firstly, it can be done through the *vitalisation of the normal curriculum*. This is almost entirely a matter of *teaching*. If, from the outset, the teaching is vital at every point, that is, coming to the child with a real illumination of things he wants to know and penetrating his world with significance, much that is of real vocational value will emerge. This applies with particular force to what are now called "the social sciences". "Vocational Guidance" requires an intelligent all-round outlook on the part of the pupil so that he comes to see vocational significances and to decide vocational issues very largely for himself and in an adequate setting. It is noteworthy that the Russians, whose whole education to-day is vocational in spirit, appear to be departing from the superficial attractions of "project" methods and falling back on something very like the old conceptions of the necessary discipline of a balanced and planned curriculum.

So too the business world tends to discourage vocational specialisation at school and to lay stress on well-balanced general training, as though employers are drawing the distinction in respect to their own specialities between those who think they know and those who come equipped to learn. For them it would seem that the so-called cultural, as a preparation at least, is coming to be regarded as having the higher vocational value. However this may be, it is certainly premature to begin patching the normal curriculum with labelled "vocational" elements before we have discovered what can be done by a thorough vitalisation of our general teaching.

(ii) More directly concerning curriculum is what I should call in the second place *diversification*, or judicious variation of content in all the standard subjects, determined largely by the teacher himself. It is not generally recognised how great an obstacle to vocational adjustment is a rigid and minutely prescribed curriculum applied without variation over a wide range of schools. This makes the exploratory function, especially in the secondary school, unnecessarily difficult. Language, history, geography, science, all can be made to yield vocational values, if the teacher knows his world and that of the pupils and is free to effect suitable adaptations.

In the same way there should be variation of treatment in the teaching. Exclusive association of the workshop with the practical and vocational should disappear once for all. The workshop is a means of teaching, not a "subject", and conversely a lecture may be eminently practical in its effect.

B. Vocational training in the *ad hoc* specific sense should be given in schools specially designed for the purpose and adjusted on the one side to the various leaving stages of the ordinary school system and on the other to the prevailing conditions of recruitment in the various fields of employment. Under such a system we shall form a better estimate of the proper function of the ordinary school in respect of vocational *values*.

One can only touch very lightly on the main issues of a problem which goes right to the roots of modern life, and a few roughly-stated propositions may cover in very general terms the outstanding questions.

1. In working out any general curriculum, especially a secondary curriculum, the basis for all pupils is the whole system of inherited and developing culture which the curriculum is designed to express and convey. This includes the vocational necessities of such culture in their more general character and *regarded as quite inseparable from it*. These will appear more or less in all the studies and will be stressed in proportion to their relative importance in the culture as a whole and according to their differing application to each individual pupil.
2. "Vocational Guidance" will be founded upon the general curriculum and the pupil's response to the various offerings. It will be sharply distinguished from *ad hoc* vocational *preparation*, which belongs to a special school.
3. The "practical" becomes a form of teaching rather than a curricular category. It will be employed with all pupils, but non-book methods of learning will be used more extensively with those who learn best that way.
4. It follows that the term "vocational" should not be used to describe any particular group of studies in the ordinary school. Vocation is here still a phase of general culture not to be sharply distinguished from it. Distinction tends only to debilitate culture and to detach vocation from its wider significances.

There will be schools or departments of schools, e.g. in agricultural areas, working on curricula closely related to a dominant vocation, but even here, central as the vocation is, the work still falls under the head of general education.

5. The strictly vocational in the narrowed specific sense will be represented by a system of schools and colleges and teaching arrangements much more closely associated with the vocations themselves. The historical accident which brought Education Departments into the major rôle in vocational preparation will be corrected by increasing participation of organised industry and commerce in the work of planning and providing for their own recruitment.

(A recent Report issued by the Union Government of a Conference between Union and Provincial Authorities on Agricultural Education may be commended as illustrating for South African readers and others a movement of tendency on lines somewhat similar to those set out above.)

DISCUSSION

The following are some of the points brought out by Professor Clarke in reply to various questions :—

There is an unnatural divorce between Vocational training under Union and Liberal education training under Provincial control. A changed policy of administration is required.

The post-school failure to attend technical courses indicates a lack of intelligent interest—maybe due to the school. The Apprenticeship Committee, as more closely related to parent and community, might check the drift.

(It was suggested that this might be due to unnecessary duplication of work in vocational subjects and that the employer rather than the University-trained teacher should take over vocational training.)

American feeling is opposed to vocational training in the school. The professions prefer to do their own training. The employer should be persuaded not forced to co-operate. Technical Colleges are a temporary makeshift, but useful co-operation with the school should be possible.

(One speaker also raised the problem of the preparation of the boy by the school for one environment while circumstances might transfer him to an entirely different environment.)

When Prof. Taute (Stellenbosch University) pointed out that adoption of external solutions often failed as they were based on certain elements non-existent in the adopting country, and asked what was the Canadian system, and should we provide more subjects "with rural bias" to meet the cry of "Back to the land", Professor Clarke replied: The Danish "Volkschulen" are not our "vocational schools". The would-be farmer is trained on the farm. Under Canada's varying provincial systems, Ontario has the modified High Schools, Toronto the typical Technical College School, Alberta the Rural Technical College. A High School with a Technical College annexe might be a solution. The rural child should not be doomed to an education with an exclusively agricultural bias.

I see no reason for special concessions to girls. Ordinary intelligence is the first need, technical skills are easily acquired. Mothercraft training is not a first essential, nor yet domestic science, housewifery, housecraft, as compared with a good general education towards womanhood.

If anxiety due to working conditions causes the demand, we must hope for better times and improvement. To safeguard ourselves and youth we want to keep youth at school as long as possible: it might be better to let him face his difficulties at an earlier age.

The so-called technical and commercial schools should be merged in other schools and the Union Government confine itself to completed education and vocational training.

Tuskegee meets a special demand incapable of universal application. Copying cannot substitute thinking.

(A speaker suggested that guidance was overdone. People drift into occupations at random. The school can only provide a broad general training as a cultural back-ground.)

THE HOLISTIC ATTITUDE IN EDUCATION

PROFESSOR T. J. HAARHOFF

One of the points in General Smuts' address at the opening meeting was the principle of Holism, and this principle can also be applied to the school curriculum. It can be applied to all subjects at school, and to-day we find an increasing tendency towards this attitude in education. There are manifold signs of the *trieb zur ganzheit*, and people fear and are turning away from the purely analytical view of things. The need is felt that one must estimate one's position in a larger whole, and it is for this reason that "Outlines" of religion, history, and science, are so popular. Now these books have their value, provided that the standpoint from which the author approaches the subject is clearly grasped. There is also noticeable a significant opposition to this tendency towards seeing everything as part of the whole, and the individual parts are becoming agitated and seem to fear their own annihilation.

The attitude of mind contained in the word Holism must be applied to the subject we teach. It is the attitude of mind that looks for significant connections between things, between man and nature, between man and man, between man and the environment. If I may quote a definition of this attitude of mind from a lecture published in the series of lectures issued by the Witwatersrand University—"Our Changing World View"—

"I mean that spirit that looks for significant connections, that seeks a harmony between man and man, between man and nature, that sought in Cicero and Vergil a unity as distinct from uniformity, between Rome and Italy, between Hellenic and Italian culture, between Greek science and the ancestral rustic religion of the Romans; that seeks in a man like Professor J. S. Haldane for a re-interpretation of science in the light of our whole human experience; in Gilbert Murray for intellectual and moral co-operation between nations.

"It is a spirit instinct with sympathy and filled with pity for the blindness of human striving, appreciative both of the humour and the pathos of life, a spirit strong enough to be unpopular in the steadfast pursuit of the best; almost it would seem necessarily unpopular because it sees the position as a whole and is therefore liable to be accused of disloyalty to its particular party; for even in the pride of national victory it refuses to be blinded by Chauvinism. It is thus opposed to a spirit, seen in Europe and in our own country to-day, that seeks to establish a cause by arousing the passion of hatred and to win Victory by excluding everything that may show the other side in a favourable light; for it believes in spite of everything that truth will outlast party and that the lie in the soul is the ultimate degradation." (p. 104.)

Analysis is important and has its value. Its danger is that it fails to bring together again; it leaves the parts in isolation, that is, it abstracts, and this leads to artificiality. To-day there is a protest and a reaction against the artificiality of analysis by itself.

It is, however, an open question whether we are not over-emphasising the "newness" of our ideas. We welcome new ideas but we often forget that they go back a very long way. Vespasian organised teachers into bodies and paid them, and we must not make the mistake of thinking that we are too new. What we must do is to recapture the spirit of the development, for there is a dynamic growth all through things.

Take as an example of unfortunate abstraction and artificiality the teaching of Afrikaans in Johannesburg. It is all analysis and there

is no integration. There is little conversation and no opportunity for developing the feeling of the flow and the rhythm of the language. And how did we learn Latin in the old days? It has truly been said that Latin was butchered to make an examiner's holiday, for the questions consisted of various odd rules, mostly exceptions. The vocabulary was such that one would not meet many of its words in ten years of reading, and it was a case of learning words and grammar and not language. The holistic attitude was lacking completely. We all remember the advice of Mr. Allen: "When translating a sentence look first for the subject, then for the verb", and so forth. Experiments have shown that, while the student is reading, his eyes are jumping about all the time, instead of reading smoothly in groups of meaning. It being impossible to read a complete work of Vergil with the student in any Course, the usual practice is to pick out certain passages and read the text in bits. In the Department of Classics of my own University, to overcome this difficulty, we make students read one book in the original and the rest in translation in order to get a complete view of the text as a complete work of art. So also in the reading of Caesar; it is Caesar as a man that must appear and his writings must not be read in passages. The principle of holism should be applied also to the teaching of classics.

We ourselves have tried to introduce this principle. In this way when we read Lucretius we enlist the services of a man from the Chemistry Department to lecture to us on the atom; we treat Vergil in a religious spirit; Cataline we discuss in connection with State Socialism, Vergil again in connection with Stoicism and Calvinism; when reading Augustine we relate what he has to say about legislation to contemporary problems. And thus these become the problems of dictatorship in Rome, bilingualism in Rome, and so forth.

We have also an Honours Course in Comparative Literature in which a student may take, for example, English and Latin, or German and Greek; in the latter the student may study the epic in the two literatures. The test of great literature is whether we see it *sub specie aeternitatis*, and this principle can be applied to many fields. For example, it is valuable to read the Gospels through from beginning to end as a work of art, and to relate the Old Testament to Ancient History, and to see the New Testament against a background of Roman History.

The spirit of holism rests on something which is ethical. It is the attitude of the mind which lives in a man's subject and which sees himself and his subject as they are—parts of a larger whole, as related man to man, man to spirit.

CONSTRUCTING A CURRICULUM FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL

PROFESSOR HAROLD RUGG

The curriculum most largely controls the educative process, and its design, construction, and operation therefore constitute the crux of the teacher's work. The study of the curriculum and of curriculum-making thus becomes the very central interest of all educational workers. School buildings can be designed, constructed, and operated only in terms of it; educational budgets are planned to fit it; home and school co-operation is built round it.

The curriculum is really the entire programme of the school's work, as comprising the essential *means* of education and everything that

the students and their teachers do. It is made up of activities and of materials.

The programme of the best progressive or *new* schools now represents a sharp departure from the conventional mass-school with narrow, intellectual subjects of study. It is new in psychology, in philosophy, and in the content and the organisation of curriculum activities and materials.

The mass-school subdivides the working day of the student into a score of standard subjects in which examinations must be passed. Achievement—almost altogether for intellectual mastery—is measured largely by “teachers’ marks” awarded on a purely competitive rank-order basis.

Instead of this scheme, the new scheme would be built around some six principal strands:—

1. *The life of the school as a whole.*—In the mass-school these activities are generally called “extra-curricular”. In the new school they constitute the very heart of the curriculum itself.

2. *Introduction to changing civilisations and cultures.*—This is the intellectual core of the organised programme. It is the “social science” of the new school, plus some of the materials and activities sometimes grouped in English literature and science. The direct first-hand study of community and national life and of world affairs is included.

3. *Introduction to creative and appreciative arts* and

4. *Creative work period.*

Taken together, these constitute the second great central strand of the new programme of work. They parallel the introduction to changing culture by contributing the appreciative and creative aspects while the former contribute primarily to the problem of tolerant understanding. Ideally the two should be designed together. They would aim primarily at an appreciation of the contemporary arts but would make much use of history. Especially would it emphasise the emergence of important creative movements after 1900. In America it would make use of such strands as—American civilisation as revealed in its changing architecture; the rise of the American theatre; creative writing—poetry, fiction, essay; painting, sculpture, music; the dance; the handicrafts and industrial arts. In the light of study of these historical strands there would be prolonged consideration of the state of the creative and appreciative “minds” of America and their reconstruction through the reconstruction of education.

5. *Body education.*—An integration of informal physical play activities with the dance, music, pageantry, and the like as the very base of the whole scheme.

6. *Social and human behaviour.*—There are two minor strands called, respectively, “Introduction to the Physical and Natural World” and “Introduction to Human Behaviour”. Each is less extensive in scope; the first is confined to the Junior High School, the second largely to the Senior High School. The latter is of very great importance and represents a new integration of material. It might embrace the study of such matters as the following: biological foundations of human behaviour, habits and individual and social behaviour, defensive mechanisms; topics dealing with nutrition, health, mental hygiene; character formation; language and social development; the American climates of opinion, how formed, controlled and changed, etc.

Where is the psychological content to be found? Partly, as we have said, in the culture of the people; partly in the life of personal growth of the individual child.

How is it to be found? By the "scientific" study both of group-culture and of individual capacity and needs. Modern culture is so complicated, its inter-relationships so subtle, that only technically prepared students can produce adequate portraits of it. In an ideal school teachers would be thoroughly trained students of sociology and of psychology and each would have but few students under his direction.

Working together as a unified team, they would make the curriculum partly "in advance" and partly "on the spot" in the daily round. The curriculum to be made in advance consists first of an outline of optional activities and of the preparation of a dramatic body of materials. For the latter we may study one illustration rather fully, that of "the social sciences", which embraces the work of several subjects—history, geography, civics, economics and related studies, and in addition much new material.

The first step in developing a scientific study of man and his changing society is the preparation of an honest and intelligible description of our new industrial order. Grown-ups as well as children and youths should be supplied with a creative portrait of the 20th century civilisation and its development. Such a description should be three-dimensional, welding into one integration three levels: (i) our surface civilisation, (ii) our institutions, and (iii) the inner culture of our people.

Such a description, however, must not be merely nationalistic. We should have one integrated world picture of the industrial civilisations created by the West, the changing agrarian life of the East, and the more primitive cultures.

Finally, our story should be confined to the current scene. In order to understand our changing civilisation youths must see it changing. Our presentation, therefore, should have a rich historical as well as contemporary setting; it should follow the chief trends which led up to the drama of to-day.

The preparation of such a description of modern society will be that central strand of the curriculum known as the social sciences. Through it millions of homes may be provided with an objective account of contemporary and historical modes of living, parents and their children with a common source of discussion, and home and school with a new means of co-operative education. We see, then, the rôle of a description of modern society which is honest, intelligent, and intelligible to youth and to grown-ups alike.

The curriculum-maker will be confronted by novel and difficult problems in the organisation of content. To be intelligible to young people a curriculum must develop steadily according to some principle of organisation. What shall that principle be?

The all-embracing concept is the cultures of peoples. It is shown at its three principal levels named above. The social science programme will distinguish also the three types of culture in the modern world: (a) the interdependent industrial cultures (for example, the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan); (b) the fairly self-sufficient agrarian handicraft cultures (for example, China, India, Russia, the nations of Eastern Europe and the like); and (c) the cultures of semi-nomadic and less developed peoples (for example, the Hottentots, the Malays of the South Pacific, and the Arabs of the Near East).

These and other themes of industrialism, etc., indicated in "The Great Technology", form the organising thread of the new programme.

We have sought for our new social science programme an honest, intelligent, and intelligible description of society. But the conventional

curricula of history, geography, civics, economics, and the like, do not present such a description. The social science curriculum hitherto has been a mosaic of scattered and isolated subjects. Subject-matter has been assembled into academic compartments of knowledge and presented to young people in encyclopaedic text-books. Meanings dealing with man and his physical environment have been presented in a "subject" called Geography and assigned to "periods" of about thirty minutes a day. So too with subjects called History, Economics, and Civics. Thus the subject-matter of human cultures has been cleverly cut up into mature logical classifications.

But the research scholars went to far greater lengths than merely creating "subjects". They also allotted the subjects themselves to fit unfounded conceptions of child growth. For example, in America they offered the "geography" of Europe in the fifth grade and that of South America in the seventh, because "Europe is composed of only one civilisation while South America comprises three." The structure of American government (community, State, and national) received several forty-five-minute periods in the ninth grade. Mediæval history was awarded 225 minutes in the tenth grade, and finally, to guarantee pupil-skill in delivering the right words in College Entrance Examinations, the twelfth-year programme took youths over a research of American History. Each "subject" dealt with but one narrow sector of human culture, and interpretations of civilisation were therefore bereft of meaning by the boundaries between subjects. Nothing short of genius on the part of a student could create an ordered understanding of modern life from such an arrangement of materials.

No one body of meanings alone will present an adequate picture of how people live together. Synthesis of understandings in relationship to other understandings is vitally necessary. Hence the goal of social science teachers should be the assembling and synthesising of many meanings into the same "chapters" and "lessons", and the starting point of curriculum-organisation in the social sciences will be—not the learning of the facts in "subjects"—but young people who are grappling directly with a social problem. Our only guide in our search should be—what meanings and attitudes must be developed as units to enable juvenile or adult minds to understand modes of living and social problems. The chief criterion of design must be human understanding, not conformity to conventional categories. Hence we organise the new programme in the social sciences into "units of work" instead of the conventional subjects, and we are creating new syntheses of knowledge in the new curriculum.

Note, for example, the vast range of data, geographical, economic, political, social, psychological, historical, that must be assembled in order to produce understanding of the complicated life of a community. We need not expand the details. Each additional example would serve merely to clinch further our fundamental principle of organisation, namely, that curricula must consist of such integrated units that each unit will assemble together innumerable meanings. Indeed the subject-matter specialists are themselves beginning to see this. Some of the school subjects, under their old names, are in fact now integrated units of study. It is conceivable that "subjects" may change in this way so as to constitute a description of society. If they do, it will be because the specialists who teach them have ceased to be interested in separate subjects and have become educators.

But we need more than a meaningful integration of concepts; we require their vivid illustration as well. Cues to the understanding

of contemporary life acquire meaning only as they emerge from the study of concrete details—such as—the interdependence of industrial societies, the dangers of war in economic nationalism, the control of the public mind by propaganda and censorship. There must be episodes of social life, manipulation of statistics concerning industry, trade, agriculture, and government, scrutiny of graphic and pictorial representation, etc.

The past must be dramatised too, if youth is to grasp the ways in which its deep-lying movements precipitate issues. Trends must be treated as pageants of living personalities engaging in stirring conflicts.

As an example, consider the dramatic story of the British Empire—little England's control of 400 millions of people, how she secured it and why she maintained it at a staggering cost, the strategic rôle of her huge resources in coal, her leadership in world trade, her significance in world politics, her exploitation (in company with other great industrial nations) of Asia and other countries, her insecurity against the gathering revolt of East against West.

Current geographies give an average of five pages to the British Isles, little or nothing to the Empire as such. Scarcely any curriculum contains any English or European history at all for Junior High School students. So it is with other empires of the world. Consider the wealth of understanding which young people might obtain from three pages on awakening Russia—Russia the prospective dominant bloc of Eurasia.

Similarly, seven pages may be given to immigration, a chapter to the westward movement, thirty pages to the problems of American business and industry. Not only is the treatment thus brief; the emphases are upon externals of form and structure, not upon the problems themselves as driving forces of American life.

This use of dramatic episode to replace the encyclopaedias of the present would carry curriculum changes far beyond the mere amplifying and vivifying of reading materials. It demands nothing less than the replacement of text-books and routine of question and answer by a many-sided stream of activities; open discussion, criticism, the invention of new graphic methods of portraying facts; the carrying on of creative research activities in the local community.

One of the most frequent criticisms of social science programmes is that they are too mature for young minds, and that their concepts are above the heads of adolescent youth. But experiments in curriculum organisation have given two powerful cues to the teaching of such abstract ideas. One is that they should be vividly and voluminously illustrated, the other that concepts should have designed recurrences in varied settings. An individual's understanding of the world in which he lives grows bit by bit and day by day, as he adds to his experience. Hence, the new education conceives learning in school as an inductive, cumulative process. As we encounter new situations, new personalities, or new problems, we grope our way haltingly and tentatively toward more complete understandings of them. Each new experience modifies our previous attitudes, elaborates or reconstructs our concepts, and creates new shades of meaning. Steadily the streams of experiences which make up both education and life shape and re-shape understanding.

From the outset then, the curriculum will not only dramatise its teachings but it will do so cumulatively, inductively, on a planned outline of great theme-concepts. School excursions will extend observations and, planned about some theme and tending toward some conclusion, will bring about the beginnings of generalisation. Steadily, as throughout its course, the activities and materials of the school pro-

gramme should continue to build a constantly maturing understanding of definite themes and ideas.

The curriculum-maker therefore selects activities which give promise of illustrating and enriching the underlying and fundamental concepts of social life. Thus the case is established for a designed curriculum, the heart of which is richly illustrated basic concepts in planned recurrence.

Can the school produce tolerance? We do not know; certainly the school curriculum has never yet attempted to combat old prejudices. The very "learn-this" character of text-books defeats growth in tolerance and power of thought. Curricula have been founded upon the false assumption that growth in such abilities comes from the learning of increasingly difficult generalisations. Books of texts do not provide the means of producing tolerance nor do they offer data for problem-solving; instead, they supply the pupil with the prejudices of the text and demand his acceptance of the generalisations which we wish him to test.

Ability to generalise emerges only from constant practice. For the pupil to think he must be confronted by issues. His mind can be disciplined only by direct practice in choosing between alternatives. He must be mentally thwarted, until he is obsessed with the desire to clear up points at issue. He must therefore have data and viewpoints on various sides of a question before he can think constructively upon it; and he must be practised for years on end in the habit of questioning, if he is to become a sound critic.

Our curriculum task, therefore, is finding and organising into thought—provoking form data on important problems, social, industrial, political. At mature levels of education, in the Senior Secondary School and in adult forums, this means direct frontal attacks upon crucial current issues. For the Junior High School the task is to organise activities and materials around as mature phases of these problems as the mental development of the young people permits. In each lower level of education the same demand is made upon us to build a programme about those problems of proved social and individual value which are within the experience of the children.

Thus our conception of the curriculum is of a constantly maturing stream of activities and materials. The steps of our reconstruction are:—

(1) the obliteration of the gap between the content of life and the content of the curriculum, and

(2) the arrangement of dramatic and dynamic materials in vital synthesis and in cumulative recurrences.

So it is that the school programme will come to be a programme of Tolerance and Understanding.

DISCUSSION

Professor Rugg :—

Work involving mathematical techniques commences early, but only in its bearing on the general scheme, not as algebra, geometry, etc. The teaching of mathematics is regarded as training in the scientific method of reasoning. Little calculation is involved. Tables are used freely.

Entirely new materials have been discovered, largely by pupils themselves in their greater freedom and self-activity, and this has en-

couraged gifts and endowments from parents and others for buildings, etc. The teacher as co-operator and supervisor has harder work.

The erection of a school building is that of a school home in which teacher and architect work in partnership so to speak. Much so-called school work is done in the course of school visits to public workshops, etc.

The curricula mentioned are for general—not vocational—training. The latter is not encouraged, except in the case of marked aptitude, in view of the unemployment and the over-crowding of professions. The general aim is to give a thorough objective knowledge of the present economic system to enable the next generation to solve its problems.

Sex instruction is rarely taught as a particular subject. In some elementary schools children observe the processes of rabbit-breeding, in other schools it is incidental to natural science, and some give definite tactful instruction at the age of \pm 15 years.

The new school divorces religious attitude from oral precept. No denominational preference may be shown, under the law, and in some schools Bible-reading is forbidden. There is no direct moral instruction.

The very careful selection of a few fundamental topics for treatment in great detail discourages superficiality.

The home finds a place through visits of parents to the school and of teachers to the home.

The new education demands a new economics. The new education will cost more but will use utilities at present unused. The teacher must understand the rudiments of the new economic system, e.g. the Douglas Credit System, and so forth.

Under the new education system the Principal becomes increasingly the leader and is freed from clerical work. Measurement of work by examination remains to test growth—not for purposes of promotion, for analysis and diagnosis of the child—not for administrative tabulation.

There has been no difficulty in the relationship of school and University as to entrance qualification.

The Dalton system would put the responsibility on the child but accepts a body of facts which must be learned. The best course for the teacher is to study a variety of systems and utilise them to the best effect within his power.

SECONDARY EDUCATION REFORMS IN ENGLAND

PROFESSOR JOHN MURRAY

English education is marked by certain characteristics: its vast scale—its enormous variety—its unconsciousness which feels no need to express or philosophise itself—its relatively moderate control by the State. No one theory underlies it, no one motive governs it. Some of it is of the best—England will say so and add no explanation: some of it is of the worst—England knows it and quietly improves this.

New things do not supersede the old: they super-add themselves. The system grows by tolerant inclusiveness, not by any principle of order or uniformity. The State has not, as in many countries, any universal rigid plan. As paymaster it has responsibility, but its function is co-operation as the expert helper with local authorities.

In the early centuries the Church fathered education: the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the rise of Oxford: the Grammar Schools

were established: and more than 200 years ago the education of the masses had laid hold of the public mind. The vast modern growth, however, dates from the rising democratic movement of the early nineteenth century, in which the foundation of London University, an examining not a teaching body, just preceded the passing of the Reform Bill. Provincial Colleges followed to prepare students for London degrees, until they in turn became independent Chartered Universities—Reading, the last, being emancipated in 1928. Meanwhile Church and other private organisations promoted the education of the masses, while class-education, e.g. of the Public Schools, shared in the effects of Victorian criticism, idealism, and creativeness.

In 1870 a Liberal Government made primary education compulsory: in 1902, still providing an upward outlet, a Conservative Government founded the national system of Secondary Schools for boys and girls, which in turn found their upward outlet primarily in the new regional Universities.

The War enforced the value of education, as those who had knowledge, skill, and power to impart these took the lead. In the early post-War years too there was a great stir in educational projects and theories, until economic troubles applied the brake and afforded a breathing space.

This pause was not entirely a matter for regret as much public opinion is hostile to large-scale organisation backed and financed by the State and representing a new encroachment on individual liberties. This has led to a feeling that the vast machine moves more by force than by reflection, and that the work of education has been mechanised and does not give value for expenditure, the school product being thought deficient in responsiveness, adaptability, responsibility, and power to learn.

Education in the early years of adolescence is the focus of much of the criticism. The increased secondary enrolment presented a first problem in the case of those for whom the traditional pre-University courses, as also the examinations used to mark stages or test progress, were unsuitable. To this was added the difficulty of those authorities, which had instituted higher departments in primary schools, or post-primary schools of a kind, as to how to staff and test and what to teach. And thirdly, groups of older children, largely in small country schools, could not receive efficient instruction or did so at the expense of some neglect of younger and of backward and retarded children.

The masses of senior children in their early teens were unable to profit by academic aims and methods in the secondary school, and employerdom was regarding their academic education as waste of time and was thinking that technical or trade education or an earlier commencement of work was needed.

Teachers and other persons of enlightenment were, however, urging that the school-leaving age, of 14 without exemptions in 1918, should be 15, and this demand meant the re-planning of the education of the non-academic pupil, hence the enquiries of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, and the Hadow Report.

This Report proposes a fresh start at 11 + years of age, backward children being carried forward with others of their age to be suitably grouped in post-primary schools. In practice the age varies: thus Devonshire, an agricultural county of many small schools, has fixed on 10·7, in the hope of lengthening post-primary education and relieving the pressure in the small school.

For full effect fresh starts require fresh Staffs, fresh scenes, subjects, and methods. The first teachers must, however, be drawn from the primary ranks, with a more academic element gradually filtering in from the secondary surplus. But time will reconcile the work and the worker and the new schools, "modern", "central", or "selective", will acquire their own outlook and key: and they may fairly expect, when established as a distinct type, to receive distinct administration.

During the present depression the question of a fresh scene cannot be answered. So far convenience and economy have decided matters. The Hadow Report desires concentration, while teachers and others object to the beheading of the smaller schools. Concentration again, whether by daily travel or in hostels, raises problems of family life, discipline, and finance, while the separation of the post-primaries from the old secondaries is opposed as needlessly demarcating social strata. Uniformity, however, cannot yet be expected, and temporary expedients are the elaboration of the primary school on the spot, or additional departments in the secondary school, or the new "ad hoc" school.

Eventually efficiency must decide the issue. There are the criteria of size, some schools being too small for good grouping, others too large for real organic unity and institutional quality. But the principle of specialisation applies, and the parallel of the gain in distinctness of the new Secondary Schools should weigh when finance is a less urgent consideration.

The core of the innovation lies in fresh subjects and methods. Post-primary must not be merely continued primary, nor yet an imitation of secondary education. It is a response to a demand for a brief and narrow technical training in the final stage. The Hadow Report permits the junior technical and trade schools but makes the entrance age 13 and deprecates strict technical training in the normal post-primary school except in the last year or at most two years.

The obvious need for the break with primary education is to be realised by the teachers. The question of distinction from the secondary goes deep. The Hadow Report advocates the teaching of French, really a forlorn hope in English secondary education and a great obstacle to thoroughness in English itself. But the loss of French would not reduce post-primary work from the vocational to the technical level, while English might have a better chance, and biology the beginnings of a chance.

Again secondary education is examination-ridden, a fact which leads to early and extreme specialisation, hence the advent at the University of illiterate scientists not properly trained even in mathematics, of students of literature with little knowledge of history or science, and of historians without culture. An examination for post-primaries is contemplated, but this should be *internal* with a minimum of external reference. In these matters of the teaching of French and examinations the Report shows the persistence of old prejudices.

For a curriculum there is a wide choice of activities to secure good standards without drill and mechanising, affording scope for fluency and mastery without undue ease and giving a cue for joyful action devoid of shallowness or egoism.

In games and athletics the ancient Greeks and the modern Germans lead in stress on the latter. They are inexpensive, and their effects in strength, poise, movement, and bodily command, are worth-while.

Music, which will be mostly vocal and choral, is a first cement of social ties and cure of morbid thoughts.

Intelligence and personality depend closely on handwork, witness the disproportionate effects of hand-wounds in the War. To some hand and eye are everything. In this the sexes differ. Men like handwork to occupy the mind; women prefer it as automatic routine and to think about something else. Men make the better cooks, women the better machine-minders.

The new Secondary Schools for girls have been a potent factor: the new post-primaries may be more potent still. The future wives and mothers of the mass of any nation have hard times awaiting them. They will need skill, patience, and personality, and the working mother, on whom depends the future of any country, deserves every consideration. If the post-primaries can make her a competent worker and a woman of standards, their service will be great.

How is it to be done, or better by whom? By those with a mission and a vocation for the work. But science and mathematics should be taught, not only for content and discipline but for practical reasons. Women incidentally seem to have scientific minds not so much for thought and discovery but for the results. It is the co-operation between handwork and science, making of equipment, etc., that is of practical service, hence science, and particularly biology, is needed.

The humaner studies—economics, history, sociology—should be taught rather as running commentary on events and life—the T.H.B.* plan is a special case of this—rather than political history which is for the wise and good countries or persons who have no memories or bitterness. Unless the historian is free to say "Here the Devil, in one or several of his innumerable shapes, intervened and so and so happened", much history were better forgotten.

The mother-tongue is all-important, clear thought and good expression being mutually dependent. Literary culture is the new culture for many, even those lacking an academic or University qualification. The teaching of English in England is the crux of education. By way of suggestion as to methods—"training in expression" is better than "literary training". Intensive study of prescribed works should not crush out dramatics, declamation, and abundant practice in written and spoken expression, backed up by congenial and not necessarily "high-brow" reading. If the appetite is started, taste and style may come. Verse-writing in particular, for which the 11 + have a widely diffused bent, may be part of the fresh start.

A final service of the post-primaries will be the development of the social consciousness. Those who are to exercise influence in mature life should in youth learn citizenship and cohesion. This idea has dominated the growth of the old Universities and the schools that have fed them. The residential institution has many advantages for socialising purposes and for evoking individual powers in a friendly air under conditions which both encourage and discipline, though the growth of the same spirit in the Secondary Schools shows that these advantages are not essential. The new schools pay the tributes of criticism and imitation, or rather the bias of the blood with its racial instinct for environment shows itself in both. On this side of education depends the success of Democracy, whose true root lies in love and respect for one's neighbour, which accounts for his suffrage privilege and treatment on basis of equality. Education as one-sided instruction begets hardness.

In imitating the democratic government of England other countries have as a whole failed to smooth the way for democracy by this school-

* "Teaching History Backwards."

training in social consciousness, hence the breakdown of many experiments. Without, however, assessing the good or evil of their influence it is emphasised that in essence democracy is a spirit: it is dependent on education: and attention is claimed for this training in social consciousness from the years of early adolescence.

The new post-primary schools, then, will manifest the English bias. They are not expected to turn out great scientists, scholars, and leaders, though gifted individuals can surmount all limitations, but they can and must produce citizens fit for active and autonomous democracy, and their ordered responsible life under discerning and inventive teachers of vocation will assure the happy result without which no democracy can stand firm and sure.

DISCUSSION

Professor Murray sketched the historical development of the "new attitude" towards English Universities. "Since 1905 a closer contact has increased the desire even in the working classes for the University, especially the Oxford, type of cultural education as providing upward outlets for all. . . .

The separation of Secondary and Technical Schools provides the maximum facilities for pupils with certain marked technical aptitudes."

Mr. Wynn Davies (Wellington Training College) emphasised the peculiar solidarity of the English system which combined with the national spirit to form the peculiar Empire spirit. Further, the broad cultural training of teachers would meet a special need of South Africa.

Professor Murray:—Revolutionary ideas are not lacking in England, but ferment unobtrusively, and changes are gradual not violent.

The Scottish system tried to give equality to vocational and cultural training.

With regard to training by employers the experiment quoted occurred sixty years ago. Present public facilities make the system superfluous.

Some measure of compulsion may have good results where a youth will not make use of facilities offered him.

England is averse to the waste of the final year of school life in the learning of factory processes.

The teaching of a second language is necessary and desirable. I would prefer Latin to French. A Latin course would stiffen up imagination and might lead to good continuation work by the Workers' Educational Association.

SELECTIVE FUNCTION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION*

PROFESSOR FRED CLARKE

As a preliminary definition *Secondary Education* is to mean in this case not a certain type of school but *educational provision for earlier adolescence in general*, and *selective* does not imply a Last Judgment division of sheep and goats but *selective within the total provision*. If democracy does not admit of this, democracy fails.

There is a need for selection on a comprehensive basis. We have reached the end of an era of *laissez-faire*—unlimited expansion through individualistic agents, and our present need is for an organic society

* (No complete MS. available, merely skeleton notes.—Ed.)

of ordered and controlled *functions* carrying with it a system of individual *guarantees* balancing a system of *obligations*.

The functions of adolescence cannot be properly understood until the formative years of determining and preparing for functions. The increase of educational *load* carries on into the years of adolescence. There is an increasing equalitarian tendency in respect of cultural opportunity, and a *decreasing significance of vocation and social status in this respect*. We must have an élite, and there is risk in detachment.

All these needs cannot be met by one type of institution, hence *Secondary Education for All* demands *Selection and Distribution*. At present we seem ill-equipped both in institutions and ideas. Ancient privilege accounts for the over-sharp form of Cultural and Vocational distinction, and the cause of culture suffers as tending to be identified with a barren intellectualism, against which the world is reacting more and more, while failing to integrate with, and inform and inspire, vocation. Hence, unfortunately, *Culture* is not rooted in productive usefulness and *Vocation* is not rendered valuable and significant through cultural meaning. The position of labour and amusement with the vast mass of people illustrates this.

There is also an *exaggerated vocational emphasis* due to increase in range of opportunity to attain "Success", scientific (or pseudo-scientific) realism, loss of significance of much old cultural material or failure of schools to make this good, and the bringing into the range of adolescent education many who are incapable of cultural development, which leads to the association of "Vocational" courses with lower levels of ability. The courses themselves also miss cultural values.

There are also *wrong attitudes towards tradition*: a failure to see tradition as a *continuous common life* marked by both identity and change and calling for *preservation by continuous re-interpretation*. This implies continuous revision of content—not change—of subjects, and re-inspiration of teaching. Inadequacy of ideas may produce efficient barbarians or futile Degree-hunters, blind Tories or reckless iconoclasts.

Teaching institutions correspondingly lack diversity, point, and co-ordination, either through dilution to degree of pointlessness, prestige of the "academic", or lack of integration between the vocational and the cultural.

For guiding principles in re-construction we must surrender the idea that the school is necessarily the best place of education for all in any stage of earlier adolescence, and resolutely explore and organise the whole employment system as affecting young recruits. There must be diversification of types of secondary school, whether separately or within one unit, also co-ordinate organisation of a system of *true* vocational schools, for pupils whose vocation is determined, with the organised industry or profession playing an effective controlling part.

For the elements of reconstruction, it is first vital that there should be a "vestibule" period between Elementary and Secondary education, spent *under suitable observation, not in a particular school*. This period should be both exploratory and preparatory, fall on the secondary school side as looking forward to adolescent interests, begin not later than at 12 years of age—age, not attainment, being the criterion, and end quickly for more able pupils marked out for advanced education. All should pass through it. It demands particularly able teachers and a good backing of scholarships and bursaries, and its characteristics will be *scope, watchfulness, and fluidity*.

Opening out of the vestibule will be three main avenues each leading to a defined goal, distinct but not segregated, and admitting of transfer

of pupils from one to another, preferably in separate but possibly in large "omnibus" schools:—

(a) *A Junior Course*—ages up to ± 15 with a complementary State supervised *apprenticeship*.

(b) *A Middle Course*—ages up to ± 17 *not qualifying* for University Entrance, articulated with an advanced course and entrance qualification for industry or the vocational school, and with a *balanced* curriculum of diversified content. The *tradition* of "timeless things" will be of great value in the handling of conventional "subjects."

(c) *An Advanced Course*—up to $18\frac{1}{2}$ or 19—needs special development in most countries if only as the main selection agent between "intellectuals" and the rest.

There will be two main forms, one *preparatory to University study* and the *Higher Technicological training*, the other *general*. The University's function is to train for leadership, and it should adjust itself to the former by more general scholarships, reform of Honours, and requirement of correct courses. The general course, loosely organised with a wide range of options, would cater for the less able scholastically and in some cases would drain off unsuitable students from the Universities. Here may lie the real solution of *Adult Education*. At this stage many pupils are stale and over-scholasticised with insufficient experience to grasp the full import of appropriate studies, and there is a danger of intensifying the evils of glib patter of academic formulae, facile generalisations, and precocious smartness.

(In Canada there are two conceptions of the Junior College, one an unnecessary duplication of either University or Higher Secondary, the other with possibilities of a real "People's College".)

For complementary vocational organisation—vocational schools, whether whole-time or part-time, need to reduce the casual or occasional element in work or enrolment and to organise a variety of courses adjusted to the leaving standards of the above three levels.

The *Trade School*, mainly for part-time apprentices but with some full-time work, may well be a Junior Department of a Technical College, as distinct from Continuation Schools, which should be more like an educative club, social and cultural.

The *Technical School* would give business training and lower preparation for higher work. The co-operation of industry in organising *recruiting* is especially important. These schools should help to drain off the unsuitable from the University.

The *Technicological School*, usually the University or two in co-operation, professional and industrial control being of great importance.

There must be (a) integration with the Economic System: (b) no compromise with the essentials of culture, e.g. by vocationalising the Secondary School itself or unduly vocationalising the Course: (c) flexibility: (d) increase of cultural equality and unrestricted social intercourse over-riding vocational and functional distinctions.

THE REORGANISATION OF THE CURRICULUM: ADMINISTRATIVE ATTEMPTS IN AMERICA

PROFESSOR HAROLD RUGG

The graded school was scarcely set up in America before progressive superintendents of schools began to find fault with it, until by 1900 there was wide-spread agitation to break up the rigid "Procrustean

bed of grades", as Superintendent Harris of St. Louis called it. The machinery of classifying, marking, and promoting children was studied in detail, and various communities devised and experimented with multitudes of plans for more flexible promotion of children.

With increasing intensity after 1870 American education became a problem of mass-production, and superintendents and principals who desired reform found themselves confronted with conditions of over-crowding—(communities did not accept the idea that education costs money); classification on an age basis with annual promotions ignoring individual abilities; concepts of a curriculum of set facts and skills and of learning to state these on demand in set words; school systems of increasing complication to be financed by administrations, and increasing mobility of population from country to town or from one town to another; and other problems.

To their conception of the curriculum, as a "social heritage" of an already organised body of facts and skills, administrators added the conception that society could only perpetuate itself by the transmission of this body of knowledge through succeeding generations, and could only advance in proportion to the degree of mastery gained over it. The curriculum thus remained static.

There were few educators in America who in 1870 or even at the beginning of the 20th century did not believe this. There were Colonel Francis W. Parker's experiments in educational reconstruction, the psychological writings of William James, the studies of John Dewey, and the teaching of the American disciples of Herbart. But their idea of education as the all-round growth of an individual was held by only an infinitesimal number of people up to the time of the World War. At the same time education was conceived as learning certain "subject matter" discovered, arranged, and taught by adults. As Professor Kilpatrick aptly phrased it, curriculum was conceived as intellectual "subject matter to be learned", subject matter furthermore that was not related to the interests and needs of the children learning it. The curriculum was not thought of as the natural, guided experiences of young people; it was the "ability to give back on demand certain phrases and formulae, which had been acquired without adequate understanding of their meaning".

In increasing numbers after 1870 superintendents and principals recognised that something was wrong with the school system. Each year a large number of children were "failed", thereby suffering the greatest ignominy possible to a school child; e.g. one-fourth, even one-third, of the children failed in arithmetic, and in the lower grades an equally large proportion failed to read as well as the system demanded. The rank and file of school administrators blamed the children for their failures. The course of study and the school system were all right. The scheme of class instruction was far superior to the old monitorial or individual methods. But more and more school-men began to question these complacent judgments. They began to agree with Frederick Burk, who after 1900 led a widespread movement for the individualisation of instruction, and who phrased the situation thus:—

"THERE CAN BE NO MISFIT CHILDREN"

"There are misfit schools, misfit texts and studies, misfit dogmas and traditions, of pedants and pedantry. There are misfit homes, misfit occupations and diversions. In fact, there are all kinds and conditions of misfit clothing for children but—IN THE NATURE OF THINGS THERE CAN BE NO MISFIT CHILDREN".

In other words, these school-men recognised the fundamental law of individual differences. Professor Thorndike's epoch-making publications were yet to establish quantitatively the vast range of individual differences in children and adults; but many educational workers already recognised intuitively that people vary in capacity. However, they accepted "subject matter to be learned" and therefore blamed the individual differences of children for their failure to "take in" the heaven-sent "given" curriculum, the social heritage.

The few progressives, on the contrary, laid the blame for the children's failures on the administrative machinery of the school. Some blamed the grading system, others the method of promotion. Others again insisted that pupils of wide ability should not be taught in the same class or that the plan of housing the children was wrong: that in place of an eight-year elementary school followed by a four-year high school there should be a six-year elementary school followed by a three-year junior and a three-year senior high school. Others insisted that adequate incentives were lacking and that pupils should be given credit in terms of the quality or quantity of work done. Some said that the marking system was all wrong or that teachers' marks were not adequate measures, or deplored the fact that young people were turned loose to study their lessons without supervision, offering as a solution "supervised study." Finally a few insisted that the subject matter of the curriculum was too rigidly organised, that the existing subjects of study should be divided into more flexible units and so arranged that young people could learn them at their own rate of speed.

But through it all this content of the curriculum was regarded as sacrosanct. The content itself was sound; only its arrangement was bad.

To understand clearly the futility of these decades of administrative effort at re-arrangement we should note more fully the details of these plans.

The more vigorous proponents of administrative change not only theorised, but they did something. They experimented with all sorts of "plans" for administrative re-arrangement.

Perhaps the earliest attack upon the problems was made by Dr. William T. Harris, Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis, Missouri, from 1867 to 1880, and United States Commissioner of Education from 1899 to 1906. In his annual reports Harris describes the St. Louis promotion plan which he was devising. It was a scheme of re-forming classes several times each year, generally at the ends of four ten-week-intervals. For nearly forty years he waged a vigorous propaganda on the platform and in the educational Press for the breaking up of what he called the "Procrustean bed of grades" into which pupils and subject matter had been organised. He showed that frequent re-classification is necessary because of enforced absences from school, but chiefly he pointed out the widely differing rates at which children can do the school work and the consequent suffering to both bright and dull pupils when compelled to maintain the pace of the average. His reports were widely discussed, and his "short interval" plan of more frequent promotions was slowly tried out in other systems.

As a sequel, a widespread movement was initiated during the early 1880's and 1890's by which young people could learn the subject matter of the curriculum at different rates of progress. In Cambridge, Mass., for example, the so-called "Double-track" plan was devised, which enabled rapid students to finish the work of grades four to nine in four instead of five or six years, not primarily by changing the pre-ordained

curriculum but by providing transfer points at which pupils could move from one parallel group to another. In Le Mars, Iowa, the Cambridge plan was worked out for the entire elementary school, the children doing the nine years' work in six, seven, eight, or nine years. In general practice about one-third of them saved a year or more while the "failures" were very few indeed. Other cities, such as Portland in Oregon and North Denver in Colorado, devised schemes by which the entire curriculum was divided into units or cycles, and classes were organised to move through these units at varying rates of progress.

These plans were primarily aimed at "economy of time", but many school administrators insisted that this was not the fundamental problem which was to "enrich the course of study". Perhaps the most talked-of "enrichment" plan was that of Santa Barbara, California, which, like all the others, accepted the notion of the curriculum as a body of school subjects but devised three different courses of study in each, one for the slow "C" pupils, another for the mediocre "B" pupils, another for the bright "A" pupils. In arithmetic, for example, the slow pupils would learn merely a minimum list of operations and develop a moderate amount of skill; the B course required more problems demanding a somewhat higher degree of skill; the A course required thorough mastery, the solving of still more problems, and the doing of even more difficult and complicated work.

"Enrichment" only meant quantitatively more of a subject, not more kinds of activities or richer experience.

The classification of pupils into groups of somewhat equal mental abilities developed increasingly after 1900. One obvious administrative device which promised to fit the curriculum to these varied individuals was to group those of approximately the same intelligences, motor-skill, or social experience, into the same classes, and to-day we are in the midst of a fourth of a series of movements to try this out.

School-men, however, have pointed out that it can be used only in the larger school communities which permit multiplication of classes, or again that each child is a bundle of differing capacities, interests, aptitudes, and special abilities. Thus he may be adept in physical games and manual skill but be unhappy when confronted with other types of activities. They say that no one scheme of classification can bring together into one group children of approximately equal abilities in all the work of the curriculum.

Others again say that there are many kinds of group-activity in which a general cross-section of the child population should live together and that children of a variety of personal interests, economic and social backgrounds, and so forth, should participate in the same social group, as is the situation in life outside the school. Hence they conclude that heterogeneity should be preserved for the sake of the interpenetration of minds in open forum discussion, group creative work, the organisations of the school, and the like.

The proponents of "ability grouping" claim, with the advocates of promotion plans, that their solution meets the problem of varied capacity, eases the teacher's burden of devising special work for advanced or retarded children in mixed classes, and eliminates both waste of time for the bright children and the fears and inferiorities of the slower children.

Some educational workers again have insisted that the chief reason for our huge percentage of failure and non-promotion lies in the inaccuracy of the marks and tests by which pupils' work is measured, and investi-

gations have shown that teachers' marks are only moderately accurate measures of actual attainment.

This conclusion was arrived at by comparing the numbers and percentages of A's, B's, C's, D's, etc., which teachers gave with those which they should have given. This was made possible by previous investigations and measurements of human abilities which, before 1900 indeed, had catalogued physical traits well and made known what percentage of the total population revealed given amounts of a given trait. After 1910 scientific students of mental ability had also devised fairly good measuring instruments with which to test either general mental ability, or attainments in the three R's. Hence it was indicated that teachers who "failed" one-fourth or more of their students, or who gave a preponderance of A's and B's, could not really be measuring student-attainments.

For the two decades before and after the World War an enormous amount of educational effort went into the movement of revision of testing and marking systems, the main good of which was its attention to what it is to be measured. It helped school people to distinguish between capacity and performance. Faculty meetings throughout America discussed such questions as: What is measured by school marks? How much of this measured "thing" do our children have? What marks do teachers actually give? What marks should they give? Could we abolish letter and percentage marks altogether? or replace them by word descriptions and full personal records of each child? Should pupils be ranked in ability at all? Since, however, discussions were based on the usual misconception of the course of study, the results of the "testing movement" expanded this narrow conception of a programme of work little, if at all.

Other educators said that the chief fault with the system was that it did not teach young people how to study. Depending too completely on reading books and learning words, they said it paid too little attention to the task of learning how to do intellectual work. The few abler students who possessed initiative and intelligence seemed to work rapidly, comprehend well, and retain what they learned, all through intuitive methods of work, a fact which made all the more evident the problem of teaching others how to study. Hence elaborate plans for "supervising study" were undertaken. Text-books were written. Teachers' Institutes and Conventions devoted programmes to it.

Under this plan "homework" was abolished, or markedly reduced, on the ground of its inefficiency, operation under unsuitable conditions, misguided parental assistance, etc. This reaction to homework illustrates once more the narrow attitude toward education as being something that goes on in a schoolhouse but isolated from home and community, and it gave rise to a demand for all schoolwork to be done in the school, the length of period for each subject being increased to admit of a period of private study under the teacher's supervision.

As we have already noted, the public school system had come by 1890 to include twelve numbered grades in addition to a kindergarten of one or two years. With the exception of certain Southern States, where the elementary school course occupied seven years, and the several New England States where it occupied nine, the plan throughout the country was of an elementary school of eight grades and a high school of four. The mass of young people, therefore, entered the first grade at the age of six and graduated from high school at approximately 18; and from college at the age of 22. Those entering a profession took their graduate work in professional schools, and, graduating at the age

of 25 or 26, worked as internes and assistants for a year or two and commenced their professional work at least at the advanced age of about 27. Thus a thoroughly standardised educational ladder reached from the kindergarten to the professional school. The rank and file of schoolmen admired this outcome of a hundred years of school building and unquestioningly accepted it.

A small body of pioneering experimentalists, however, attempted reorganisation of the ladder with a view to economy of time, and they proposed to change the entire organisation of the graded school itself. Under the leadership of President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University they launched a nation-wide discussion of optional plans of grouping the school grades. Three types of administrative re-arrangement were discussed in the movement which developed :—

(a) the proposal to economise time by eliminating a year or more from the educational ladder.

(b) the comparative value of the 8-4 (eight year elementary, four year secondary) as contrasted with the 6-6 or the 6-3-3 plans (six elementary, three junior high, three senior high).

(c) other groupings such as the 8-4-2.

As a result of the widespread debate before national Education Associations and in the educational Press of the 1890's many elementary schools reorganised their plan for the seventh and eighth grades and introduced subject-teaching in place of class-teaching.

In the next ten years school systems began to experiment slowly with the various proposals and eventually evolved the Junior High School movement, which shortly after the World War enlisted nearly a thousand school systems. This movement divided the schools of the larger communities into three levels, the Elementary School of six grades, the new Junior High School, generally in a separate building, and the Senior High School with three-year courses, in many places because of the rapid increase in numbers of children remaining in school. Practically all these administrative efforts to fit the school to the child by promotions, reclassifications, measurements, supervision, etc., ignored the curriculum. But another group of innovators was insisting meanwhile that the school could be improved only by rearranging the materials of the curriculum, and forty years ago a movement to individualise the subject curriculum started. This movement and variations of it have spread in one form or another to thousands of school systems in the United States and have been tried out in a score of other countries.

In 1913 Dr. Frederick L. Burk and the Training School Department of the San Francisco State Teachers' College launched a systematic plan of individual instruction, and the Burk experiments and reports have stimulated the world-wide movement of the past fifteen years. The plan organised all the elementary school classes from the kindergarten through the eighth grade so that each pupil could pass through each subject in accordance approximately with his particular abilities. Class recitations and group assignments were abolished. Each child was provided with self-teaching text-books and courses of study in arithmetic, geography, grammar, history, language, and phonics. Daily record charts were kept of the time required for each pupil to complete each unit of each subject.

The results were published in a famous pamphlet "Monograph C". Almost at once schoolmen reading this monograph began to experiment with the individualisation of content in elementary school subjects. The fundamental need, of course, was for new text-book material, organised on a clear, unit arrangement, so that pupils could know their own assign-

ments, read from the text-books, test themselves, and then submit to a check test by the teacher. This text-book material and these self-instructive bulletins were the crux of the whole scheme. More than 100,000 of them were sold on a non-profit and non-advertising basis to educational workers all over the country, although the work was handicapped by political interference—the State Attorney-General ruling that such bulletins could not be published by a State institution.

The work went on, however, especially after the close of the World War, through the energetic and pioneering leadership of two of Dr. Burk's teachers, Dr. Carleton W. Washburne and Mr. Willard W. Beatty,* who were the first to develop the individualisation of instruction in a public school system. It was Carleton Washburne who, after 1919, demonstrated that individualisation in the elementary school was a practicable possibility, even in a small public school system. With conspicuous energy and courage he built up a teaching Staff of loyal and enthusiastic workers, who co-operatively conducted an astonishing number of curriculum studies; wrote text-books and other teaching materials; developed teaching devices for spelling; published many articles, bulletins, and year-books in both professional and lay sources; lectured all over the United States and in various other countries as well; stimulated the development of College courses in individualisation of instruction; and, most recently of all, laid the foundation for a graduate school of teacher training built around the Winnetka† plan. At the present time his achievements both in stimulating the movement and developing actual subject materials are conspicuous.

Here, then, in the pioneer work of Starch, its practical development by Burk, the consequent working out of subject materials by Washburne, and the breaking up of the time schedule into "jobs" by Parkhurst, we have the essence of attempts over forty years to individualise the subject curriculum of the schools. In appraising this, we must note first that all the plans accept to a large degree the traditional notion of a curriculum of subject matter—facts and skills—made out in advance, a definite prearranged task to be accomplished by the pupil. Only in the recent years of the Winnetka and the Dalton experiments has the concept of the curriculum as a widely ramifying scheme of group and individual activities been incorporated in the plans. Even the Winnetka plan divides child development into two fairly unrelated parts. As Kilpatrick put it, appraising this plan, "The gap still remains between the individual drill work and the freer group work. The two parts of the school do not connect".

During this whole forty years of attempts to fit the machinery and the curriculum of the school to the individual child we have seen that administrators for the most part regarded education as "acquiring specific subject matter fixed in advance". Professor Kilpatrick, as one of the leaders of another kind of educational reconstruction, insists that education "is the continuous re-making of life by acquiring subject matter as it is needed for present behaviour. When we can see this and understand the necessity for the unity of self-hood, then we shall see why drill, though necessary, must be sub-ordinated to life—why the school to be finally satisfactory must be continuous with life".

* Mr. Beatty has become one of the outstanding American leaders in the "progressive education movement", being President of the Progressive Education Association in 1933. He became Superintendent of Schools in Bronxville in 1926 where he has developed a unique combination of individual and socialised work.

† For the "Washburne-Winnetka" plan, see Chapter V, p. 147.

CHAPTER V.

NEW METHODS

INTRODUCTION

MRS. BEATRICE ENSOR

The New Education Fellowship has purposely refrained from drawing up any dogma of education, and has not even urged the advisability of any particular form of schoolroom procedure, because we have always recognised that the New Education is primarily a thing of the spirit, the fruits of which are new human relationships between child and teacher and between the children themselves, and new attitudes towards learning, towards authority, one might almost say towards life itself.

Yet life must always express itself through form, hence all our Conferences include an important section on new methods, so that people who are experimenting in new techniques are enabled to give surveys of their work from time to time to teachers, some of whom are working on lines similar to those of the lecturer, either in a spirit of direct discipleship or because the germ of all great ideas is "in the air".

A variety of methods, individual, project, global (Decroly), Montessori, Dalton, Winnetka, might produce a sense of confusion if not of conflict, but actually from all these there emerges something that may be called a modern trend.

For these new techniques are not purely new methods of teaching; they are based on a new conception of the child and of his spontaneous approach to learning of any kind. Life and reality are after all the great teachers, and the rôle of the school-teacher is coming to be seen as one of interpreter and guide, whatever the "method" advocated.

As regards these new methods themselves, they fall naturally into two groups. The Project Method and the Decroly Method are both based on "centres of interest": both make great use of what may be called "social material", i.e. material drawn from the everyday life of the world.

In the same way, Montessori, Dalton, and Winnetka may all be classed together as individual methods. The first is unique in the wealth of its didactic material, and this, together with the accurate sense training based upon it, has permeated Infant Schools in all parts of the world. The Dalton Plan in its purest form embodies a whole time-table planned on individual lines, but many Dalton schools include group activities and Sir Percy Nunn suggests that the most satisfactory balance is struck by fifty per cent. of class work and fifty per cent. individual.

The Winnetka plan strikes a balance between individual and project methods. Dr. Carleton Washburne has postulated that certain minimum essentials must be acquired by every child working on individual lines. He has worked out both the material and the means of acquisition most scientifically. He claims that in this way fifty per cent. of the child's time is saved for the development of individual gifts along co-operative lines and a practical experience of civics through self-government.

Then there is the plan of the workshop-school in which every classroom is a workshop, where the brain is developed through the hand and where the motive power of learning is the need to know how better to do the job in hand.

The essential basis of all these methods is that the responsibility for learning is transferred from the teacher to the child. The teacher is no longer to pump in knowledge, but to enable the child to learn for himself. It is not difficult to guess which sort of knowledge is best assimilated and longer retained.

The new methods are particularly suitable to rural schools, where indeed they have long been practised informally owing to the size of the class and the great age-difference between its members. In better-staffed schools new methods are gradually being tried out, in one class, or in one subject throughout the school, or in the school as a whole. Needless to say, the smooth working of any reform in the school demands close sympathy and feelings of mutual confidence between Head-Teachers and Staff, because of the additional strain that the new methods make upon teachers. But much of the additional work of "corrections" entailed, for example by the Dalton Plan, can be done during school hours, and the most exacting element is the constant demand upon the interest and resourcefulness of the teacher in helping the children to help themselves. This difficulty can only be resolved by the teacher for himself and by his attitude to his work. The teacher, if aware of life as a whole, will glory in his work of helping each child to find himself in the joyful exercise of all his functions, and the fact that he is constantly looking for new material and new ways of presenting it makes the work a living, dynamic thing and so less tiring than the tedious repetition of mechanical subject-matter.

GROWTH IN ACTIVITY

PROFESSOR JOHN DEWEY

I propose to consider three main stages in the child's natural development, in order to show how educational methods should be founded on the essential needs of the child at any given stage and on helping him to progress smoothly from one stage to another, without external pressure and also without the discouragement that would tend to beset his entirely unaided efforts.

"Stages" here means a succession of movements forward, like those of a stage-journey, though in growth there is greater continuity. Stages differ in degree and emphasis; different things become dominant in each, but the deviser of educational method must not subject the child to any sharp breaks such as used to take place between the kindergarten and the junior school. Modern educators are treating the primary school, in America at any rate, more from the angle of the kindergarten so that the child is led by degrees from pure play to more formal studies. Similarly, Dr. Stanley Hall sometimes seems to imply in his treatise on Adolescence that there is a revolutionary change at puberty. There *is* a change—a change of attitude, but the educators should modulate this, interpreting it to the child in such a way that there is nothing catastrophic about it. "We should make all transitions as gradual and as smooth as possible, which means, of course, that we should submit the child to no drastic change of method."

The three stages are :—

(1) *Activity without Reference to Results.*

In the earliest years the activity itself suffices. The child is so thoroughly taken up with what he is doing at the moment, that he takes its consequences in his stride and does not consider them apart from the activity itself.

Take for example the water-colouring of very young children. They do not care very much about the actual picture they have made or even see it maybe as a finished product but rather as a process of expressing something going on in themselves. A child will draw a house on a Christmas card and will make his stocking fill the house. The proportions of actual things do not concern him but merely their relative importance to himself. Primitive Art in general is governed by much the same pre-occupation in the artist.

This whole stage is called "play"—interested absorption in activity for the sake of activity itself, and a great debt is due to Froebel for his rediscovery of the value of education through play, which had come to be regarded as extraneous to life, and childhood as an evil to be got over.

Froebel rediscovered the intrinsic value of the life of childhood and its special quality—impressions. Bodily activities such as leaping and running may seem to be chiefly physical but to the child they are imaginative and emotional activities also. If formalised by a teacher who does not know his craft they can of course lose all imaginative content.

As an illustration of misconception of the nature of activity, in a school which I visited a teacher had his class singing for two minutes, then reading for three minutes, then doing physical exercises for three minutes, and then turning to me said animatedly: "You see, I have studied your writings".

Children do not, of themselves, switch over from one form to another in this way. As Miss Parkhurst has said, each child has a certain rhythm and the teacher must do his utmost to avoid breaking in upon that rhythm. The child does not think of play in terms of amusement; it is significant activity, the highest of which he is for the moment capable.

Children vary enormously in their natural and social requirements, and the teacher at this stage should be suspicious of old stereotyped forms of play and of any impulse merely to amuse the children. Activities, if they are to have any serious import, must arouse the emotions of the children and free their imaginative lives.

(2) *Control of Activity by its Outcome.*

The transition to the second stage takes place gradually. A child becomes more aware of the result of its activity and thus begins to try to guide activities (formerly spontaneous) to a successful outcome. Purpose is added to the absorption of his play, his face shows a growing intentness over what he is doing. Play tends to develop into games with certain objective conditions to be observed.

It is a sign of progress in the mental development of a child when he begins to play such games as "hide-and-seek" and to observe their rules. He reaches the "second stage" when he has a sense of end or aim. This is a transition within the play-period itself.

By this transition he has gained an ability to *work* (in the psychological meaning of the word). His activity still expresses his own idea of making a thing but it begins to be controlled by the thing-to-be-made.

The teacher should be aware of this new factor, for the time will come when he must step in and help. Children immensely interested in free expression in water-colouring may begin to lose interest in it and even turn away from it, possibly because they see in their work, as other people see, its crudities and insufficiencies. They have not the technical ability to achieve what they feel to be the proper standard of achievement and so they cease to draw. There has been no gradual transitional stage, no teacher to indicate to the child the ways in which he could better carry out his aims.

In schools that give scope for the freer activities, great activity and success are found all through the earlier years, but in the sixth, seventh, and eighth years of a child's life there is a loss, a failure to carry over. Discouragement curtails activities, owing to failure in the teacher to realise during the preceding stage his true rôle of gradually introducing methods of common procedure. We must find out what the child really wants to achieve and so help him to pass over from play to work.

(3) *Use of Symbols.*

This is an essential if man is to outstrip the non-understanding stage of the lower animals.

Man has an interest in, and ability to use, symbols. His conscious intellectual development is bound up in their use. There has been a much-needed revulsion against their over-utilisation in early education and a protest against an undue linguistic element in the training of the young child.

Yet without symbols there can be no intellectual development. Our minds travel outwards in space and time only through symbols which stand for these things.

The use of symbols is introduced to the child when he first learns to speak, but he is first expected to make conscious use of them when he learns to read. As more attention is paid to reading, symbols play a larger part. In higher classes the mastery of the symbolic factor becomes greater until, finally, great scientists such as Einstein think in symbols. This has a direct bearing on pedagogy in that, until a symbol can mean something to a child, it should not be introduced to him.

Individuals differ enormously in this third stage, so much so that, in the latter stages of schooling, the curriculum should be sufficiently differentiated for the child to be able to learn only what is intrinsically congenial to him.

There are three representative types of man; the artistic, the executive, and the scientific; in the former the first stage, sheer joy in activity, still exists, but he has acquired technique. The executive or administrative type belongs mainly to the second stage. He is interested in the result of his activity. Finally, the scientific, speculative type is interested in symbols. There are no sharp divisions; each obviously has and needs certain elements from all three stages, but each has certain dominant tendencies.

Teachers who realise clearly the import of these three stages will be on their guard against forcing square pegs into round holes. The artistic ability of the child must be better served. Music, dancing, drawing, painting, ought not to be for the few only, "extras" with extra fees, nor, however, should they be forced on all children.

The suggestion is of continuity of growth in action. The task of the teacher is to observe and help to maintain it and to refrain at all times from breaking into it.

THE WORKSHOP IN EDUCATION

DR. J. J. VAN DER LEEUW

My subject—the place of workshop, studio, and laboratory in education—is vital to the whole future of modern civilisation, the fate of which will depend largely on the future educational methods.

Education is largely responsible for the chaos in the world to-day. A change in methods may have an equally profound influence in the world of the future and prove one of the ways of its salvation.

One of our greatest dangers is the loss of wholeness in man and his outlook. Modern man is divided within himself into many selves at war with one another. What an irony it is that man flocks in admiration to an Aviation Exhibition mainly of bombing machines, lost in wonderment at their diabolical cleverness of design, and yet lost to the sense of value which tells each that their use is to his own extermination. This division is not to be found in all men. Primitive man is whole, and even in the earlier phases of civilisation wholeness was dominant. In Greek civilisation, for instance, the development of wholeness was considered to be of the highest importance. Man was regarded as a being both emotional and aesthetic, the man of thought and feeling as well as the man of action, and there was no question of developing either alone. Balance was the ideal.

But, as man's intellect developed, he lost that wholeness and ceased to realise the importance of the balance between intellect and emotion, until to-day the development of intellect has entirely overbalanced emotional development. And education must be held partly guilty since it has made it possible for the intellect to outgrow at an enormous pace moral and emotional development, and intellect uncontrolled by any emotional sense of value is a deadly instrument. Many people point to education as a light that is leading the world, but very often it is not ahead but behind.

It is important to remember that the lines of development marked in the child's training in earlier years will persist in later life, and education is therefore responsible for the isolation of the intelligence, though the fault is also partly due to the general development of our whole social system.

A very young child has a feeling of wholeness, not of "I"-ness; with the growth of the latter the wholeness is lost, and the individual then feels himself as a separate individual and distinguishes himself from nature. Thus it becomes possible for him to study, to explore, and to conquer nature, and to realise the multiplicity of the world and to see the things around him objectively.

For full realisation of himself and of the world around him it is necessary, however, that man should not only realise his environment intellectually but also with a sound emotional sense of values. And in this respect education has failed by becoming more and more abstractly intellectual.

That they may learn arithmetic, children are usually given problems about non-existent bags of potatoes and mythical cyclists, a criminal method—for it accustoms the child in his early years to deal in abstractions quite unrelated to any actual world, and by it were spread the first germs of the disease caused by development of the intellect without reference to real world surroundings.

The old education looks upon a child as an empty vessel to be filled with wisdom. The teacher is active and the child passive. But knowledge can only be imparted when a desire for that knowledge has arisen,

and a problem cannot be answered before the question has formed itself in the child's mind. The attempt to impart knowledge where there is no desire merely gives children indigestion of the intellect, just as they would be given physical indigestion if crammed with food when not feeling hungry.

And the second great fault of the old education is that it gives knowledge utterly unrelated to real world surroundings.

To quote a personal experience—education in Holland is, of its kind, very good and I myself passed Matriculation in 26 subjects at the age of 16. But the great majority of the knowledge then stuffed down vanished as rapidly as it went in, simply because it was taught intellectually and with no reality to link it with the world around me. In the New Education, however, first of all the child is active—he discovers for himself, he asks and enquires—and secondly throughout his school life contact is sought with reality.

To take the first difference—the essential activity of the child. In the growing being growth comes through the use of the faculties. Yet the old teaching placed children in immobile rows and the teacher alone was allowed to be active. This was a psychological crime. The cause of the rigid discipline of the system is that the child will naturally be difficult to discipline if asked things contrary to the very laws of growth. And, in the matter of contact with reality, the first contact of a child with the world is by his senses, and the New Education maintains that knowledge should come in the same way.

Therefore in the new methods there are two main principles. They consider that the old idea that a group of children should all develop at the same time and in the same way is an impossible one. A whole class cannot have an interest in one particular thing at a given moment, nor can they be expected to develop at the same rate any more than to grow at the same rate, yet one does not say to a child of below average height "If you do not grow an inch soon, I will stretch you".

Each child has his own rate both of mental and physical growth and his own method of acquiring knowledge, and education must adapt itself to this truth. The New Education does so; it recognises the child as an individual developing in his own way, at his own rate, and by his own methods, and at once the old class-teaching becomes impossible. Something must be found to take the place of the teacher, and this is the aim of the New Education.

Instead of putting a child in a bare class-room and pumping into him synthetic knowledge, it tries to surround him with educational material devised so that in it the child will find the answers to the questions that arise in his mind. The teacher is there, not to pump in knowledge, but to direct spontaneous activity. His task, however, is no less difficult than in the old education. He no longer talks for hours on end or maintains a discipline of immobility, but he must become a close observer of each pupil. He must learn to perceive what the pupil needs and, by one slight movement or one small phrase, to help him to a new discovery.

Dr. Montessori was one of the first to realise this, and the method outlined here is to be found in her system, as in others. The child is surrounded by didactic material of which he makes use under the watchful eye of the educator. But the latter does not give the knowledge; the child discovers it for himself, and the educator gives advice and guidance when the need for it arises in the mind of the child.

As to the proper place of the workshop, studio, and laboratory in education, there are many schools to-day in which these three play

little or no part. In some cases they are only side-shows, mere incidentals, while the parent merely thinks that it is nice that his child has made something useless in the carpentry-workshop and looks upon carpentry as an "extra". His pleasure that the child has made something is simply because one so often forgets that a child has hands that it is almost a revelation when he creates anything at all.

In some schools a better use is made of the workshop by relating it more vitally to the uses of the school, for instance in the making and repair of school furniture. But even that is not good enough.

The workshop, as I conceive it, is not to be a place in which pupils are to learn a trade. To take its true place the workshop must be an organic part of the educational work of the School. I would like to see it form the whole basis of the school work and the class-room disappear entirely. This has already been done in the Dalton Plan under which the "class-room" has given way to the "laboratory" in which all subjects are studied by the children individually or in small groups. In this system the child discovers for himself, or asks what he does not know and wants to know from the teacher, or from another child—a heinous offence in the old system. And by punishing this "offence" the old education is eliminating a most valuable factor in education, the factor of co-operation which, if not allowed to children in early years, cannot be expected of them later on.

In the New Education the difficulty will not be to keep the child at work but not to disturb him. Therefore the workshop is not to be a side-show but the basis and heart of the work, vitally related to the theoretical knowledge taught in the school, and the educators will be aware and possessed of the knowledge that makes that relationship possible. In the old system the teacher of carpentry, clay modelling, and so on, does not know its relationship to the theoretical subjects or, if he does, he is not expected to impart this to his pupils. But in the new system the man who knows carpentry thoroughly will equally well know mathematics, just as the teacher of mathematics will know carpentry. And so, when a boy is doing carpentry, problems will arise for the solution of which geometrical and arithmetical knowledge are necessary, and the teachers will be able to help him to relate those problems to the reality of his work.

In dealing with matter the boy will continually find problems that can only be solved if he knows something about mathematics and, being able to relate these to a very vital reality, he will learn eagerly. Arithmetic will not be to him a maze of bags of potatoes never seen, or of mythical men racing mythical trains on equally mythical bicycles, but it will be a real and vital subject because it concerns the actual world in which he lives and works.

The teacher must remember that every individual has some special line of development, some branch of learning which makes a special appeal to him, and all he learns must be related to it. In that way comes the development of the whole being. For instance, a boy who is keen on botany may not be interested in French, but he can be given an interest through botanical works written in French and thus providing an incentive to him to master the language. In this way all subjects can be approached through those that particularly interest the pupil.

I have said that only when educators unite practice and theory will it become possible to re-establish wholeness in education. I see in the future a school in which the work of the workshops will not be a happy-go-lucky affair but will develop so as to lead to problems that can only be solved when the child masters the theoretical side of his

subject. In this way he will take in knowledge quickly and in a very real way, for the only abiding knowledge is that which is obtained when there is a real yearning for the answer.

As an example, take the teaching of weights and measures which are usually drilled into a child mechanically without any relation to reality. In a school in Australia I began to teach the children, hitherto taught by the old method, by relating their weights and measures to reality. We opened a shop and weighed and measured our wares. At once ounces, pounds, pints, and gallons, became not abstract and dull formulae but very real entities. Those boys had actually seen what a pint of this and a gallon of that looked like, and that eight pints really did make a gallon, instead of being arbitrarily told that this was so. And so they remembered their weights and measures with the greatest of ease.

The workshop, therefore, must be not merely an organic part of the school, but the very basis and root of the theoretical knowledge imparted there. In education you are dealing with nature and the world, and you will never arouse the interest of the child if you try to develop the intellect irrespective of the rest of man's life. It is because this has been done in the past that man has discovered the secrets of nature and used them to destroy himself. I imagine that if a visitor from another planet were to come to the earth and see our present educational system he would regard it as sheer insanity.

The re-establishment of wholeness in man is vital, and the only way in which we can do it is by letting education take its roots in the world of reality and not in the blackboard, which creates an enormous gap between the intellect and the real world. Just as the workshop should be the heart of education to-day, so should Art take its place in any educational system that aims at wholeness. In Art-education still more crimes are committed than in general education, and in most schools Art is considered a rather useless "extra".

In the English school system games are looked on as an important part of its education, and they have made a contribution that gives it a special characteristic and genius. If games were taken away, a whole and important element of school work would be lost. I would like to see that that same statement applied to Art and to dancing. The world to-day is perishing for lack of vision. We have men of ideals and men of practical ability but very rarely do we find the two combined, except in the artist who sees the vision and translates it into a tangible reality.

Not every child has the artistic gift but, as in games the spirit of sportsmanship is considered to be necessary to a school, so in Art something of the vision and practical ability of the artist should permeate the school. The most important thing that it can bestow is this translation of vision into reality. Even those who have no special ability in Art will learn something from the attitude of the artist, and, if they cannot create works of Art, they can make their daily lives the work of artists, for Art develops a sense of values.

One of the most valuable Art activities in any school is dancing. In dancing a rhythm is heard, felt, thought out, and translated into action. In this one creative activity, therefore, you get the entire element of wholeness that should be the aim of education. It teaches co-ordination and can influence many other branches of learning. I know of a boy who made good at mathematics the moment he took up dancing, not ballroom dancing but rhythmic dancing developed in recent years. You sometimes find that dancing is repulsive to boys because they

consider it effeminate, but there are forms of the art virile and difficult enough to satisfy any boy.

And now to sum up. The loss of wholeness is the deadly danger from which we are suffering to-day, for in our present educational system the intelligence is growing up entirely unrelated to activity. This evil can only be cured when in education intelligence is dethroned and when education is recognised as being vitally bound up with man's relation to the actual universe surrounding him. All questions to which education provides the answers should arise in dealing with matter.

My vision of the future is of education set in a school where workshops, laboratories, and studios, provide the basic activities of the pupils and where teachers, with both manual and theoretical knowledge, are able to relate all learning to the reality of the world in which their pupils live and work.

CULTURE WORK-RHYTHMS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSONALITY

MISS HELEN PARKHURST

An intensive study of "Work-Rhythms", extending over more than ten years, has strengthened the conclusion that one of the first obligations of the school is to help individuals to establish that inner equilibrium or sensitive rhythmic functioning which makes for uniqueness. Each person has his own particular rhythm and, if he works rhythmically, he achieves the success of which he is capable, but, if the rhythm is interrupted, he fails and is retarded until it is re-established. Children, or animals, in their first movements move differently from one another, the difference being indicated by a rhythmic pulse, which is more than physical as it has to do with the functioning of the entire personality and will be noticeably upset by a harsh unexpected command or some unexpected gesture. A man living in a forest and constantly subject to attack would not move in the same way as if in a home of his own choosing, and the hurried movements of a man, or an animal, at bay are no index of normal rhythm. If one were never permitted to bring one's ideas or acts to completion, rhythmic balance would be destroyed, just as in the War men who were interrupted by bursting shells in the act of giving or executing some command became entirely different personalities as "shell-shock" victims. Or again the enforced régime of the factory makes for unnaturalness and frequently effects a slow disintegration of the personality of the worker whose normal rhythm is interrupted by restraints. In his case he is controlled by the needs of a machine and far removed even from the musician, whose hands in turn move more rhythmically when playing his own compositions than when controlled by the score of some other composer. The very fact that the factory-worker may not co-operate intelligently by knowing the purpose of an act destroys his rhythm and robs him of the "man's spirit" which differentiates him from the beasts of burden. To keep his rhythm he must be able to move with the knowledge that he is a free agent.

Similarly the small child moves about his home exploring here and there at will and establishes his individual work-rhythm, but as soon as he goes to school he must adjust himself to a time-table and a place set for all alike, and his rhythm is interrupted. He must of course

face reality, but the education process does not begin with the completed materials of the expert, and it takes a long time for some and a shorter time for others. He must therefore first accept the obligation of the task, then thoroughly understand what he is expected to do, and then as a free agent proceed at his own speed and in his own way to do it. Success is for those who are permitted to discover their own best ways to self-discovery, and later, even when conditions may not be of their own choosing, they will be able to accomplish tasks without making inroads on personality. There are physical rhythms of mere stride, but there must be wider rhythm born of satisfaction and real progress. The coupling of these will bring about the harmony of integrated living. Working upon a self-set task, or upon another's purpose recognised as necessary, will unify experience, and progress is natural because the result is indigenous to the individual.

A variety of illustrations from personal experience of the response to natural laws and nature-rhythms by children living freely form a marked contrast to the conditions obtaining in a rigid time-table school in which, when a first freedom of working was introduced, the pupils still moved like puppets and almost automatically rose from their seats in accordance with the scheduled breaks in the time-table. Rhythmic living had not been permitted. Hence to meet the future bravely children must learn to summon their forces quickly to meet emergencies and to make plans and to discard these when they have served their purpose in order to replace them by new—since the satisfaction of one demand creates another, and they must realise by the changes in their own plans that Society has changed, is changing, and will remain continuously subject to change.

During the formative years (e.g. 8-14) certain principles are to be recommended.

1. Within the school a child should be permitted to live under the natural conditions of home, giving one direction to all his energies.

2. A child should make daily a plan for his day's work, and then make the next day's plan in terms of the new needs and demands created by the happenings of the previous day.

3. In carrying out his plan he should be free from interruption for at least two-thirds of his school-day.

4. The environment should be suitably controlled by himself, though he must state his purpose and be held responsible for his self-made plans, so that he may learn cause and effect and that work does not "get itself done." He should test himself to become acquainted with his own speed in varied exercises, especially in those which he has indicated as being most vital to him. He should take time to enjoy painting a beautiful picture, or for writing his own inspiration in prose or verse, and through experience should learn the use and misuse of time. As an illustration a child, who was unable to work sums under a set time-table, when left to herself "worked up her courage by doing her pleasant tasks first" and, with her work-rhythm thus established, "lost her fear of sums" and overcame her weakness.

5. There should be "time off" for discussion of "worrisome problems", and no reproof if this involves loss of some set hour.

6. There should be time to walk about and observe, to think one's thoughts or realise one's dreams. Protracted experiment in the case of five sets of twins as to time-spans of various unrestricted pursuits showed variations of from ten to fifty minutes in balance of time in a two-hour period—so varied were their rhythms even where identity might have been looked for.

A detailed account of the complete rehabilitation of "Susan", whose work-rhythm had been very gravely interrupted by a very formal school-life up to the age of thirteen and by a year of rigid confinement owing to ill-health, illustrated the effects of careful diagnosis, patience, and encouragement, as a remedy for interruption of the kind, and Miss Parkhurst concluded—

"In certain soil certain kinds of plants thrive, in a certain kind of environment certain characteristics of fearlessness, confidence, and endurance thrive. As truly as great Art is indigenous, so also is personality indigenous to the soil it is given to grow in. When a great work of art or an unselfish deed comes to the fore, you may know that some responsible agent has identified himself with his environment: inner harmony is attained, because he has come to terms—he has made a conquest of his environment.

Dr. Dewey says in his most recent book, 'Art is Experience'—'Direct experience comes from nature and man interacting with each other. In this interaction human energy gathers, is released, dammed, frustrated, and victorious. There are rhythmic beats of want and fulfilment, pulses of doing and being withheld from doing. All interactions that effect stability and order in the whirling flux of change are rhythms. There is ebb and flow, systole and diastole, ordered change. The outcome is balance and counterbalance. These are not static or mechanical. They express power that is intense because it is measured through overcoming resistance.'

Personality is a living, glorious thing. It is as great a work of art as a piece of sculpture or a rare canvas—in fact, *only after personality has become integrated* through rhythmic living is God ever manifest in Man."

Amongst numerous graphic illustrations of her theme given by Miss Parkhurst were the following:—

In London there was a young officer who had been shell-shocked in the act of giving a command. The resulting morose, sullen officer was very unlike his former buoyant self. Under hypnosis, to which he willingly agreed, he was asked to explain what had happened and encouraged to repeat the command he had started to give. Several attempts were made in vain, but *finally* he was able to complete it. Thereafter, just as the great surgeon had hoped, by simply completing the interrupted command his normal rhythm was re-established and his personality restored!

Once a little boy whom I used to know, when given a difficult piece of work to do, was told by his teacher that she would tell him "a good way to do his task". "No", said the little boy, "I want to try my own way and find out if it is any good. If my way is not good, then I will try your way. Your way for you, my way for me". The wise teacher said she *knew* that that determined little boy would one day enjoy a successful career. And later, even though many times denied conditions of his own choosing, over long periods he was able to carry tasks through to completion without making inroads upon his personality.

A little girl, who kept account of the time required for specially long tasks, one day showed her teacher a little book, in which she

had kept a five year record, proving her point that "She was always slowed up at Christmas time." The same little girl in a burst of confidence said, "I've discovered that every one is good at something—but not always the same something, on the *same day*, at the *same time*."

A small boy dashed away from the laboratory to the literary room and gave as his explanation—"You see I had an idea, and I was afraid I'd spill it". He extended his spilled idea in the form of this poem, which was suggested to him by a newly-discovered word—"prioress"—

Once upon a time
I heard a church bell chime
Call out on Christmas Day
"Come all ye folks to play :
Forget all sorrows ye possess, and listen to the prioress."

Up I hastened and got dressed
And went to the great Church
Which is blessed by God,
The greatest One of all,
Who holds the earth in
His hands like a ball.

A little girl of three said, "When I was a baby, I was very, *very little*, like this (measuring with her fingers)—when I am big I will *not* be little,—then I will die—then I will become little again—always like that."

Another child of three said, "The red leaves are on the trees—then they will fall on the ground, then the snow will cover them up—they will be gone—but then the sun will melt the snow, and there will be more leaves—round and round—always round and round."

A girl of five asked her mother, "When Spring comes does she pick up Winter and carry her along?"

A boy of six wrote, "Once a young boy went through the forest and he came to an old man's hut. 'Tell me my boy all the deeds you do', said the old man. And as they talked the old man melted away."

"Susan", whose day-dreams were all of horses, at the age of 14 wrote—

Day-Dreams.

If I could be a horse,
A horse of slender limbs and bones,
A horse of wispy mane and tail,
I'd shake my head and ruffle my mane,
Gather myself, and gallop away.

Oh, if I could only be a horse,
Just a little horse will do ;
A little horse with soft brown eyes,
A little horse with tiny feet,
I'd caper all the day long
With soft moss below and airy sky above.

I want to be a horse
And stand upon the flowered hill,
The breezes blowing upon my head
Sending messages to my ears.
I want to drink the bubbling brook
And eat the dewy grass,
While all about me nature sings,
Rejoicing in its freshness.

One day He who lives above heard my prayer
And smote his hands in anger ;
" Be a horse, thou silly one " He cried,
As the thunder crashed on every side.

So I became a horse,
A little horse with soft brown eyes,
A little horse with streaming tail ;
And all day long I danced about,
Sometimes eating grass, sometimes drinking water,
Always caressed by the sun—
The sun that warms the heart.

Soon the sun descended into bed,
And longer grew the shadows
Until night came in its stead.
I was feeling sleepy, longing for a rest,
But below me was the hard, hard ground,
Above me was the cold, black sky,

I threw back my head and looked at the stars
Twinkling in the distance, and thought,
If only I could be a man—
A man with bed and sheets.

THE DALTON PLAN

MISS HELEN PARKHURST

The first germ of the idea of the Dalton Plan came to Miss Parkhurst when she began to observe (in no official capacity) the daily doings in a rural school in her immediate neighbourhood. She afterwards became Head of this school and, in her work there, grew more and more convinced that it was not the quantity but the quality and presentment of the work that needed to be changed, and that the motive power of learning must be formed *within* the child rather than in the teacher or the educational authorities.

Experimental work in California followed, but the War obliged her to hold her ideas in abeyance till it was over. In 1920, through the co-operation of the Principal of the Dalton High School, Dalton, Mass., she was enabled to make the first thorough-going experiment on the lines that she had long been pondering. This gave the name to the plan.

A further stage was reached in the opening of a private school, known as the University School, which was later transferred to its present quarters and re-named the Dalton School. This became immediately a focal point from which Miss Parkhurst's principles radiated rapidly to many parts of the world.

The school is co-educational and takes children from 2 to 18. It deliberately placed itself under the ordinary restrictions imposed by the educational authorities of the State and County of New York. Yet Miss Parkhurst says definitely that she was never seriously interfered with, because she herself knew what she was driving at and what methods of organisation were essential to her goal, and that, if only teachers will "intelligently pursue the things they understand", the Inspector will not only hold his hand but will appreciate and approve of such initiative.

She then attacked the problem of examinations. From 1936 onwards pupils from her school, along with those of twenty-seven other selected progressive schools, will be freed from the necessity of passing a University entrance examination and will be left alone to set up any curriculum they may individually devise. In permitting this the Colleges believe that they and these schools can help to reconstruct the curriculum of all secondary schools. This will enable her to tackle basic problems, and she hopes by degrees to carry out a new curriculum drawn up by the pupils themselves. This will be, of course, a gradual process carried out by trial and error and in a spirit both scientific and essentially humane. It will be perhaps a work of years and will include research work on the lines of her "work rhythms" experiment.

The great majority of teachers may feel that such an experiment is so far beyond the realm of their experience as to hold little interest for them. But it is important to realise that the conditions under which Miss Parkhurst will have worked, 1920-1936, are very similar to their own. She too has been obliged to take "efficient measures to realise a fixed standard of work", and all that she has accomplished hitherto has been in spite of the continuous pressure of a rigorous examination system.

Miss Parkhurst rejects both the words "system" and "method" in connection with the Dalton Plan, because "there are so many ways of teaching everything". She has always been a disciple of Dewey and has incorporated much of his philosophy and principles of education into her school. She therefore deprecates the using of the Dalton Plan as merely a new technique for redistributing and re-presenting the old curriculum. Her aim has always been so to recognise the school as to reconcile completely the complementary functions of teaching and learning. "Every school problem is one for the teacher and the child; how best to do this or that". Her idea is to *reorganise the conditions of the school so that the one who has to do the work (whether child or teacher) may do it under the most fair and fruitful conditions*. This is perhaps the most terse and forcible statement ever made of the purpose of the Dalton Plan. Her "fair and fruitful conditions" include not only space and air and sunlight but an extremely beautiful and varied use of colour in the different class-rooms. There is a "silent room" where

the children may sit in peace and quiet when they feel the need to collect themselves and be alone, and even in general there is none of that "activity for activity's sake" which Dr. Dewey so deplors; in the school as a whole there is room for the child's spiritual growth.

Music and painting hold a very large place in the life of the children.* The principles of the Dalton Plan may be summed up under three headings: 1. *Freedom*; 2. *Budgeting of Time*; 3. *Interaction of Group Life*.

1. *Freedom* is limited only by the assignments or units of work that each child is expected to accomplish in certain subjects in the course of a month. The amount of time spent on each subject, the order in which subjects are tackled, the peregrinations from laboratory to laboratory, (for all the class-rooms in the Dalton School are truly laboratories), are all left to the child's good sense. "The organisation of the school must permit individuals to be free, sufficiently free to know the cost and meaning of the misuse of freedom; free to become convinced that freedom is not an end in itself but a means which permits one to develop physically, spiritually, and intellectually, something for which one is always responsible". One of the most illuminating stories about the Plan was of a little girl who in answer to a question replied: "Some days I feel very well and on those days I do my most difficult subjects. On the days when I am not feeling well I take my easy ones." She had learnt more of the art of living, of working with the grain, and of the conservation of energy, than many of us master in a lifetime.

2. *Budgeting of Time*. Miss Parkhurst then showed a series of school charts and explained how every child has to complete each month twenty units in each of several subjects, and five units in the course of a day, though allowed to decide for itself how these units shall be divided. Thus the responsibility for getting the work done is transferred from the teacher to the child.

The Instruction Chart, which the children themselves consult, marks out specific points for investigation in each subject. After an initial lesson the child proceeds to do the job on his own account. When a group has completed a given number of units, it applies to the teacher for instruction. Repetition and drill may be given at this stage without any fear of boring the children, for it comes at a point where they themselves realise their need.

The whole question of "budgeting of time" is implicit in this scheme of work. The child will no longer waste time in re-learning what he already knows in his easy subjects. He will both advance more quickly in these and will also ensure himself sufficient time to master thoroughly the things he finds difficult. Thus Miss Parkhurst has eliminated the two major time-wasting factors of the ordinary school time-table—the quick learner, who grasps a point and then has nothing to do, and the slow learner, who lets a spate of words slip over his ears, without learning anything definite from them and with an increasing sense that that subject at any rate is quite beyond his grasp.

3. As regards our third principle, the *interaction of the group*, this is made possible in a variety of ways. It has sometimes been suggested that the Dalton Plan is so individualistic that it can leave little or no room for group activities. But in the first place, as an essential feature of the day, the whole school meets in an assembly before the day's work begins. Similarly at the end of the morning the children of each class are gathered together for a conference on some subject of general interest.

* This was shown by a striking exhibit of their Art work.—ED.

Further, any subject teacher may issue a class-call in any class in her own subject. (These class-calls are planned ahead at Staff meetings, and no more than two, the average being less, may be issued to any one class in one day.)

As Miss Parkhurst herself has said, "there must be mingling of individuals on self-set errands, development by exchange of opinion, not a life of text-books but a stimulating life of eager human souls seeking the solutions to real problems through the interactions of group life on a large scale".

While not urging that every school should adopt the Dalton Plan, Miss Parkhurst urged that schools rid themselves of the fixed timetable so that there might be the same spontaneity of dealings between teacher and child as there is between parent and child. In this way there will arise a more responsive attitude in the school, and a more flexible type of human being will result.

She pleaded that in times of comparative prosperity, such as South Africa is now experiencing, mothers should give themselves more generously to their children and should think less of the material side. "In prosperity do not deny the child what it needs most; happiness, peace, and balance."

APPLICATIONS OF THE DALTON PLAN

MR. A. J. LYNCH

Miss Parkhurst has been dealing with the theory of the Dalton Plan; my task is to indicate how the theory may be applied to schools of varying types.

If one had an entirely free hand to experiment, one might perhaps undertake the risks involved in making large-scale experiments, suffer the mistakes and failures consequent upon such experimentation, and perhaps learn by them, but the average teacher must naturally be cautious as to how far he will be prepared to take such risks. He may not be entirely free, or may be working under a "system" which is not too generous in the provision of Staff and equipment, or which demands a detailed time-table, or which carries inspection and issues reports. Furthermore, there may be examination demands to be met; and the problem is how far the principles of the Dalton Plan can be applied within such a system.

These alternatives leave no doubt as to the position, and, whilst it would be ideal to work under the former conditions, the conditions under which most teachers work are not, so far as experimentation is concerned, of the ideal kind. No one imagines, so far as the Dalton Plan is concerned, that the organisation of a large urban school would also be suitable in a rural area, hence, when one grasps what the Dalton Plan really stands for, the next step is to try to ascertain the maximum benefit which, under the prevailing conditions, can be procured. In other words, the Dalton Plan is not a rigid system which can be taken and applied in bulk to every type of school. The fact is, the Dalton Plan is not a "system" at all but better an atmosphere—a definite condition in which work can be done in a more effective and natural way than under the conventional methods and productive of more lasting results. Indeed, to erect the Dalton Plan into a system applicable to all schools alike would simply mean the substitution of one system

for another, either of which might have its good and bad points but both of which, because they are "systems", would be unlikely to produce the sort of pupil one desires.

What the Plan really suggests is that it is not sound business for the teacher to be constantly talking to his charges but that it is more economical, so far as his skill and energy are concerned, as well as sound educational policy to arrange his work so that there shall be a reasonable relation between the time devoted to formal teaching and that placed at the disposal of the child for the purposes of private study. This relation will vary with each subject; for example, in foreign languages and drawing. Where foreign languages are taught by modern methods it is fairly obvious that most of the time must be retained by the teacher. On the other hand, where drawing is treated as a means of creative expression, most, if not all, of the time should be given to the pupil. The point, however, is in general that it is very desirable that a child shall always be allowed some portion of the time allotted to any subject for his own use.

The class, as a teaching unit, still remains for that part of the day when private or individual work is not being carried on. The notion that the Dalton Plan seeks to abolish class-teaching is fantastic. The trouble, in the past, has been the too great insistence on class-lessons to the exclusion of all other forms of approach. The teacher did too much of the work; the suggestion now is to allow the pupil to do a reasonable share of it.

The principles of the Plan may be applied in some degree at least to schools of all types, either in a complete reorganisation or in individual subjects. The latter method is adopted in schools of advanced type where the necessity for examinations has to be faced, although the imminence of examinations is often urged as an objection to trying the Plan at all. The following opinion of a young student now at a University, who received his primary education in a school conducted on the Dalton Plan, may be of interest. "Examinations are admittedly not catered for by the Dalton Plan, not primarily because the Plan is not designed to instil the maximum of text-book knowledge in the minimum of time, but because it does not cover a fixed examination syllabus. When a candidate may be at any point in a year's work, it seems unfair to make him take an examination which will either ignore all his latest work or assume that he has done a certain amount of work which in fact he has not. In spite of this, the Dalton Plan is quite a good preparation for the examination, for, although the entire syllabus may not have been covered, the part which has been done has been done thoroughly. In most examinations it is possible to pass by knowing half the syllabus really well instead of having a smattering of the whole. This is, of course, regarding it from the narrowest possible point of view; for as a general rule it is better to know something about everything rather than everything about something."

"In one respect the Dalton Plan offers excellent preparation for an examination; the constant practice in the writing of answers to questions is the best possible training that a candidate could have. Whatever may be thought about the preponderance of written work in the ordinary course of events, there can be no doubt that it is exactly what is necessary to prepare intensively for a written examination."

In the case of the primary school with its two distinct types, the urban and the rural, unconsciously the Dalton Plan in some of its aspects has been of necessity the method adopted in the latter for the past half-century. All that now needs to be done is to show, if possible, how

it can be more systematically and more effectively carried out. It is, however, in the urban areas, where the classes are comparatively large and where it is always easier to deal with pupils in the mass than individually, that it is essential that some relief should be brought to the child. Mass instruction is so often the line of least resistance that the teacher, in taking it, too often ignores those features of the New Education which, though they are admittedly more difficult to cultivate, are yet agreed upon as those very features that best prepare the pupil for his later life. Self-reliance, responsibility, initiative, and self-control are overlooked, and instead groups of children whose chief characteristic is that they have passed an examination but who are uniform to the last degree are annually turned out by our schools. The desire to give children knowledge and instruction becomes the substitute for training children to live. It is not that one can afford to despise knowledge and instruction, but that one desires also to achieve wisdom and understanding. In the urban areas, therefore, not only is the opportunity for a fuller experimentation possible, but it is an insistent need.

The Dalton Plan may be applied in either of the three following ways :—

- (a) with subject-rooms and with specialist teachers ;
- (b) without subject-rooms and without specialists ;
- (c) with particular subjects only.

A. WITH SUBJECT-ROOMS AND SPECIALIST TEACHERS.

The adoption of the Dalton Plan on this basis means, in effect, a reorganisation of the whole school or of those pupils, say from ten years of age upwards, who are able to work under its conditions, in so far as they have a good working acquaintance with the "tools" of knowledge and possess the capacity to read intelligently. It will be necessary to provide, or use class-rooms as, separate rooms where subjects to be Daltonised can be studied during private-study periods, under persons each responsible for a subject. A study of the following tables may be helpful :—

TABLE I.

Daltonised subjects.	Hours available.	Time given to class work.	Time given to pupils.	Length of unit (mins.).
English ..	5	—	5	60
Literature ..	5	1	4	48
Arithmetic ..	4	1	3	36
Geography ..	2	1	1	12
History ..	2	1	1	12
Drawing ..	2	1	1	12
Totals ..	20	5	15	3 hours

It will be observed from columns 3 and 4 that the relation of the time devoted to individual work to that taken for class purposes varies with each subject. In geography and history the relation is fifty-fifty, while in arithmetic and literature the class-work is one-fourth and one-fifth respectively ; the class-work when required in English was, in this instance, taken in the literature room. The only safe way to implement the plan on these lines is to work out a similar table for oneself,

bearing in mind the conditions of the school as to accommodation, Staff, equipment, and, above all, the requirements of the child; no arrangement will be for universal application.

Tables II and III will illustrate possibilities to meet variations in the number of subjects or where the time available differs. These are merely examples and are not intended to indicate any opinion regarding the subjects to be included or the times to be devoted to those subjects, but no wise experimenter will proceed far with his experiment till some such fundamental groundwork has been carefully planned.

TABLE II.

Subject.	Hours available.	Time given to class work.	Time given to pupils.	Length of unit (mins.).
English ..	3	1½	1½	18
Arithmetic ..	5	2	3	36
Geography ..	1½	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	9
History ..	1½	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	9
Drawing ..	1	—	1	12
Totals ..	12	5	7	84

TABLE III.

Subject.	Hours available.	Time given to class work.	Time given to pupils.	Length of unit (mins.).
English ..	3	1	2	24
Geography ..	2	1	1	12
History ..	2	1	1	12
Totals ..	7	3	4	48

The units are given for guidance of the teacher in drawing up his assignments, to prevent the setting of impossible tasks for the available time, and of the pupil as to how long a given task should take.

For schools adopting the Plan on the basis of the subject-rooms, the following time-table of an English Primary School will indicate how the daily three hours allocated to the pupil may be arranged:—

9.00- 9.30 Scripture	2.00-3.00 Private study
9.30-10.30 Private study	3.00-3.10 Recess
10.30-10.40 Recess	3.10-4.30 Class lessons
10.40-11.00 Class lessons	(two periods)
11.00-12.00 Private study	

B. WITHOUT SUBJECT-ROOMS OR SPECIALIST TEACHERS.

Here each class works in its own class-room; the teacher can pursue one of two methods—either that of section *C* below, or by the adoption of “subject-tables” or “blocks”. As many large tables, or blocks of desks, as there are subjects to be Daltonised, are provided at convenient

points in the room, an English Table or Block, an Arithmetic Table or Block, and so on, and pupils will move from table to table as they would from room to room under section A, a miniature in all respects of the larger experiment. The disadvantage of this, however, is that one teacher is responsible for the assignments and their oversight in all subjects, but it is the arrangement carried out in very many schools.

C. WITH PARTICULAR SUBJECTS ONLY.

The use of the Dalton Plan in connection with particular subjects, as shown in Table III, is perhaps the simplest way of approach and the only practicable method for rural schools. Under it the pupil uses part of the time allocated to the subject in working out carefully prepared assignments. The success or failure of the application will depend very largely on the nature of the assignments. If these are merely a catalogue of references to pages in a book, they are of little use; they should be made as interesting and intriguing as possible. The following is a fair average specimen of an assignment in History:

“ASSIGNMENT.”

“As you have now entered on a new period of history, called the Stuart Period, it would be interesting to know how many boys could explain how it received this name. During the Tudor period our interest centred round the King, or the Church; but our attention is now fixed upon a matter of vital importance to the nation—the great struggle between the King and Parliament. It is important that you should thoroughly understand the meaning of this conflict both in its causes and results. The Tudor sovereigns had ruled despotically, that is without consulting Parliament, and the Stuarts followed in their steps; but the crisis came when Charles I ruled for eleven years without once calling Parliament together. Follow closely each event in this stern fight and you will see that Parliament by its victory laid the foundation of the modern system of government by which it is not the Crown but Parliament that rules.

“Read: ‘The Stuarts and their Difficulties’
(Warner, pp. 129-133.)

‘The story of the Gunpowder Plot,’
(‘Piers Plowman’ bk. III, pp. 77-84.)

“The reading will count for three days’ (units) work, and the following questions for a day’s (unit) each:—

Questions:—

1. What were the main causes of the quarrel between the Stuarts and Parliament?
2. Explain, as far as you can, the causes leading up to the Gunpowder Plot. Give its date.

It is necessary that records of work done be carefully kept, and it is usual for the child, the teacher, and the Head Teacher to be able to indicate at any moment the achievement of the pupil, the class, or the school respectively. For a detailed account of suitable kinds of record, reference may be made to *Individual Work and the Dalton Plan* (A. J. Lynch), published by Geo. Philip and Son, 32, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.

SUPPLEMENTARY :

Mrs. Harold Rugg (Louise Kruger) described actual operations in the six-year old class of the Primary School of Miss Parkhurst's Dalton School. The underlying principle was that children should see the things of their environment and also the relationships between them. Requisites were ample space for physical freedom (to move about, build things on the floor, paint large pictures, and so forth), and abundance of material (not necessarily of an elaborate kind or best quality: odds and ends of wood and metal, waste paper, were of use to enable them to construct on a small scale things in which they are interested). Visual aids, slides, pictures cut from newspapers, books and magazines to meet the desire of the upper primary pupils to read and write, and a box of any things that lend themselves to dramatic play were also utilised. The room thus became a workshop, study, laboratory, a "thrilling" place in which to work and play.

A typical activity was illustrated in the making of a rabbit hutch as a sequel to the wish of some child to bring a pet rabbit to school. Questions are asked as to where it is to live, what it is to eat, what are the materials needed, where are they to come from, what will they cost,—involving a wealth of valuable ideas of geography, measurement, money, etc., while the children have active work in partnership and the teacher, when consulted, gives advice primarily through asking questions which lead the children to discover for themselves what is needed.

Similarly the building up of a class newspaper is of great value as an incentive to reading and later of writing. Skills, those aspects which need mastery and technique, are all developed side by side in an integrated setting, and time for working on them individually will be afforded as occasion arises for added experience to fix meanings. Mastery, to be achieved by repetition and drill, will be given opportunity according to individual needs.

Meanwhile another group may be interested in a sugar-cane and organise an exhibition. The question from the teacher as to how other people are to know the names of the exhibits leads to the suggestion of labels, which the children will make and will copy on them the various names written by the teacher, so that they can be recognised. Writing practice thus becomes an important part of the child's life, and it is his own purpose to practice, not the teacher's intention to teach him to write.

THE DECROLY PLAN

PROFESSOR PIERRE BOVET

Those who knew Dr. Decroly cannot separate their memory of him from their knowledge of his work, for his method—(he himself would have disclaimed the word)—was peculiarly the product of his personality. He was essentially a healer and a biologist, and all his work on child psychology is derived from his love of life. 'L'éducation pour la vie par la vie' was a living expression of his faith in life.

The Decroly method can be applied immediately by any teacher who has grasped its idea, for there are no elaborate programmes and the rules are few and so simple as to be unforgettable once they have been understood.*

* See *The Decroly Class* by Amélie Hamaide. Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 10 Bedford Street, London, W.C. 1.

In the Herbartian idea the centre of interest on which the child's education is focussed is decided by a school authority. In the American project-method the centre of interest is to be found by the group. Between these two systems comes Decroly.

As a true biologist Decroly demanded that life itself should supply the answers to the pedagogue's questions: what shall we teach, and how? His centres of interest are those of primitive man. He sets the child the problems set by external nature to the human race—the need to feed oneself, protect oneself, defend oneself, to work, to improve one's conditions, and to play. The principles on which work is based may be summarised as follows:—

(1) The school must provide a simple and vital environment, preferably in the country, where the child may learn (through much the same stimuli as the race itself has learnt) to adapt itself to life.

(2) The school must also enable the child to learn to know his kind, to adapt himself to a way of life in which he shares, and little by little to be a useful member of a community, aware of the rôle he will have to play later as an adult citizen.

(3) The curriculum must have a bio-social bias, that is to say, its themes must be found within the school, as defined above, and in the daily happenings there.

(4) The psychological order in which all knowledge should be acquired may be divided into three stages:—

- (a) first-hand observation of objects and phenomena;
- (b) the association or correlating of these in time and space;
- (c) the expression of such objects or happenings in either concrete or abstract terms.

(5) The acquisition of so-called essential techniques, reading, writing, numbers, is subordinated to the physical and mental development of the child (much as they originally depended on the stage of development of the race). Thus they are acquired by the child as a means of clarifying and expressing his ideas.

(6) The acquisition of these techniques will be facilitated by exploiting the child's play instincts. This makes possible endless repetitions, helps the child's individual reactions, and conserves his energies.

The teaching of Science plays an important part. Up to the age of fifteen the child should be as close as possible to Nature. The farm and fields, with animals to tend and plants to sow and reap, represent the true material which will awaken the child's fullest powers. This vital material will give him full opportunity to observe and think and speak and calculate and express himself in a normal and rational manner.

But the town child must necessarily learn through his own particular environment, and early independence is advocated in the learning of the use of trams and buses and the crossing of streets by himself.

But apart from the environment one must be aware of the routine and the needs of the child himself. Dr. Decroly always insisted that the first thing to be considered was what the child himself needed to know, and he concluded that his chief preoccupation is to know about himself; how he is made, how his body works, how he eats, protects, and defends himself, works and plays and sleeps; the usefulness of his sense, why he grows hungry and thirsty and hot.

The programme may therefore be divided as follows:—

- (1) Knowledge of himself, his needs, and his aims;
- (2) Knowledge of natural and human factors in his environment, on which he depends and which he must manipulate in order that his needs and aims may be fulfilled.

In short, we must prepare the child for life, and to do this we must enable him to study :—

- (1) the living being, and man in particular ;
- (2) nature, including society.

Dr. Decroly's method of teaching reading, undeniably the most important and perhaps the most successful aspect of his work, is based on the following reasoning :—

(1) The work of learning to read depends upon *visual* exercise. The auditive functions play only a secondary part and are on the whole a drawback in learning to read a non-phonetic language such as French.

(2) The visual functions develop earlier and more rapidly than the auditive. The eye is therefore a useful tool for memorising and for intellectual development at an earlier age than the ear.

(3) Sight gives more numerous and more exact impressions to the child than hearing and is therefore more useful. Moreover the eye has marked power of globalisation, that is to say—it is far more capable than the other senses of giving us a rapid impression of the characteristic appearance of persons and objects. It is this power that enables us to remember such an immense number of faces and scenes, pictures and dreams, and objects, without obliging us to know the details of their make-up.

It is this special power which enables us to run our eyes over a passage and gather its meaning—indeed once we can read with this degree of ease the time spent in running the eye over the lines is obviously too short by far to permit of a detailed analysis of the words and syllables.

The usual way of teaching reading by the sound of letters and syllables is thus indefensible psychologically. Neither is it more defensible from the point of view of pedagogy.

The fundamental law of the art of teaching is to pass from the concrete to the abstract, from the simple to the complex, from the known to the unknown.

Now, even if one can argue that the syllable is simpler than a word or phrase, and that once known it can be recognised in an unknown word, it is quite impossible to argue that the syllable is concrete whereas the word and phrase are abstract. On the contrary, it is easy to demonstrate that the sentence " I love mother " is more concrete than " love " and far more concrete than " lo- " or " mo- ".

On this basis a normal child of six can learn in six to twelve months to read anything he can understand, and with a little extra practice can master any ordinary reading-book, and is thus more forward in a shorter time than children who have learnt by older methods, and has a much richer vocabulary and clearer speech.

Writing takes up a great deal of time when taught by so-called rational methods, but under Dr. Decroly's system the child copies from the board a sentence as though he were merely copying a design, without any effort to recognise or shape definite letters. Gradually, as he learns the muscular control, the letters take definite shape, and so the child learns to write without the long and tedious process of attempting individual letters.

In *calculation and measurement* the use of conventional units is comparatively recent and for aeons men measured by natural units—paces, arm-lengths, hand-breadths, fistfuls, the housewife's 'pinch'—but Dr. Decroly encouraged the child to weigh and measure and compare things that he came across in everyday life by such natural units of his own devising, until he realised for himself that such units will not serve where any exactitude is required since they vary as from child to child.

He also insisted that it was dangerous to use symbols for numbers at too early an age, as this gives rise to strain and confusion and prevents many children from ever acquiring a true sense of numbers.

An important part is played by the child's collecting instinct. In a Decroly class-room are big boxes in which the contents of the children's pockets are deposited. Periodically the contents of the boxes are sorted and classified and new interests found, e.g. a piece of leather, which gives rise to an investigation of the processes of tanning.

In Standards III and IV the boxes are still in use, but the contents are different. Pictures now play an important part. In the senior classes documents are collected and classified.

Often all grades of the school are at work on the same centre of interest. For example, the juniors will be studying defence against wild animals while the seniors are studying the problems of international defence. The whole school too will study the subject of food for a whole year, the six-to seven-year olds in an elementary fashion, the twelve-year olds in a far more advanced manner:—but food involves many complicated processes—import, export, economics, social studies, geography, history, modern industry, and all these are blended together in the programme by visits to docks, stations, farms, and factories, thus carrying out the principles of learning through life itself.

Ordinary text-books are practically unknown in the earliest years. The child has to collect his material. Thus observation plays an important rôle, and he builds up his own books and illustrates them copiously either by his own drawings or by pictures which he collects.

To sum up, Decroly's system, like its author, is not dogmatic. He concentrated on the permanent interests of children. He somehow communicated to all his pupils a love of peace and a feeling of general goodwill. He himself went all over the world as an ambassador of children, and even the War years did not interrupt his work for better understanding between the men of all nations.

NOTE: In the discussion, Dr. A. J. le Grange stated that he had studied the Decroly method in Belgium and with Miss Kirstein had put it into practice in his school at Prieska. It had been so successful that he had been asked by the Inspectors to draw up a report which would be circulated to all the teachers in the Cape Province.

THE CHILD-CENTRED SCHOOL IN AMERICA

PROFESSOR HAROLD RUGG

The invitation "Come with me into an American school" could be given and accepted throughout our Empire. The school of your childhood, whether you grew up in New England or the South, in the Middle West or on the Pacific coast, has its replicas throughout our continent and on our scattered island possessions in Porto Rico and the Virgin Islands, in Hawaii and Guam, in Alaska and the Canal Zone. In each of these "possessions" of the American Empire we have set up our graded school. But the mass-education Henry-Ford-model school does not exist only within the boundaries of the American Empire. In school-houses and class-rooms built on the American plan in all of the industrialised cities of China seven million docile young Chinese learn to read, write, and calculate, from text-books devised for another people

and another soil ; learn to parse and decline and translate ; learn categories of species as given in American school text-books in zoology and botany—all of this because Chinese leaders, enjoying the comforts of our steam-heated, motor-driven, luxurious civilisation, have introduced into their own country not only our machines and systems of trade but the structure and mechanism of our modern graded school as well.

Wherever the “ machine age ” has herded people into manufacturing towns, wherever the printing press has induced an appetite for the printed page, there schools of literacy have flourished. The whole world over, “ schools ” and “ education ” have been thought of as being essentially the same thing. Peoples’ languages, their physical characteristics, dress, architecture, and traditions, are peculiar to their Fatherlands ; but the fundamental character of education is the same. Within each national setting are masses of children, classified into school grades, “ taking notes ” from the precise lectures and outlines of teachers, pronouncing and reckoning, singing in unison, memorising Europe’s ancient political and dynastic history, analysing the form and structure of the literary classics and the morphology of plants and animals, reproducing with pen or brush copy-book standards of “ Art ”, saluting flags and reciting national oaths of allegiance.

That this type of school has taught ninety-odd per cent. of the people of these industrialised countries to read and write is in itself no mean achievement, but has it done more than that ? Has it provided a complete education ?

Come with me into another kind of American school of which examples can now be found in many towns and cities of our land. Some of these are private “ laboratory ” and “ experimental ” schools ; others are parts of public school systems. Although they are still comparatively few in numbers, they have been rising in the midst of the old common schools for a generation. Slowly, at first in isolated pioneer experiments, then in increasing numbers as the motivating spirit caught fire and spread, they have been emerging—new in every respect—in buildings, grounds, rooms and equipment ; in libraries and laboratories ; in curriculum, materials, and activities ; in the use that is made of the community ; in psychology and philosophy ;—new and different.

Perhaps the most obvious contrast is revealed in the physical surroundings. Compare the prison-like character of the old school-house with the comfort and utility of the new. The traditional school throughout the world is housed in a standardised barrack-like building with rows of large rooms, arranged around dull corridors and crowded with forty, fifty, sixty children. The third grade room is invariably just like the sixth or the eighth except that desks and chairs may be a little nearer the floor. All are uniform in design, material, shape, size, and furnishing. Nearly all have the same dull green walls, the same maps and blackboards, furniture and shelves.

Iron-bound chairs and desks are screwed to the floor in perfect rectangular arrangement, “ files ” for sitting children, comparable to the steel files in the corridor which hold their formal records. Here indeed is a barracks for little robots, a fitting factory for the carrying on of mass education, a school-house appropriate to a standardised civilisation.

A succession of scenes in a recent news reel showed a ruin of towns and cities after a terrible storm that blew up from the Caribbean Sea ; one Main Street after another wiped out ; homes and business blocks laid waste. Suddenly there appeared on the screen for a few seconds the clear image of a school-house, the roof lifted off and blown away, perhaps into Alabama . . . the side flattened and scattered far and wide.

But still there, defiant in all their mechanical glory, were forty-eight iron-bound chairs and desks. Even the Lord in all His fury could not utterly destroy man's handiwork!

If in the new school, as in the old, the building is designed in terms of the kind of education that goes on within it, what a different kind of education the new must be! Here and there throughout the world pioneers are building that new kind of school-house which the new school demands. Only a few thrilling examples can be given here; multiply them a thousand-fold to feel the current of the new school architecture.

Instead of tall, rectangular barracks are low, roomy, residential-like buildings; instead of being poured into tight moulds, on small metropolitan lots surrounded by huge sky-scrapers, noisy trains, and automobiles, school-houses are built in the broad, rolling countryside. Here is a rambling red-brick stucco building, its broad horizontal lines harmonising with the prairie lines of the beautiful wooded landscape. Here is another set on a spacious plot in the very centre of a community, surrounded by trees and shrubs and lovely homes, a natural merging of man-made structures and the organic earth setting: a background of quiet serenity perfectly attuned to the natural growth of children. In such settings of nature creative work can go on.

In still another school several buildings stretch in a broad quadrangle around a central court with a quiet pool. In it are reflected the moving trees, the blue sky, the white arches and red façade of the central building, the movements of children and teachers as they go about their work.

But we have cities, you say, and fifteen million American children must get their education within them. Of course, and *for these under our present commercial civilisation* we shall probably continue to build tall, sky-scraping buildings on small city lots. Granted; but the design and arrangement of the building itself can be made appropriate to the needs of individual teachers and children. Inside some of these new city school-houses two characteristics strike us—individuality and appropriateness. Each room is different, not because of the overstraining for variety but because it is equipped and decorated in accordance with the specific needs of a particular teacher-pupil group. Lovely rugs, the vivid, coloured drapery, the furniture, the bulletin boards, easels, work-benches—everything in the physical setting is made appropriate to the educational task in hand.

Again the building of the mass school has only one kind of room, the class-room or recitation room. For an education that was satisfied with teaching children to read and write and reckon that was sufficient. But new school-houses contain different kinds of rooms, craft-rooms and shops, music and dance rooms, auditoriums and little theatres, libraries, laboratories, gymnasiums. Recognising that education depends on the kind of physical setting in which it goes on the new school builders aim to provide physical settings for a new kind of education.

The real explanation for the diversity of rooms and facilities in the new schools is found in the curriculum. The demand for varied material equipment is an inevitable concomitant of the many-sided education that goes on in the school.

In the old school children's activities are limited to a very few things indeed. They march into school and out of school in orderly files. They sit quietly reading.

But the new slogans are heard these days at educational conventions.—‘Activities!’ ‘Activity programmes!’ In the new school the children

are doing many kinds of things. They are "active" in the fullest sense—not passively absorbing learning from teachers and books, not confined to single class-rooms, not even to one school building! The new education makes use of the whole community and the region around about it, and for the favoured few who can travel abroad with their teachers the school extends even to the limits of the continents of the earth. A programme of activities, that is the meaning of this far-flung geography of the new school. Note the conspicuous types:

1. *Practice activities*—the repetition of acts in which specific techniques are needed . . . the mental skills of arithmetic, spelling, and scientific manipulation; manual skills (typewriting, handwriting), craft technique (use of tools and machines); social skills (managing people). The new school does not despise drill but uses it intelligently.

2. *Orienting activities*—trips to varied features of environment, markets—stores.

3. *Building activities*—reproducing in miniature the striking characteristics of community and national life. Building for the sake of dramatising meaning, building understanding as well as technical skill. "Free the legs and the arms of a child, and you will help to free his mind and spirit" is the new concept.

4. *Creative activities*—the mass school is limited to a few materials and means of expression that can be carried on in one room and chiefly at a desk. The new schools engage the child in a great wealth of creative activities—sculpture music, dancing, scientific research, painting, creative writing, and dramatics.

5. *Forum activities*—the inter-penetration of minds: the clearing-house to which each person brings his own research products; the conference table at which individuals exchange ideas, learn the art of co-operation, and grow under the impact of personalities. "Free the larynx of a child" was one of the earliest slogans of the new education.

6. *Research activities*—utilising all the ways there are of finding out; studying the past through the experiences of old residents as well as by documentation of old records, by information in industrial technology and compiled archæology, by reading from books of drama, travel, romance, and biography.

Even to-day the mass elementary school has no adequate library, and in most class-rooms books are limited to text-books and reference books—encyclopedias and dictionaries. As for other "materials" the regimented education of the mass school is based upon an occasional globe, a statistical book of facts, chalk and erasers, a wall-map or two.

But in the new school! A rich library and a vast range of materials in the home-room, as well as in the shops, studios, and laboratories. In the grade class-room a reading-table stands in the corner covered with brightly coloured and beautifully illustrated little books. Each one is a separate story, each with its own appeal. On the crowded shelves built around the room are hundreds of books, travel and adventure, historical stories, the romance of machines, the evolution of plants and animals, the wonder of earth and sky, time and space, all made real and thrilling. And these "home-room" books are but an introduction to the wealth of books in the school libraries—one for little children, another for those in the High School. Each has its racks and tables full of indispensable current magazines, daily newspapers, pamphlets, and bulletins, its bulletin boards filled with clippings and announcements of happenings in the scientific, literary, and artistic world. Thus the library of the new school carries young people to every

part of the world in vicarious experience and lets them live again the history of earlier people as well.

The new school depends not merely upon these library facilities of its own; it works in co-operation with the community libraries and museums as well. The third grade, for example, may be receiving a consignment of books this week from the city library for use in its study of pets. The fifth grade is borrowing a dozen volumes on the mechanical conquest of America. The ninth grade's study of the local water supply is aided by the loan of a series of new engineering books. The Senior High School is studying the Manchurian problem which confronted the League of Nations, and the Carnegie Endowment for the Advancement of Peace, as well as several new books just off the press.

There are other materials which the new school contributes to the growth of children. Note the overflowing files of special maps; the varied kinds of globes; the files of railroad folders, travel guides, illustrated materials from local and national Chambers of Commerce; the up-to-the-minute statistical bulletins; the files of slides and motion picture reels.

As Kerschensteiner, the German leader of the "Arbeitschule" (the work-school) once described it: "The school is becoming a laboratory, not an auditorium", a place where youth finds out for itself, a work-school, not a listening school.

But the contrast is even more fundamentally displayed in the subtle mood and temper of the school, in the relations between teachers and youth. The old school herds young people together into crowded rooms, and insists upon an outward order and quiet which inevitably results in inner tensions, strains, and fears. But the new school has set up physical conditions and emotional purposes which produce a very different atmosphere. It is an atmosphere of happy relations between children and teachers. Whereas in the mass school the teacher tends to be a lesson-assigner and hearer, a questioner, an examiner, a drill-master; in the new school he becomes a friend, a leader, a companion, a kindly critic and guide.

Discipline also takes on a new character. Whereas in the mass school it is obviously imposed by the teacher, in the new one the teacher sets the stage so that the child imposes it on himself. This affects all the types of problem which the child or youth comes to confront—the intellectual problems of the curriculum, the personal problems of self-management, the social problems of relations with others. In all of these, under the firm but subtle guidance of the teacher, each individual is brought to accept the idea that he must discipline himself. This indeed is the basis to the new concept of freedom as it works out in the new type of school home. Discipline, like other phases of growth, is appropriate to the education that is being carried forward.

So too with respect to "standards" of work done; in the old regimented education the teacher sets the standard; the learner gets the idea firmly ingrained that he must gauge his efforts to "pass" that standard. Without being conscious of it, he builds up the attitude of trying to "get by". Furthermore he is being trained constantly to compete with his fellows in exceeding the "passing mark". In the new school children and youth are taught that the only valid standard is their "own best job". "Have I said what I really think?", "Have I done an honest job?", become the measures of the individual's work and growth. Thus the atmosphere of the new school is marked by integrity, honesty, rigorous, self-imposed standards of "one's own best work".

We shall see many other differences as well as those just touched upon, for example, differences in time schedules, in Staff, and curriculum, in marking and measuring and promoting and classifying children. We shall focus attention especially upon the differences of the two types in basic psychology and philosophy. This is the most important, for it is the point of view that the community holds toward life and education that determines the kind of building, equipment, curriculum, atmosphere, standards—everything.

THE WINNETKA EXPERIMENT

PROFESSOR HAROLD RUGG

In giving his account of the various attempts made in America to adopt the school to the needs of the individual child, (p. 118 above) Prof. Rugg quoted Dr. Carleton Washburne's own account of his experiments* :—

“The curriculum is divided into two parts. One part deals with knowledges and skills of which everyone alike needs mastery. The other part provides for each child self-expression and the opportunity to contribute to the group something of his own special interests and abilities.

Under the first head come the common essentials, the three R's and similar subject matter. Every child needs to know certain elements of arithmetic, to be able to read with a certain speed and comprehension, to spell certain common words, to know something about those persons, places, and events, to which reference is constantly made. Since every child needs these things, and since every child differs from others in his ability to grasp them, the time and amount of practice to fit each child's needs must be varied. Under the old régime, in the effort to give different children the same subject matter in the same length of time, the quality of the children's work, the degree of their mastery, varied from poor to excellent, as attested by their report cards, but under the Winnetka technique of individual education instead of quality varying time varies ; a child may take as much time as he needs to master a unit of work, but master it he must. The common essentials, by definition, are those knowledges and skills needed by everyone ; to allow many children therefore to pass through school with hazy and inadequate grasp of them, as one must under the class lock-step scheme, is to fail in one of the functions of the school.

The part of the curriculum which should provide self-expression and group activities is quite another matter. Here there is no common skill or knowledge to be mastered. Here each child may legitimately differ from his neighbour in what he gets from school. It is the school's job to provide opportunities for his special interests and abilities to develop. In this field education recognises the importance to evolution of the law of variation and therefore takes full advantage of children's differences. The children must learn how to make up for their weaknesses by using the strength of others and how to contribute their special abilities to the undertakings of the group.

* National Society for the Study of Education, *24th Yearbook*, Part II. ‘Adapting the School to Individual Differences’, Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Illinois, 1925.

To provide for both of these main divisions of the curriculum half the morning and half the afternoon are given over to individual work in the common essentials, while the other half of each session is given to group and creative activities.

During the time devoted to individual work in the common essentials, every child does his own job. If one steps into a "fourth-grade room", for example, he may find each child doing a different thing. A child may be doing fourth-grade arithmetic during one period but a few minutes later, in the same room, be doing fifth-grade reading.

There are no recitations. Each child prepares a unit of work, checks his results with an answer-sheet, and goes on to the next unit. When he has done a small group of units, an amount of work which may have taken him three days or two weeks, he tests himself on this group. If he finds that he has mastered it, that his practice test is 100 per cent right, he asks the teacher for a real test. This test the teacher corrects. If it is not 100 per cent., the child practices again on the weak points shown by it, then asks for a re-test. When he shows the teacher that the group of units (called a 'goal' in Winnetka) is mastered, he works on toward the next goal.

The teacher, under this plan, spends her whole time teaching. She helps an individual here or a group there; she encourages and supervises.

No child ever 'fails', nor does one ever 'skip a grade'. If in June a child has not finished his grade's work, in September he goes on from where he left off. If a child can do more than a grade's work a year, he does so, but he does all the work without skipping any. The child is on a piece-work not a time-work basis. He gets the habit of mastering each thing he undertakes.

During the half of the morning and half of the afternoon devoted to group and creative activities the children are not working toward any set goals, nor are they tested. Going into one of the rooms during this part of the day one may find the children dramatising a part of their history work, it may be a very informal impromptu dramatisation or perhaps in preparation of a more elaborate one to be presented to the school during assembly.

The assembly is a sort of open forum. One day it may be a programme planned by the children and entirely conducted by them. Another day it may be a business meeting in which all the local school affairs are discussed and worked out by the children themselves. It is interesting to see a third-grade child presiding over an assembly of two or three hundred of her schoolmates, in good parliamentary form, during a discussion of school disciplinary problems.

Every child in the Winnetka Schools has an opportunity to serve on some committee. These committees manage all the student activities. They are usually made up of representatives from each class-room and are sufficiently numerous to provide a place for every child. In one school, for instance, there is a committee for assembly-programmes, a committee for care of school grounds, a committee for the care of plants in class-rooms, a committee dealing with the toilets, a committee dealing with playground rules, and so on through the gamut of school affairs.

It is during the 'group and creative activities' part of the day that the Winnetka children have their field trips, that one room may entertain another, or that creative work is done in art and in shop work, each child making the thing which he himself wishes to make. Then too the children issue their school newspaper with contributions from children from the first grade up. The editing, type-setting, proof-reading, and

business management of the newspaper are in the hands of the seventh and eighth grade junior-high school children, who carry a real commercial account in one of the Winnetka banks and pay all their bills with cheques.

It is during this freer part of the day that children learn how to fit their interests and abilities in with those of others, to co-operate, to participate in the activities of the group. At such times they learn to merge their personal interests in the welfare of the whole, and they learn to contribute their special abilities to this group welfare.

By providing flexibility of time for the mastery of common essentials, and by providing opportunity for children to exercise and use their different interests and abilities, the Winnetka schools are adapting the curriculum to the individual differences that exist among children."

FILM AND RADIO AIDS TO EDUCATION

MR. G. T. HANKIN

We are discussing the introduction of mechanical aids, particularly Radio and the Cinema, into the schools of South Africa, and my share in various experiments during the last few years in Great Britain may afford some valuable evidence to assist the reaching of some definite conclusions.

Let me emphasise that we are considering mechanical *aids*, not mechanical education. Nothing can ever replace the personal contact between teacher and taught. But we are living in a mechanical age and, while I, as a teacher, will employ gladly any aid that Science and invention can give me, the power may come from without but mine shall be the directing hand. You may use the radio and the film with your classes but you will always remain supreme, watching over and guiding the development of those in your charge.

We shall all agree that education ought to help the child to harmonise with his environment as an adult, to get the best out of life both in working and in leisure time. For that purpose we desire to train his senses, to broaden and deepen his understanding, to raise his standard and taste, to educate him physically, intellectually, and aesthetically, for the adult world he is about to enter.

It may be asked, who knows what the world will be like? In a hundred years, even in twenty years, another World War may wipe out our present civilisation and the remnants of mankind may be attempting laboriously to build up again some new organisation whereby man may live above the level of the beasts of the field and forest, or, on the other hand, we may discover some methods of settling by mutual understanding our national differences and our class struggles. In the former case our educational system is of little importance. Victors and vanquished are only cannon-fodder, a target for airmen, the prey of the poison germ. The radio will be used to inflame a nation against its enemies, the film to train soldiers.

But if civilisation does survive, what shape will that civilisation take? One can prophesy safely that there will be a decline in the importance of the printed word, not to the scientist or the historian but to the man in the street. He will receive his impressions not so much from the newspaper and the book as from the Wireless and the Cinemas, probably also from Television. President Roosevelt last Friday evening was listened to by 60,000,000 Americans over the Radio. On

the same day over 30,000,000 people in the World attended the Cinema. These figures are approximate, but they are astronomical and enlightening. If we are to train children for the world into which they will enter, we must train their ears to listen to the Radio and their eyes and ears to watch and listen to the talking film.

Our present educational system is largely based on the supremacy of the printed word. Learning to read is, and will remain, indispensable. But learning to read is not merely a question of recognising words. We all try to teach children to read intelligently, to concentrate on what they are reading, and to understand it. Ought we not now to try to teach them to see and listen intelligently, to concentrate on what they see and listen to, and to see and listen intelligently? Must we not train their senses so that they may get the best out of these new instruments for transmitting thought whether it comes across in words or pictures?

Can mechanical aids help to broaden and deepen understanding, to develop the higher qualities of the human mind? How far and in what way can they supplement the text-book and the teacher? In efficiency of approach? In content? Can they in fact do anything which neither the teacher nor the text-book can do equally efficiently?

In "efficiency of approach" I am thinking of the effect on the mind of a boy or girl of a lesson containing a broadcast talk or a film. It is not a question of novelty but of the effect when the novelty has worn off. There is the impersonality of these methods of approach as opposed to those of the teacher; there is also the authority of the printed word, but there is a humanity and realism that the text-book lacks. My experience is that both the Radio and the Cinema have a curious power that ought to be utilised in Education. Do not imagine for a moment that to hear a talk from a "loud-speaker" is the same thing as to read the same material in print. "Content" is perhaps the most important question of all. Can we give over the ether or on the screen anything that the teacher cannot give equally well?

I have brought with me a collection of films of various types, some class-room films to assist in the teaching of definite subjects, some background films to arouse general interest, some films to instruct teachers in educational methods, and in the same way you may hear daily samples of the Broadcast lessons we are giving in England, records of typical talks specially made by the B.B.C.* to be played on a radiogram, and may study a supply of pamphlets dealing with all such educational activities.

It is not suggested that teachers here need exactly the same talks, or even exactly the same films, as we do in England. But the fundamental principles of Education and the practical difficulties in putting them into practice are much the same all the world over, and these films and these wireless talks will, I hope, show you the possibilities of these new educational media.

For the practical difficulties of the teacher in the ordinary school— Teachers are human beings and usually over-worked. They may get tired, they may lose their freshness, they may get into a rut, they often have to teach many subjects, they cannot keep up-to-date in all of them; they cannot in every subject have that knowledge at once broad and detailed of the specialist, out of which comes clear exposition and the significant detail that gives life and reality.

Children are also human beings. They also get tired and bored. They have to be taught in groups—often of varying ages; their interests

* British Broadcasting Corporation.

vary ; they need the stimulus of a fresh voice, of a new approach to a subject, of a new appeal to their imagination.

Text-books get out of date ; they are often unprepossessing in appearance ; they are often compendia of information and by their very nature unattractive and boring. The supply of books in the library is often deficient.

All these difficulties exist in England ; do they exist in South Africa also ? And have you by chance an Examination system ? Does that tend to exalt Memory into too high a place ? Does it by any chance tend to make you feel that your main task is to drive facts into children's heads to be reproduced on demand ? Do you ever feel that scholars are in danger of becoming mere mark-producing machines, of turning out raw material for examiners ? Do you ever feel you want to teach certain subjects in certain ways and are debarred from doing so ? What can Radio and Cinema do for you if you are experiencing these difficulties ? They can never replace you, they can never do your work. When the children have received new impressions through the eye or the ear, it will still be for you to see that they use their thinking powers upon this new material, that they discuss it, ask questions about it, perhaps write about it, exercise their mental powers upon it, and derive intellectual stimulus from it.

But Radio and Cinema can bring a new voice into the school, new ideas and new methods of approach. Listen to one of our geography lessons and see what you think of it. A traveller gives his personal impression of the life of the people, not a mere gossiping talk but a talk with the necessary teaching points worked in without undue stress. The talk, easy conversational stuff in good spoken English, would not bear printing. Unless the teacher has visited the country he can not give the talk. But he can use this material and weave it into his geography teaching. The children have as a basis for their more formal instruction a sub-stratum of simple realistic information, human geography given them by an eye-witness as a background for any physical and economic geography that may be considered necessary. They may even remember better dull facts that the examiner desires so ardently.

Listen to a music lesson. Are we all musicians with a musician's feeling for tone and balance ? Can we all play and sing so that to hear us is a delight and inspiration ? Listen to a language lesson. Are we all so certain of our pronunciation of a second language that perfect pronunciation coming over the ether would be of no help either to us or to our class ? Or again, we give three types, British History, World History, and Tracing History Backwards, to meet the needs of three main classes of teachers. For World History and British History we use mainly the form of Dramatic Interlude, a spoken play dealing with a subject of real historical importance and introducing characters who will illustrate the attitude of mind of various classes of Society towards the subject of the interlude. One has been tempted to call the British History Course "history coming alive". No teacher would have the time to work up historical material with the same care, nor has he at his disposal actors and the resources of a broadcasting studio to produce the songs, music, and "noises off", that give life and reality to the whole interlude.

"Tracing History Backwards" is an attempt to help boys and girls just leaving school to understand something of modern problems and of the history that lies behind them. An impartial speaker at the microphone can handle safely questions which many a teacher might feel it indiscreet to approach.

For evidence as to its success, some 4,000 schools are taking broadcast lessons weekly, and some 200,000 pamphlets are sold every term. Nobody forces or hurries the teachers to take broadcast lessons. Often they have to face difficulties in procuring sets. The Board of Education has made no official pronouncement in favour of School Broadcasting. Only some local authorities definitely encourage its use in their schools. In these circumstances 4,000 schools and 200,000 pamphlets a term are impressive figures. The demand for broadcast lessons is coming from the schools; it is not imposed from above. The Central Council for School Broadcasting holds office from the B.B.C. On it teachers are heavily represented; indeed they form the majority on the committee that arranges the talks.

No such figures are available from the records with regard to the use of films. There are many teachers who would welcome films, either silent or sound, in the schools, but the expense is serious. There has indeed been a vicious circle. Producers are unwilling to make educational films because there is no market for them and schools are loath to instal projectors because there are so few educational films. That circle is, however, being broken into at two points; far-seeing producers are risking capital expenditure in producing educational films, and the British Film Institute is attacking the schools. There is a difference of course in organisation between the B.B.C. and the cinema trade. The former is a semi-state organisation which can spend money on education if its governors think fit. It can and does give educationists a free hand. The trade has its duty towards its shareholders and cannot neglect the box-office returns, the test of a successful film.

I would recommend particularly to your notice the talking film on the teaching of French, as a means of stimulating interest in correct pronunciation. "King's English" in an amusing and less specialised way shows the importance of correct rhythm and intonation. For geography, hygiene, and nature study, there are special films and also for agriculturists, scientists, and engineers. Some of these illustrate particularly the ease with which natural phenomena or industrial processes can be brought directly under the eye of the pupil. One cannot easily see the parasites of the Wood Wasp at their valuable work. One cannot always have a milling-machine available for students in a technical institute. In the same way, films illustrating the project-method for the teaching of reading in the Study of Child Growth might save time and increase efficiency in a Training College.

The new 16m. talkie projector is so much easier to handle and cheaper to buy and maintain than the full-size 35m. that the problem of the use of the talking film in schools and colleges has been enormously simplified. For use in up-country schools, where language problems are a difficulty, the 16m. silent will probably be the most useful, and it is said that an arrangement for driving it can be easily fitted to a motor-car engine. A commentary would naturally be given in the appropriate language.

Now comes the most important question of all—the raising of the standard of taste,—most important in terms of education for leisure and not for livelihood. If the world changes for the better, we may look for a better distribution of leisure, a decrease in the number of unemployed, and an increase in the number of hours that all workers will have free, to spend as they desire. We all want them to spend these hours of leisure in the best way for themselves and for the community. Therefore, we must educate them with that end in view. If we raise the standard of taste, and thereby the standard of demand, the people will want better programmes both in the air and on the screen, and those responsible will be delighted to supply it.

This does not mean that children should hear nothing from the loud-speaker except broadcast lessons, not see anything at the picture-palace except educational films. Children ought to be allowed to enjoy themselves when they are young, so that they will enjoy themselves rationally when they grow older. Anyone who knows anything about children will know the dangers of reaction, and an adult's rational enjoyment is not necessarily academic study. We do not teach History with the expectation that every grown-up will become a historian. We hope to broaden the sympathy and kindle the imagination of the child so that the grown-up will understand better his own and other countries; because he has learnt some History, he will read biographies and novels and see plays and films with more pleasure; he will get more pleasure, probably unconscious but still very real, from his own towns and countryside, and he will be a better citizen. We do not expect a working man to come down on a Sunday morning and "call for his Stubbs, and call for his Tout, and call for his note-books three" as a preparation for a pleasant morning on mediaeval constitutional History!

Let us apply the same principles to this question of training of taste. You do not expect to give a boy or girl a sound literary taste by giving him nothing to read except text-books and "penny dreadfuls". You give him a sound general education. You encourage him to read and study good literature of a type suitable to his age. You hope to turn out men and women with tastes of their own who will choose a good newspaper, a good novel, and a good play, because they have learnt to appreciate and enjoy good and accurate writing. You can test your success by the standard of your newspapers and your plays and by the circulation figures of your municipal library. Demand has created supply. The children have realised that a printed word can provide something more than mere information, something more than mere titillation of the lower instincts. Their adult taste has been raised. They choose for themselves what they like, and they like something better than the last generation.

Surely we need to apply the same methods in regard to films and radio? We need to supply the children with exactly the same sort of training as in the case of their mother-tongue. We must give them talks and films that take the place of text-books, in the sense that they impart information. We must give them talks for enjoyment and interest that will help them to understand and appreciate the beauty of the spoken word, exact choice of language, skill, or orderly arrangement. We must show them folks which are worth seeing, both for their skill in presentation and for their sheer beauty, and which they will enjoy. We must train their taste, their power of appreciating the best in these New Arts. We need not trouble so much about censorship. We can be positive not negative in our attitude, constructive not destructive. You remember how General Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, when he was criticised for the light character of the music in his hymn-books, replied: "Why should the devil have all the good tunes?"

We are training free citizens for a self-governing community. They must be free not only to govern themselves but to choose their own pleasures. The true democracy must know how to choose. Our duty is to help to train them to choose aright. Wireless and the Cinema are the forces that mould public opinion and at the same time are moulded by it. We neglect them at our peril. True freedom can only come from knowledge.

(Throughout the Conference large numbers of records of broadcast talks were played daily, and educational and cultural films were exhibited.)

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CHAPTER VI.

ART IN EDUCATION

THE PLACE OF ART IN EDUCATION

MR. ARTHUR LISMER

Art Education in the schools has always been a problem. It is a subject of the school programme that is usually left to languish—a nobody's child—sometimes a pretty plaything for talented children and teachers to fill in spare periods. But nobody worries if the work is mediocre and listless. We still believe that Art is a matter of talent and skills. It is still deeply rooted in the mind that artists have to be admired and their work looked upon with awe and wonder at the technical skill. Artists are such strange beings, living their lives so differently from others, that we have come to believe in it as a sort of fetish that Art is separate from ordinary people and that it is only to be achieved through hard study and the possession of God-given talents amounting to genius.

Consequently Art has been placed in a water-tight compartment, separate and sacred to the initiated few. In the public mind it belongs to the past or to some preceding generation and to another country. We have made of Art a matter of codes, rules, and principles, not experience to be lived or a way of life. We are slowly emerging into a wider consciousness of the true function of Art. We are beginning to claim the privileges and opportunities that participation in the experience of Art offers to all.

Art in the schools has been compressed into pathed, routine courses made to fit the standardised curricula of public instruction. The habits of the studio have been handed down to the schools, wasting the creative powers of youth, convincing pupils, teachers, and authority everywhere, that Art is a disciplinary task of the hand—designed to develop faculties of observation and capacities for accurate representation of the worth of appearance. Professional artists, who are usually bad educators, have written the programmes of work in English, Dutch, and French schools, and *we* have inherited the traditions.

Consequently thousands of children remember the Art lesson as a task—something to be overcome—like all the tricks of pretty techniques and the ephemeral arts of verisimilitude. Thousands of schools have experienced this heritage from Victorian mentors who have the precious habit of embalming culture into flagrantly over-decorated caskets and labelling them with attributes of accomplishment, virtues, skills, and refining touches upon education, convincing the public. As George Bernard Shaw says of the academic teacher of Art “his limitations are rules, his observances dexterities, his timidities good taste, and his emptinesses purities, and when he declares that Art should not be didactic all the people who have nothing to teach, and all the people who don't want to learn, agree with him emphatically”. The idea that Art is the imitation of life still persists, and theories based upon the idea that the

artist is one who records literally and exactly are still held by educational authority and form the standards of judgment in estimating the quality and kind of work to be done and in arranging programmes of public instruction of Art in the schools.

The objective elements in Art education—the methods of technical and observational leverage—have been made the aims and ends of Art instruction. These, whilst they may serve the anecdotal and technical purposes of the painter of portraits, *genre*, landscapes, and still life, have been of doubtful value in the education of the juvenile mind. They have been of even less value to a new country which unfolds through Art as much as it does through anything else. It is impossible for any people who have pioneered and suffered in the making of their history, who have emerged so recently from the vivid participation in the business of establishment of families and communities on new soil, to see Art as anything but a mere frill on life, when they and their forbears, the pioneers in the new land, have been making Art and history. It is obvious also that any second-hand interpretation of experience, tradition, and mere studio skills belonging to other countries, and the experience of other peoples—can have no vital sustenance for a new people. Unless such experience and manner of presentation includes also the habits of mind and the stage of progress, or stride of a people forward, all attempts to make Art a living necessity will fail.

Art must become a necessity of life—a developing force within man, growing and moving with the intimate life of all, not kept in special cultural and intellectual compartments inaccessible to the many. It seems natural, therefore, that in the school what we call Art is more than a subject for a talented few, it is a way of developing instincts for beauty and emotional sustenance to bring to adult life a wider appreciation of the worth of created beauty.

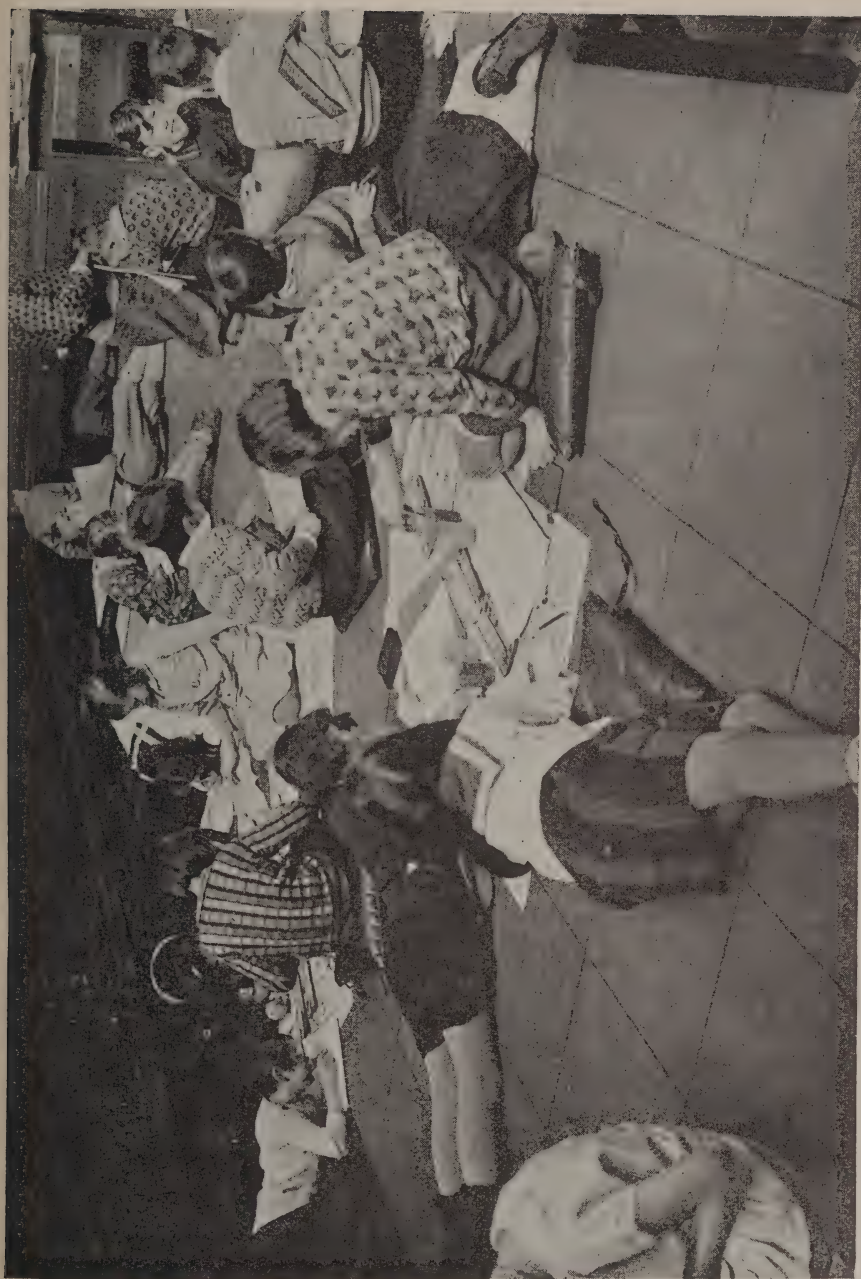
From the earliest standards the process of unfolding the essential elements of Art practice is based upon the laws that live *within the process* and not within the child. In Art we usually start too far along the road—explaining and demonstrating dead patterns and lifeless forms. It is not only in the subject we call Art that this is so: the whole programme suffers from the ponderous weight of adult-formed facts. The teacher with limited experience, and with a casual training in Art as a subject for teaching and not through any sense of personal enjoyment as a creative activity, is only partially equipped to teach the subject. To label a subject Art, giving it a 40 minutes period in the day's programme and expecting it to have a real growth producing value in education, is disastrous to the child.

Perspective is valuable to Art students, possibly useful in secondary education, but it has no value in primary education except in regard to the production of lifeless images. We teach colour and design as though they were theories applied on to the appearance of things.

The exact and tidy representation of objects becomes in the classroom a weary re-iteration of half truths and dead formulae, turning the child into a common-place copier of the standard of literal transcriptions set by the teacher and the authority as Art supervisor.

The programme for the young child from 8 years to 13 is altogether too formidable—too exacting.

Of course there is more to it than this—occasionally a child with real creative talent breaks through and, in spite of the deadly monotony of the teaching and prescribed subject matter, drawings and designs of distinct vitality emerge, only to be lost in the estimation of their doubtful value to the teacher. But it is almost as if we were afraid of



FREE CLASS TORONTO ART GALLERY.



CANADIAN CHILD'S IDEA OF SOUTH AFRICA,

any expression of emotion on the part of a child, as though it were a reproach levelled against our own lack of life and vital enjoyment of vivid colour and design.

The trouble is that we do not understand yet that children are not merely little adults who by doing tasks grow wiser and cleverer every day. Children are distinct and definite little personalities, and they become better and wiser by being given the freedom that belongs rightfully to them. They do not advance by rules for doing: only by doing and thinking creatively, according to their separate and individual capacities to respond to the beauty of life, will children ever create the magical things of which we know them to be capable.

Adult Art—that is the skilled work of professional and gifted people can never be the standard of achievement for children. What they themselves have to say about life is also important for them, which is the only thing that matters.

Literal representation—accuracy—technical skill can never be of vital necessity to teacher or child, but merely impose a false standard upon both. Co-operation between teacher and child is important, and the teacher must know more about the personality of the child, as expressed through Art or any creative activity, and insist less upon his—the teacher's—own. The intrusion of a *knowing* adult on the *feelings* of a child is as a rule responsible for the dullness of the child's Art. In Art, which of course includes all the plastic arts, the child must be freed from restrictions. The child needs the teacher as a guide and fellow participator, not as a formal instructor who insists on definitely standardised results. We are too guilty of looking at children from the advanced outposts of adult life, and we are rather dismayed that the child will not always get into the grown-up mould of our intentions for him.

Children are not the servile little creatures we would perhaps like them to be. They have ideas of their own and a tireless energy in projecting them. Their concepts of life are refreshing and often change the fixed ideas of adults. It is these concepts of life that interest and inform us of the nature of the individual man. We see them manifested again and again through all the age-levels of growing man, through Art and poetry, and through all the activities of mind and soul in which spiritual expression of things deeper than surface representation are brought to life by individual interpretations and renderings of the story of man and his passage through space and time.

The child is an epitome of the human race. His progress from the cradle to the grave is a summary of the ages of man's slow groping towards the life of reason. His very earliest attempts as a tiny infant to focus his attentions on some definite object are accompanied by the eager use of every sense in his little body. His pride and pleasure in simple achievement is infectious and sustains his efforts, passing along his own self-encouragement towards further expression of experience. By the time the child is old enough to talk and run he has acquired a wealth of honest experience that helps him to make his world a more plastic one. He finds that he can mould his world a little, and extract fun and pleasure from it by looking for those things that give him creative understanding. He develops a creative imagination, learns how to protect it and live inside the strange world of his own creation. Adults do not realise that this is a real world to children—and artists.

The child is always transmuting the world of facts into imagination concepts. He begins to draw and make designs. He amuses himself in this world and finds the kind of reality therein that adult folk find

in religion, in politics, in philosophy and science. The early drawings of a child tell us what he dares to be. He designs freely and with vigorous dismissal of non-essentials to his idea.

Contemplating the drawings of young children (about 7 to 9 years) we get a real glimpse into human aspirations. They are fundamental in design and composition—they are crude and rough-hewn, but they are alive and vitally expressive. There is to the adult nothing finished and exact about them, but to the child they are perfectly clear and definitely complete images and no attempt to improve the drawing and perspective will make them better.

In all great Art, of all periods, there is something rough-hewn and fundamentally rhythmic in design. It is the very beginning and end of creative life. All great artists are great children who have carried their world of imaginative concept into adult life.

Life in a work of Art lies in this sense of design. Mastery of all the arts of verisimilitude will never replace the vitality of such a fundamental basis of all Art.

Cizek, the great Austrian educator, said: "There is so much of autumn and winter in life, but spring never comes again."

There is an artist in every human being—a sort of eternal spring in the nature of man. We can arrest the growth and unfoldment of the child nature by a too early acquisition of facts and formulae, or we can help the bud-like nature to blossom into imaginative and creative youth and manhood by encouraging, through education, the artist to express himself through every man—by participation in the practical experience of doing—or by enjoyment and appreciation, which is also Art.

The first step in the re-organisation of school programmes in Art for young children is to realise the necessity of change and why such development is essential to the life of education and to the present and future life of the child.

In the first place we have to realise that the subject in the school programme which we call "Art" or "Drawing" is, in itself, too restricted in scope. It is based upon the idea that drawing is a useful tool and that to design and draw things accurately and well is a worthwhile function of the hand and eye. This is excellent in itself. The trouble is not that the results are bad, but that they are non-productive of anything except skill, tidy habits, facts, and processes. Valuable as these are, to Art students and to students in specialised courses, they have not the creative value that such procedure in educational practice should have. The result of many years of concentration on this kind of method has produced little of educational value. The adult who has gone through the process is little better off as a result of it, except that he admires and respects the work of others rather than gets a thrill out of his own productions. The fault is largely in the fact that it is too one-sided a process. Only the gifted ones—technically speaking—profit by it. The average become lookers-on, not eager participators.

Regard for a moment an exhibition of work by any standard in the elementary school that has slavishly followed a routine and fixed formula. Look at the dull quality of the product—the tame, lifeless drawings of flowers,—the shaded prisms and bases—bowls and fruit,—the weary line in the drawings and the drab and lifeless designs.

The heavy hand of the adult is seen in all the sad array and, because it is mediocre and has no high lights of brilliant achievement nor low spots of absolute inability, we are content to let this be a standard and be satisfied with what we get—consequently Art in the school is always

dependent, in the mind of authority, on the supposedly low standard of inartistic children.

We have even come to believe, in new countries like South Africa and Canada, that we shall have to wait for many years, until our teaching standards are higher and our general imagination as a race improves, before we can expect any better work from our children.

This is a soothing but a false belief. South African children are no worse than children in other countries. Children are the same the world over. The fact that some are Austrian, English, or French may give them a little advantage in traditional unity of character and greater opportunities of seeing great museums and antiquity in the form of objects. These countries may be more finished and pictorially more compact and therefore productive of "prettier" scenes and more objects of craftsmanship to be looked at and learnt from.

But education in South Africa, in Art, can never proceed vitally in such a second-hand fashion. It must come from the needs and potentialities of the people themselves. This is the first and most essential fact to be grasped in all attempts at new educational method. It is a change of outlook, a change of heart, that is needed, and these come slowly.

Teacher training is important. There must be a wider and more thorough grasp of the essential qualities of good teaching—less pedagogy and more emotional response to beauty—less of the pedestal gazing about Art and more of the active participation in the experience of children, more understanding of child personality and less of the dominating, factual elements in technique and professional practice.

There is no question of licence and freedom involved in this. It is harder to be free and give others freedom when we *know* so much more than we *feel*.

The teacher needs to be impressed with the absolute necessity of personal enjoyment in some creative form of Art for himself or herself. It is a vital element of success in teaching that the teacher's personality and enthusiasm in Art, as in other subjects, be considered a very important factor.

Sympathy and understanding are disciplinary elements hard to come by, but no teacher of Art to young children should be allowed to practice who has done with observation and practice and real enjoyment of Art and life. Teachers will have to possess artist minds, responsive and alert, as well as capable hands and eyes.

So the first steps are :

(a) Relief from professional and vocational oppressions in the Art lesson, and a change towards the better understanding of child personality and individual capacity for creative effort.

(b) The training of teachers—not in the Art School type of education—but in a wider grasp of appreciative elements and necessities for Art in the social, economic, leisure elements and in the happiness of the child—training for guidance and leadership and understanding of human values.

(c) Examinations should be based upon individual capacities for creative imagination and ideas—not for facts and accuracies, representation of appearances subordinated to more fundamental attitudes that belong more rightfully and naturally to the child nature. Skill and correct use of media is secondary to the wider point of view of the development of the child through doing. The child's ideas and the child's designs and drawings are stepping stones and helpful to the child—

substitution for these of other things, belonging to older children and to adults, is bad method.

(d) Finally, all programmes of work in Art should attempt to relieve the pressure on the isolated period devoted to the subject. The subject form, separating time into periods of so many hours per week and the subject itself into drawing, handwork, colour, design, should be replaced by a generous plan of co-operation with all other subjects. Art should illuminate history, geography, literature, spelling, writing, and be actively employed in all class periods and to illuminate all these subjects. A child may hear about—talk about—write about—read about—a subject, but when he has *drawn* it also—he *knows* it.

There are other changes—which will follow quite naturally :—

1. The establishment of a pictorial library and picture records of all ages and peoples.

2. A freer atmosphere in the class-room—disappearance of formal desks, stuffy casts, and old-fashioned pictures and objects.

3. A library of reference for the teacher, reproductions, prints, and objects of natural form.

4. A craft shop—not only a manual training department.

5. A more generous allowance for simple and essential supplies of materials for drawing and craftwork.

6. Interchange of ideas between teachers and Art instructors—exhibitions—lectures and mutual study talks.

(In addition to these the active and essential co-operation of Art galleries and museums and natural history collections—botanical gardens—zoological gardens—folk museums—theatres—cinemas—stadiums—symphony orchestras—artists—musicians—writers—art societies and dramatic guilds, etc., etc.—are fields of study and opportunities for looking at and listening to art forms in action.)

Art in the elementary stages.

A programme of work for the school life of the child, from the ages of 7 or 8 years to the end of elementary school life or to High School entrance, based upon a freer interpretation of the subject of Art in the schools, would read something like the following :—

(There is no attempt here to fill in the details, the broad sweep or general plan is offered).

In the very early stages, of course, the play impulse of children or a simple kindergarten plan is sufficient to initiate the infant into the work of wonder in which he finds himself—the difference is that, instead of an introduction to abstract symbols of shapes and colours and mechanised forms of number and colour and quantities, he is introduced early to the world of nature, to flowers, trees, and pictures, to material and textures, to stories and games, all having a reference to nature and to his own senses.

The aim here is to promote healthy recognition of simple forms of beauty and to study the needs of particular children.

Art should not be a subject, separate and periodic in the class-room, but the faculty for expression and rhythmic action, provided by play and creative activities of music, handiwork, story hours, etc., should be given full scope. Any experienced kindergarten teacher understands this.

The next step is to direct the growing intelligence towards the recognition and application to the experience of the child of things in nature—aiming always at avoidance of the regimenting of ideas into conventional routine patterns of teaching.

To free the natural timidities of children from fear of correction and from the feeling that their technique and habits of illustrating life are faulty is essential.

The flexibility of the medium of expression used, is important—colour and form can be better and more freely expressed by a less conventional medium than pencil and paper, by paint and large sheets of paper—clay for modelling—paper for tearing and cutting—pictures for study—simple stories and opportunities for illustrating them. The acceptance of the child's *own* method of expressing his ideas is essential, rather than insistence on 'mass drawing' and crayons and prescribed media.

Relation to nature at all stages—colour is to be taught not as a theory, but as the recognition of colour in flowers and textiles. Single objects—definite images: at every stage the things studied must have as their chief function the element of life and action.

Dramatisation of action—pictures—games—the child is to be left free to develop the idea of learning by doing, and not to be given rules for doing. Flower stories and simple pageants of seasons—the weather—rain and wind—animals and birds, what they do and how they live, excursions to Zoological Gardens, Museums, and Art Galleries to see objects and pictures are an important part of their visual education.

About the age of 10 the children are gradually introduced to new ideas about the way to do things—although drawing does not become a formal study until later in their experience. At this time the child is most active in learning through doing. Design takes an important step forward and orderly methods of reproducing the simple ideas in sequence and series over surfaces can be made interesting and full of play and action. As yet there is no formal instruction in drawing *from* things—no representational attempts to copy. The child still has a perfect right to have another year or two of imaginative creating.

Some self-criticism begins to function here, and ideas about proportion and action will emerge naturally. Contacts with parks, fields, and woodland, wherever possible, is essential.

Craftwork with linoleum cuts—soap carving—clay modelling—making of objects with wire, cork, paper, string, etc.—will develop careful habits and provide table work for hands and tools.

An introduction to social duties—preservation of beauty—care of city streets—non-destructive habits—observation of birds and animals—is possible here. Work with posters and large decorations, and guided team work in mixing colours and applying decoration to large surfaces, is possible to 10 year old children and develops a communal spirit of co-operation. In all cases illustrate *every* lesson in the standard instruction with illustrations and objects—making caps, costumes, weapons, furniture—the things children read about in history and stories. (A complete programme for each standard is possible—but the danger in all fixed programmes of work is that they become rigid and formal. It is better to have an informal programme, which can be taken as a source of inspiration and sustenance rather than as a fixed standard of things to be followed slavishly.)

The aim is to find the most expressive medium of thought and action in which ideas and emotions can live—to avoid meaningless effort and waste of vital energy on the part of both child and teacher. Set the child in the way to solve his own problems. Stimulate the imagination by feeding him with vivid subject matter and interesting and lively things to look at. Create an early understanding of the fundamental laws of growth, rhythm, harmony, symmetry, to which all life is

subject. But instead of giving these as trite formal principles dramatise them—or let the children do so for themselves.

Expansion of ideas is the aim. Knowledge will be increased by each finding his own style, *through his own* search and experience.

Gradually from 10 to 12 years of age there should be unfolded a living picture of the universe in which the child lives—not the historical past, but the living present. At 12 years of age the young person should know that life will present to him newer and untold things of beauty, not alone in nature and in pictures but in books, in poems, in music, and in his play, and that, if he cares for these things and seeks to understand what they mean, life will be more pleasant and he will add to his own enjoyment and to that of others because of his understanding and sympathy with all such efforts. If his hands and eyes are appreciated and used, as useful servants of his mind, he will come to understand and have affection for the work of others and to take pride in his own. His leisure hours will not be useless day-dreaming but happy periods, wherein he can find occupation and pleasure in listening to and looking at and *doing* the things which he most desires.

The child of 12 should know how things are made, and why. He should be taught respect for talents, and contempt for slovenly thought and action. He should be able to keep some wonder at the universe in which he lives—curiosity about how things grow and how they function. He should be made aesthetically aware of the beauty of his journey through life. When such a child enters upon a university or vocational career the things he learns to do and the way in which he thinks will have new meanings. He will see life not as a series of detached events but as part of a vast creative scheme, in which he himself is a minute but essential part and anything that he does detrimental to the peace, health, and security of the whole organism is bad for himself and his fellow men.

This pre-supposes the idea that Art must be an integral part of any scheme of education, not merely a subject. It also demands a new philosophy and direction of meaning about the nature of Art and its lifting out of the narrow rut of commercial and professional practice into the idea that Art education is the encouragement of a whole people towards the appreciation of beauty. It does not eliminate the study of drawing, colour, and design, and the encouragement of individual talent. It prepares the soil by developing the natural instincts of human beings towards the lovelier things in life. It provides room for self-expression and opportunities for the lighting by each of his own little lamp. It will make of each not a weary wanderer in an economic and scientific world but a participator in the wonders of a universe always with new surprises and secrets to reveal and unfold to the one who can listen, who can see, who is receptive and responsive to sights and sounds of beauty.

Art training at the Adolescent Stages.

High school education in Art has never really reached a high form of achievement. It is usually a series of class-room practices in absorbing facts about appearances and histories of Art, and very often a too childish approach to the subject. Unfortunately the Art lesson is usually restricted to one year, or it is eliminated altogether because it has no place in the matriculation programme, or the work to be attempted is so vast in its detail and subject matter as to appal any but the gifted few. Consequently at the most vital period of growth in the young person, when curiosity about the world outside himself and the world

within is at its highest peak, he is automatically cut off from the subject except as a means of activity in the use of various media for Art practice.

This is the most creative period of life—the artist in man is born at this time or sinks completely into the herd and is lost to mankind. It is at this period that he should be encouraged to use the natural curiosity about the body and sex, explorations into literature and natural sciences, his play acting and musical talent, his love for games and dancing and normal enjoyment.

This is the period when Art becomes conscious in the individual. Immaturity of expression no longer interests the youth of 15. He wants to know and to do things intelligently. He is too willing to drop all his imaginative capacity to achieve technical success. He is looking ahead so that he can become like other adults, and any educational programme should be arranged at this time to help him not to become a weak member of the herd but a consciously creative individual.

The outline here suggested is designed to use the curiosity of the youth of 14 or 15 and onwards as a creative force.

It attempts to place Art into every act and thought, correlating it with all the activities of life. For the purpose of greater clarity, it commences with the body itself and proceeds from design to the details. It is, in intention, a plan for the whole of adolescent education through Art and not using merely expression of artistic talents.

Every subject in the High School course could be vitalised by the use of Art as a stimulus to the emotional sense—which is the ally of the intellect. In a larger sense history and geography and literature could be taught as forms of expression—as Arts.

(A syllabus should be a source, not a standard, and this is only an outline of intentions—a complete syllabus can be detailed around this idea).

1. The body itself—the beauty of the body, its proportion, grace, symmetry, action, and purpose—not strength and muscular energy only, but the beauty of these.

The body as a living temple—Greek sculpture—Indian paintings and carvings—Native strength and beauty—the Greek ideal and the actual study of athletic and beautifully proportioned figures. (Relation to the Gymnasium).

Draw from the living body—satisfy the curiosity about sex differences (relation to biology, etc.), transmuting into beauty the significance of form and proportion. Study great paintings of the body. Destroy the puritanical hostility to beauty of the physical self. Health and beauty are one. The dance—with co-ordination of movement and rhythmic action—Folk-Lore—Drama. (Relation to sports and ancient ritual).

2. The clothing of the body. The story of dress and costume is a fascinating one throughout the ages. The study of costume from the earliest and most rudimentary forms to the present time (highly sophisticated expressions of modern fashions)—form, fashion, colour, ornament, decoration—Design for fitness to purpose. History of adornment for war, peace, pageantry, etc. Costume plays. Drawing and making stage properties, helmets, swords, clothing, backgrounds. (Literature and historical relationships). (The school auditorium as a field for experiment and stage-craft).

3. The study of the things that people have used in the history of man—the things that are woven, carried, beaten in metal, and moulded in clay, and have served the need of man in war and peace—armour, weapons, agricultural implements, pottery, furniture, utensils, fabrics,

musical instruments—(relation to Museum and Library) make them more than objects in a museum, make them live as human documents, visual evidence of man's supreme conquest of material to serve the needs of mankind.

4. The study of the origins of architecture from primary shelter to the building of cathedrals, palaces, and houses—Egyptian tents and temples—mediaeval fortresses—primitive kraals—and native dwellings. What is Gothic, Romanesque, Renaissance, Baroque, etc., etc.? How are they decorated?—altar pieces and frescoes—anything that decorates structure—Show that the edifices built by man are tributes to worship—power—domestic and civic dignity.

Study the story of man through the architecture of his times and country. How man has adapted himself to his environment—racially, nationally, and according to religions, etc., etc.

5. The study of pictures and sculpture—showing that painting and sculpture are independent and typical strivings of the human spirit to create in life a finer morality and sense of beauty. That these things are the product of important movements in the spiritual aspirations of man. The Fine Arts are expressive of the changing ideals of humanity and they should be understood in this capacity and not merely as likes and dislikes, prejudices and faulty estimates as to their quality and appearance. The Fine Arts are stepping-stones to a higher dignity of life.

Explain their origin by study of originals where possible, developing a respect for great Art forms—not as knowledge of the *facts* about them—nor connoisseurship and worship of dead pattern—but show that Art is a living permanent link with the past and with our present aspirations. From Cave-man to the present day History has been illuminated by such forms in all countries and in all periods—show the differences and significance of these. Explain how hunter-Artists (Bushmen—Eskimos—Indians, and native art generally) have expressed their primitive culture through the arts similar to the pre-historic paintings and carvings of palaeolithic man—study these paintings, carvings and scratchings as original of the main idea of Art. Picture study is important—not as story-telling subject matter—but for simple analysis of the composition and Art form—the objective and subjective elements—in great painting—symbols, concepts, representations and interpretations, eliminating the academic tendency to elaborate technique and systems of practice. Talks about great periods in painting. The funeral art of Egypt—the classical idealism of Greece—the unfolding of the gospel story of the Italian Renaissance—Impressionistic, and Modern painting. Vase painting of the Greeks—ceremonial and magic origins—Frescoes and Mosaics.

All these things provide a marvellous series of contributory visual data for a more fully rounded conception of history of man in terms of beauty.

(Lantern slides—books of reference—photographs and re-productions would have to find a place in every High School.)

6. The meaning of ornament and symbolism, peasant art and its relation to national growth and preservation of ancient racial symbols—why weapons and bodies were adorned with ornaments and designs—tribal, religious, climatic, and racial origins of design forms.

7. A course in design relating to the above, and experiments in simple rhythm and designed units. The study of such abstract things as proportion, training, unity and balance of form and colours.

Explanation of what is good in objects of familiar association, furniture, pottery, clothes, wall coverings, rugs. Critical choice in tests in the capacity to sense fine design in all these. The study of fine lettering—Roman, Carolingian, modern derivatives—legibility and beauty—illumination and modern type—public notices—advertising, etc.—the necessity for fine printing. Interior decoration of the home—ideas about fine spacing and proportion—charm and simplicity depending upon critical choice and taste in arrangements of hangings and furniture—civic dignity—the meaning of city planning—parks, playgrounds, gardens, etc.

Economic purchasing and Art—(Art is really a design form for harmonious life). The creation and conservation of beauty in town and country is essential to happiness and dignity.

8. The study of design in natural life—beauty of form and colour from natural things—animals, birds, fish, butterflies, reptiles, etc., etc. (relation to the Natural History Museum). Make simple collections of prints and reproductions of the work of photographers and artists in other countries, showing how such natural forms have been used to decorate life. All created life has a purpose, and beauty is a primary instinct with all forms of life. The human animal has a vital excess of energy and thought which is turned to Art—or the production of beautiful things—this is the natural function of design in daily life and goes deeper than the mere surface of things.

(In all the foregoing there would be constant practice in drawing the objects and design forms used by man in exploration, war, agriculture, and domestic life, etc. Where these are interesting and worth while to draw—the Art lesson could take care of the instruction. Where they are merely compilatory and for information, scrap books of pictorial materials should be kept—culled from all kinds of sources and on all subjects. These should be kept by all students of High School courses.

The aim of all this would be to relieve the pressure on a merely verbal or literary kind of instruction and encourage a visual concept of life. The purpose also is to discourage the formal Art School type of Art instruction and replace it with some elements of creative enjoyment and value.

There are bound to be students showing special talent and these would receive special and thoughtful attention: advice from Art School and Technical School Art directors would be future needs. Early detection of definite Art talent is a very necessary thing to organise. As it is—excellent creative and active talent is weakened or lost by holding back specialised training until after matriculation.)

9. Finally there is the question of the school itself and the quality of its emotional life—providing an adequate environment in which these things can flourish. A school should not be a completely fitted thing from the start. It should have a growth according to the need and aspirations of staff and students.

Colour schemes for halls and classrooms—woodwork and furniture—window spaces and walls—quadrangles and courts, playgrounds, and auditorium—theatre stage and gymnasium—all these have an effect on the individual mind and progress of the students if they are made harmonious and pleasing in proportion, texture, and colour.

Also, of course, the activities of students and Staff outside of class hours in music, little theatre, sketch clubs, camera clubs, folk dancing, community and individual singing, etc. The school auditorium should be a meeting place for the Arts—not only a platform for announcements and speeches.

The collection of library and school museum—the acquisition of pictures, not merely for decoration, nor just the weary accumulation of athletic teams, photograph groups, etc., but small original paintings by South African and other artists—mural decorations by the Art class—pieces of sculpture, (reproductions of well-known masterpieces)—all these things give an atmosphere to a school and are far better than the average appearance of the cluttered notice boards and cheap decorations in classroom and halls seen in so many High Schools.

The foregoing programme of work—or outline of a possible course for Art in the schools is given here as an integral part of the whole course of study in all subjects. Each elementary school should have an Art teacher, specially trained with at least one year in an Art School—in addition to the general normal school course. All children over the age of 10 should have the benefit of the services of this special Art teacher, who would be in charge of all Art instruction—and would correlate the subject with the instruction in other phases of the school curriculum, with music and play, and with manual training and domestic science.

Each Secondary School should have a special Art supervisor and instructor, and he or she should have, in addition to the University course in teacher training and Art, a definite and recognised talent acquired through natural enthusiasm and ability and by thorough training in Art. Art students who are enthusiastic and talented and given a minimum of teacher training make excellent instructors—(here is a source of splendid teacher talent which is often dissipated in futile competition in Painting and other Arts). Part time service on High School Staffs would provide an outlet for fine ability that would have a stimulating effect on the pupils. All Art instructors should be encouraged to develop their own particular talents in expression—for no teachers of Art can be of real value without a personal and vigorous form of expression in themselves. As far as possible this talent should be developed within the country at the local Art Schools. It should be nurtured carefully and with a well-ordered disciplinary aim for future service. Foreign travel and experience of study abroad should be encouraged.

South African born people are best for South African children—they intuitively grasp the idea that they are serving their own kind. This is no reflection on the splendid services of English, Dutch, and French trained artists from abroad, but even these should be carefully selected and their sympathies and willingness to adapt talent and organising powers to the conditions of new countries should be challenged and scrutinised. The tendency of completely foreign trained instructors is to impose too complete a culture (as far as Art education is concerned) on the system of education and often to show an unwillingness and inability to understand the mentality and aspirations of newer peoples. "Educational authority is too apt to believe that in Art there is a sort of culture or spirit that can be passed from one country to another—or that the best way to develop Art in a young and inartistic nation is to place it under the direction of some already developed foreign culture, which is always considered a boon".

Education in Art, as well as Art itself, can and should be indigenous—growing slowly and keeping within the scope and limitations of its own people.

The importance of the Fine Arts and craftsmanship must be realised first of all before progress can be made. From Universities, Art Galleries, and Museums down to the early standards of elementary schools the plan must be conceived as part of a whole picture or scheme—working through the educational system in efficiently graded steps—reaching

out into all subjects and encouraging all effort to achieve a measure of experimental experience from independent effort.

In new countries especially is there need to adopt a simplified plan with an intelligent central authority working to unify, and to co-operate with departments everywhere in other provinces, cities, and small rural centres, for the purpose of organising the differing types of training suitable for separate localities and environment.

When we can see education as a creative force, viewed and directed by an unfolding plan, suited to the needs and aspirations of a new people, we shall see Art not as professional skill, or a subject on a curriculum, but as a means to a richer way of life.

SUPPLEMENTARY DISCUSSION.*

DR. E. G. MALHERBE :—We South Africans are an Art-starved people. Though we are by descent a mixture of nations who stand amongst the highest in their contributions to the world's Art, we have lacked the training in creative expression through an artistic medium which our natures crave.

Not only is the environment of the vast majority of South African children totally devoid of the stimulation which comes from being surrounded by works of Art, such as is the privilege of children in Europe, but there have been negative influences too.

Our education and, to a certain extent, our predominating religion with its sober and austere outlook upon life have acted repressively on the emotional side of our personalities; as a result we break out into politics.

I am convinced that a large amount of the maladaptations in our society is due to these very defects in our cultural environment and upbringing. And if we want to adapt education to meet the changing needs of our society—which is the main theme of this Conference—we cannot possibly neglect the emotional adaptations. These lie at the very root of creative work.

The question, however, which is immediately asked is : But how does one set about it ? What exactly must the parent and the teacher do, and *not do*, to keep alive that spark of creative expression with which every child is born—in varying degrees, of course ?

The answer is brought to us by Mr. Lismer, who comes to South Africa not only as a great painter, but also as a great teacher. When I saw the marvellous work he was doing as supervisor of the educational work in the Toronto Art Gallery—how he succeeded in liberating that urge for creative expression in the souls and through the hands of the ordinary school children, and how he could talk Art to a number of little street boys so that they would listen entranced as if hearing a detective yarn—I was more determined than ever to do everything to get Mr. Lismer to come to South Africa. With the help of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, to whom we are indebted in many ways, it eventually became possible.

Mr. Lismer's inspiring and entertaining lectures (not to mention his unselfish helpfulness with the Art Exhibition) constitute probably one of the most valuable contributions of the whole Conference. I am positive that his work here will bear fruit. Representing a young country like ours, he speaks a language which we can understand—the language of the soul which comes from contact with nature, not *petit* and refined, but large and rugged : it is nature as the Canadian pioneer and the South African Voortrekker knew it.

* Most of what follows here appeared as contributions to the Art Pamphlet published in connection with the Art Exhibition at the Conference.

Coming from a country with wide stretches like ours, he has listened to that still, small voice of nature which speaks in the solitude of those vast expanses which we know so well. He has interpreted it for Canada and has played his part in developing a Canadian Art—not a feeble imitation of Europe, but vigorous and rooted in Canadian soil. May he awaken by his teaching not only the latent artistic geniuses amongst us, but teach us, as he has done in Canada, that *every child* can get joy and salvation for his soul by creatively expressing himself through the artistic medium, by using the indigenous motifs with which our variegated natural and cultural environment provides us so bountifully. That is Mr. Lismer's mission. May he succeed!

MR. BERNARD LEWIS :—The question "What is Art?" will continue to be asked throughout future ages with that other, "What is Truth?", which has come down to us from ages past, and if we say "Art is Self-expression", we shall still be asked: What is "good" Art and what is "bad" Art? and get hardly a step further. But if man cannot define truth, he does know what is meant by the idea of truth, and in the same way, even if our people cannot define Art, we want them to be able to recognise Art.

Benvenuto Cellini, that lovable old rascally artist, tells us in his autobiography how all the inhabitants of Florence, twenty thousand of them, came to the tent in the meadow near his workshop in which he had erected his "Perseus" to admire the statue, and tells how sonnets to its beauty were pinned to the tent-flap. When will we here in South Africa rise to such heights of general artistic appreciation? Only after our method of Art education is altered. The object must be to rear not merely performers but also appreciators, for without the latter the former cannot exist.

A work of art is a subjective, more or less epic, creation, in which the artist takes it upon himself to treat the world in his own way, and we have to ask: Has he a way of his own? Has he something sincerely of his own to tell, whether he makes a statue to gaze upon or a carpet to stand upon? We want our people to be able to answer such a question for themselves.

Much has been said of late about "South African Art" and "Culture", but yet there is no South African Art as such, even if there be some Art in South Africa. When our people shall have learned to appreciate Art, a South African Art will spring from the soil and then culture will look after itself.

MRS. R. J. POPE FINCKEN :—There seems to be no given set of conditions under which something of art may be produced. The carvings of Tell Halaf, Modern French, Greek and Gothic, Persian or Chinese, all exist in spite of, or because of, the local conditions. Years of study, tubes of paint—and all that may result is a heavy academy picture of the "problem" type, showing a cleverness of technique but a hopeless lack of the sublime in life. In contrast a man digging a drain sits to rest, picks up some clay, and fashions a baboon, a thing of such simple and subtle beauty that the heart misses a beat; the small thing is enough; it is even as the song of a bird, complete in its simplicity.

Certainly that touchstone, which can give life to a work, can easily be killed in a child or a nation. Take for example, the stone carving of Germany and England which was killed with the advent of "the new learning," which overawed the people, backward in learning, to such an extent that their good stone work and stone workers were discounted and only Italian carvers and marble considered worthy of the name of artist

and Art. The deadening influence is still there, and even to-day many "sculptors" exhibiting in the national exhibitions of these countries have never carved a stone themselves, but when their clay model is complete they hand it over to the Italian, who carves it in marble. Thus they carry on the unfortunate lesson learnt from the Romans, who, having no Art of their own, took Greek bronzes and copied these in marble—thus transferring a subject from its "liquid" form to a "solid", regardless of its unsuitability, and rendering it lifeless and dull.

Art must be a thing of the people. Let a learned section foist something on to a country or on to a child, and Art is dead. The Romans swallowed Greek Art, but they could not digest it, so it has stuck in the throat of Europe ever since. Would the Greeks have worked in white marble and built columned temples if they had lived in Northern Europe? Their work was made for their country and their sunlight. They themselves were in contact with both Assyrian and Egyptian culture, but they did not swallow whole either of these Arts which belonged to a yet sunnier country. They studied them and developed their own.

Study, learn to know and appreciate by whatever means possible, all that the Arts of all the ages have to say; but do not transport any Art in an undigested lump from one country to another. For even as the Ifa head can only grow alive in the light for which it was created, so can a school of painting, architecture, sculpture only be contentedly alive in its own country. It is horrible when German students try to turn out Bantu work, or English try to become Japanese, or Japanese adopt English, or when Bantu becomes European. It is false and artificial copying, not a real growth and development.

A development of Art in this country, since it is not needed to serve a religion or the State, must serve individual personal needs, and to do this it must not merely hang in a frame upon a wall in a room filled with things with which it is not in harmony; it must take possession of the whole room and home and life of the people. The matriculation examination might help greatly with this development by substituting real for false Art study. Instead of examining students and giving them certificates for answering questions about the development of French, Flemish, or Spanish painting and various schools of sculpture and architecture, which are invisible and unapproachable to them, examine them in their knowledge of Arts with which they can come into personal contact, or which lose less in reproduction. By such a method they can obtain a more truthful knowledge, and on this they can build up a culture. For this purpose students could be set to study such branches of Art as Ceramics. Actual specimens of good work can be seen in our country. In Pretoria a collection of Ceramics shows the history of South Africa. Bantu pottery affords room for study and development. The Ceramic Studios and the Durban Art School offer opportunities for the student to carry on work after the matric. has been passed.

Carpets: There are in this country excellent examples of Bokhara, Kilim, Afghan, and other rugs. If the matriculation students knew these, the history of their people, the dyes used, the knots and the weave, they could use this knowledge in the production of carpets of and for our country. The Ashburton School of Weaving has started in a small way developing a definite art in Native weaving, and some Technical Colleges already have Departments of Weaving.

Printing, which could include lettering (a tremendous study in itself), book-binding, and actual printing: With this could be combined history of early alphabets, history of book-binding and of printing; also the students

would be on a good road for doing useful work with carved lettering in wood and stone.

Illustrating: Books are published here. Illustrating could be developed by allowing the child complete freedom for his imaginative development throughout his whole school course. The matriculation standard could introduce the study of the technical difficulties and the history of illustrating.

Commercial Art: The knowledge of any of the foregoing will help to balance the driving force of necessity which must enter the field of commercial Art. There is no reason why commercial work here should not be of artistic value, and the study of anatomy, perspective, photography, together with the chemical knowledge required for the latter, introduced.

There can be no strong growth of Art in this land if study is based on the study of the school of, say, French painting, when not one student has seen even half a dozen French paintings, or the study of Greek temples only from photographs. Have copies of modern French pictures; have photographs of Greek temples; have all the copies that can be obtained of the Art of all countries! But do not have examinations on things which the student has no opportunity of seeing.

Also children need to be allowed free and continuous development. The school and our general life system, by pushing Art aside for what are to-day considered more important subjects, implant in the child the idea that Art is an ideal pastime instead of definite reality.

MR. H. V. MEYEROWITZ: I believe that, apart from all the other efforts to raise the status of the Native population of Africa, the one which would come more naturally than any others would be the attempt to organise Native village crafts on a technically and commercially sound basis.

The link between the Bantu Art, that great artistic epoch, the productions of which nothing done by Europeans in this country can rival as yet, has unfortunately been broken, but still there remain the rudiments of village crafts which could be developed.

The necessary and suitable human material is there in abundance, but the quality of the articles which are at present produced are from the technical point of view both poor and inadequate according to our standards. On the artistic score I have no fears. The Native will never conceive a utilitarian or other article of bad taste unless prompted to do so by some "enterprising" ignoramus.

I do not subscribe to the view of the sentimentalists who believe that the Kafir clay pot is so good that it must not be interfered with. I believe that a pot fired not on a dung heap but in proper kilns will be a great improvement on the fragile and porous object of their present admiration.

These proposed educational centres should for the most part be situated in districts where the necessary raw materials are available. The otherwise laudable efforts of training centres have very often failed in this respect.

MR. G. H. WELSH: Since 1922, when a revision took place of the Cape elementary curriculum for Native schools, great importance has been attached to instruction in handwork, both for the training of hand and eye and for use in the future lives of the pupils. The materials used are generally collected locally by the Staff and pupils, and include many varieties of rush (*imizi*, *incema*, *ingqobo*, *irwantsi*, *ingcongolo*), of

grass (*umsingizane*, *izonye*, *urasi*, *injica*) and of palm leaves (*ilala*, *isundu*) aloe fibre (*ikála*), maize-husks (*amakási*), clay, bone, horn, wood, leather, wool and mohair. Homely dyes are also produced from the stalks, leaves, and roots of various plants, from bark and from lichens, and are used to enable pupils to make articles with coloured patterns.

Although almost every school of the 1,720 Native schools under the Cape Education Department devotes considerable time and attention to the teaching of Native handwork, and although a wide variety of articles is produced, there is no doubt that Native teachers as a body and the Native people generally view this branch of training with unconcealed aversion. It is also probable that the majority of Native pupils, at least of those beyond the infant school stage, would very cheerfully vote for the removal of the subject from the school time-table. The following extract from the report of a Recess Committee of the Transkeian General Council is of interest as showing the point of view of the opponents of handwork training. The Committee consisted of four experienced Transkeian Magistrates (European) and eight Native members of the Council and presented its report to the Council in April, 1934 :—

“Your Committee wishes emphatically to express the opinion that the time spent on teaching handicrafts, i.e., clay modelling, basket work, etc., is time wasted. This is our unanimous view. When this subject was introduced it was in the hope that, in addition to the training of hand and eye, it would mean the resuscitation of old Native industries and might open avenues for a Native industry. But if such handicrafts ever existed on any large scale among the Natives, which your Committee doubts, we are convinced that their day has long gone by. Natives are now using articles of European manufacture with which the hand-made article will never again be able to compete. And so far as the training of hand and eye is concerned, the slight benefit the Native pupil might derive is in no way commensurate with the waste of valuable time which could more usefully be given to other subjects.”

The sternly utilitarian aim of education which is the basis of this criticism may not be acceptable to the educationist. But the criticism serves at least to draw attention to our comparative failure to attain one of the objects of including Native handwork in the curriculum, viz. to provide pupils with a skill which will be of use in their future lives. The attitude of the Native towards this branch of school activity is significant of his usual reaction towards attempts to “develop him along his own lines.” Two questions seem to require an answer. Are the dying crafts of the Bantu in South Africa capable of being revived and developed? If not, what forms of hand and eye training to develop the latent artistic powers of the child should be substituted for those at present attempted?

PROFESSOR B. MALINOWSKI: The work done on the development of original and indigenous Bantu art by the initiative and efforts of Mrs. Fincken, as well as the plans set forth by Mr. Meyerowitz, are, in my opinion, of the greatest value. The spiritual life of a people consists of their Art as well as of their religion and knowledge—and from the racial point of view Art is the most characteristic and the least easily interchangeable. Every human being has his individual contribution to make in Art, provided he has talent. Every race has its own artistic gifts to bring, and when it comes to race there is always native genius to be found.

The unavoidable contact with Western civilisation has had a disintegrating influence on Bantu societies and cultures. The original Art of the



CHILD'S WORK IN THE DALTON SCHOOL.

We have over emphasised the intellectual and neglected the emotional needs.

Creativity is a habit and must be acquired early : even before the child can read or write he should be encouraged to illustrate stories told him, and to express his ideas in picture form.

In the newer type of school, where every child is provided with material—not in small quantities doled out by the parent or teacher at stated times, but available when he wants it in ample quantities—remarkable results have been obtained as has been demonstrated in the exhibition gathered from many lands.

We are not aiming at training professional artists but, accepting the principle that every child is an artist, we want to provide chances for free self-expression. Technique is therefore not as important as ideas. Efforts, however crude, must be sympathetically received and not criticised, for the young child is sensitive and easily repressed and inhibited.

These opportunities of releasing what is within, instead of only assimilating facts from without, should be an integral part of the curriculum and considered as important and vital in the education of the child as mental subject matter.

In looking at the exhibits, one easily recognises work from schools where there is freedom and expression encouraged, and that which comes from the more rigid formal schools.

Drawing as an examination subject must not be allowed to kill the spirit in over-emphasising finish and technique. In this 'machine age' it is essential to preserve and develop the spirit of the artist and his approach to life. To be able to appreciate beauty, colour, form, means an added joy to life. Art can be shared by all and is not competitive. Art is a common denominator, both social and international, and unites people instead of separating them.

Art is a gateway to the things of the spirit, it is a living developing force that adds zest to life.

It is a method of releasing inhibitions in the unconscious.

It satisfies the fundamental urge in man to be a creator.

Let us therefore see that the Arts have their proper place in our schools and that they are free and unhampered, though guided and stimulated.

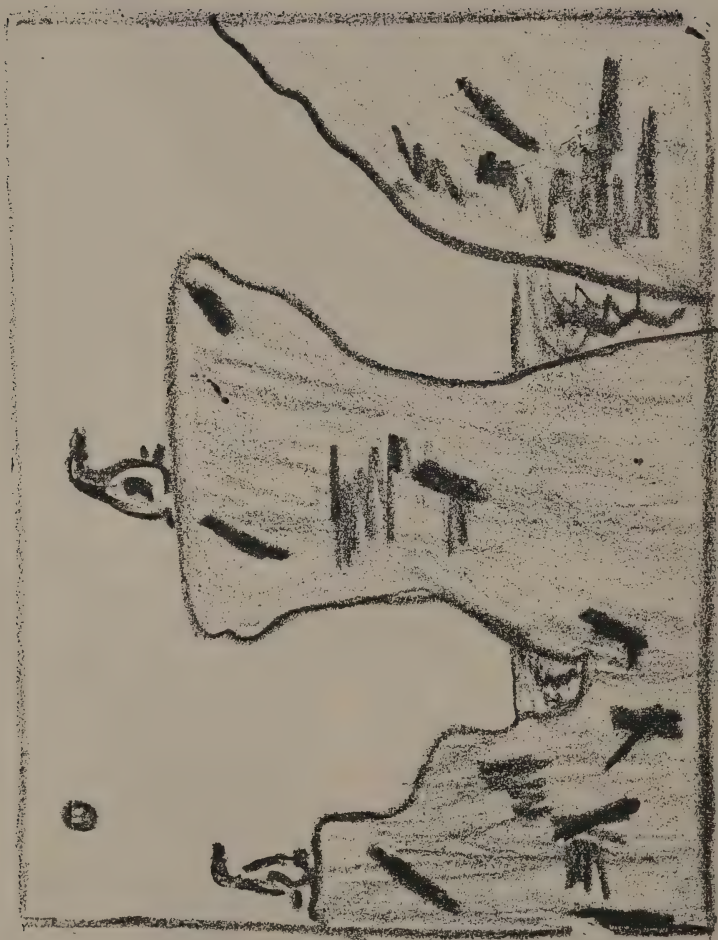
MR. J. E. RAWSON : *"What is this world if, full of care,
 There is no time to stand and stare ?"*

How much less it is if even the inclination to appreciate intelligently the beauty of creation is lacking !

The chief concern of an artist should be to seize and reveal to his fellow men the treasures which lie everywhere unhidden, but unnoticed. The Art Section of the New Education Fellowship has organised this exhibition in order to acquaint the public with the efforts that are being made in this and other countries to open the eyes of citizens to their heritage.

The God-given creative instinct in children, although at times a nuisance, offers great possibilities for development in the field of education, and the opportunities afforded in drawing and Art are being explored by educationists with enthusiasm.

In every person the artist exists to some degree and too much emphasis cannot be laid on the fact that the home and its furnishing, clothing, civic buildings and the streets—poster hoardings are the Art Galleries of the man in the street—are "in excelsis" the proper sphere for the artists' activities. It is lamentable that the tradition should have evolved that Art is con-



PENGUINS.

to draw. But it should be considered criminal for any teacher to frustrate by ridiculous self-righteous adult criticism the spontaneous creativeness of the child's little drawing.

An example of the misjudged valuation of a child's original talent can hardly be better illustrated than by this tale of the work of a boy of ten. This lad came to his present school with a report which said that there was no use in trying to teach him to draw as he was absolutely incapable of reproducing anything correctly. His new teacher, an educationist, was far too wise to accept the statement that this boy, who found it extremely hard to learn to read and write and do arithmetic, had no means of expressing himself except through the means of written or spoken words. To give the boy a possible outlet for his thoughts and emotions he was offered crayons and paper and left in peace. This boy proved that he could do more than draw in the accepted sense of school terminology. His crayon sketches have been tremendously admired by artists. He shows great promise.

Many children in my school are less attracted by the Art of Rembrandt or the Gobelin tapestries than by the colour of a Van Gogh landscape, the movement of Dégas dancers, the sunshine of a Manet seascape. The children living in South Africa do not have to be taught to appreciate the Art of their country, for it is obvious to them.

Fortunately at present there is a tendency towards allowing the child greater freedom of expression. There are now, even at the head of affairs, men and women who resent and forbid adult interference with a child's natural output. Mr. Rawson, our Departmental Instructor in Art, is trying to impress on his teachers that the only way to begin to teach drawing is to accept appreciatively from a child any work with which the child himself is satisfied and pleased. "Penguins", reproduced here, is a charming example of a child's sense of humour expressed through line. It is in no way outstanding even for a little child of eight. Hundreds of children do as well and better. It is reproduced because it is representative of a child's natural drawing.

True education in Art should surround children with things beautiful and inspiring in order to cultivate unconsciously their innate sense of aesthetic discrimination. In our modern system of drawing instruction there will be no teaching as such. Instead, every opportunity for free expression, for individual, spontaneous production will be given, and every creative effort will be encouraged.

The motto for all teachers and parents who wish to do well by their children may well be: "Give your child materials, leave him in peace, and RESPECT HIS LITTLE DRAWING."

Note.—It should be mentioned here that one of the most interesting features of the N.E.F. Conference was an exhibition of Child Art and Native Crafts shown both at Capetown and Johannesburg. This exhibition was of a truly international character, there being represented the creative experiments and class-work of people from the far corners of the world—Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, England, Scotland, Switzerland, Austria, the United States, Canada, Java and the Straits Settlements, besides the work of South African schools, Native and European.

A very appreciative description of the exhibits by the individual schools—each with its peculiar point of view—was given by Mr. Arthur Lismar in the Art Pamphlet published by the Art Group of the Western Province N.E.F. Branch at the time of the Conference and obtainable from the N.E.F. Headquarters in South Africa and in England. Some of the reproductions shown here have been taken from this pamphlet.

Our sincerest thanks are due to the many teachers from overseas who so generously sent their excellent exhibits, some of which were very precious, to this exhibition.—E.G.M.

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION IN EDUCATION*

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

PROFESSOR A. VICTOR MURRAY

The confusion that surrounds the subject of religious education is the result of two contraries from which we still suffer. The one is that religious education is a simple thing because it is a formal thing: the religious life, which presumably is the aim of religious education, is a deposit of reading or hearing certain words: to get people to read the words is therefore all that is required. It is this idea which lends vagueness to the term "evangelisation". Are the peoples of the world supposed to be "evangelised" when every single person has had the Gospel preached to him in his own tongue? Some people think that as soon as this has happened the Kingdom will then approach, but that it will be delayed until this extensive preaching has taken place. It all seems very simple and mathematical and exact. It shifts the burden of responsibility from the preacher to the listener and constitutes an "opportunity" to neglect which will endanger a man's eternal welfare.

The other contrary is summed up in a very apt term "exfoliation". No method is needed at all: simply surround the child with "good influences" and his religion develops itself. The teacher's work is passive, and for him to interfere at all by giving instruction or trying to get the child to come to a decision would be to force the issue and prevent "exfoliation." This view makes it very easy for the undecided teacher and it again shifts the responsibility, this time to the "atmosphere" of the school. "Atmosphere" usually means a projection into the void of the teacher's general sense of amiable, ineffective, lazy good-will.

The aim, however, of religious education is to help people to organise their lives by a loyalty to the worthiest of all leaders round the worthiest of all purposes, the Kingdom of Christ in the soul of man and in the society in which we live. This aim will not be carried out simply by chance. People do not drift into having a purpose. There is an element of deliberation about it. At the same time:—

"There is no expeditious road
To pack and label men for God
And save them by the barrel-load."

* A very comprehensive and important Section on Religious and Sunday School Education had been planned in the original programme of the Conference. Dr. Basil Yeaxlee of Selly Oak, Birmingham, and Dr. Weigle, of Yale, had accepted our invitation to lead this section. Through unforeseen circumstances they were prevented at the last minute from coming out to South Africa. Then, Dr. Hopkins, who happened to be travelling in Africa as representative of the International Sunday School Movement, consented to participate. But it was as if ill fortune dogged this section and he too was prevented from attending. To Professors Bovet, Boyd, Clarke, and Murray, who stepped into the breach at a moment's notice, we owe the fact that in the end the section was not totally abandoned.—E.G.M.

How can that aim be carried out?

It seems to me that there are four elements in religious, or at any rate in Christian, experience and that religious education is concerned with all four. They are: (a) the historical, (b) the moral, (c) the emotional and (d) the institutional. We have to know something, do something, feel something, and belong to something. In history these elements more or less correspond to the rational, the prophetic, the mystical, and the institutional. In the normally ordered human mind, however, all four elements are present, and religious education has to see that there is neither excess nor defect in any of these directions, according to the temperament or ability of the pupil. There is no harm in emphasising one side or another provided that this does not run to extremes and produce as an exaggeration of the rational attitude—scepticism, of the moral—censoriousness, of the emotional—self-centredness, and of the institutional—class prejudice. Religious education thus includes a remedial function and has to develop elements that may be lacking to the complete religious experience. The teacher's business may be active or passive according to the particular need which he has to supply, and destructive before it can begin to be constructive, since false views of history based on ignorance or false views of morality based on local conventions may have to go before something else can take their place. But the method of religious education is not something cut-and-dried. Children, and adults too, may be taken in the bulk for a good deal of religious instruction, but in the case of individuals "method" will vary according to need.

As religious experience may begin in any of these four elements, so therefore may religious education. A man may begin to come to a knowledge of God through a study of the Gospels or of Christian biography, or he may respond to some moral appeal and so set out in his search for God through that impulse. An emotional experience on the top of a mountain, or in the excitement of a meeting, or in the quiet of a great cathedral may be the beginning of a road which goes through quite different territory before it arrives at the goal. Simply by being a member of a great society a man may also be led to explore its foundations in history and to the conviction that a passive acceptance of his heritage is not sufficient.

And so in school, the Scripture lesson, the stories of the heroes of history, the sense of moral responsibility brought in by the Scout movement, the romantic impulses of adolescence, and the silent effect of a school chapel, of a beautiful library, or of membership of a notable school, may each of them set going the process of a real religious education which will not however be ended until it has been carried through each of the other three types of experience.

1. The element of *knowledge*, an important part of Christianity, is the easiest to deal with in schools. The things that we have to know come to us in the Old and New Testaments. They are historical documents though not arranged in the Bible in their historical order. They exhibit a great variety of composition and of moral standards. There are poems, histories, sermons, tales, and legends, all mixed up together. A thousand years separate the earliest sections from the latest. Praise of cunning finds its place along with praise of simplicity. The bloodthirsty and the meek both find their commendation. There are heroes of every type and for people of different ages.

The clue to the unity of this mass of material is to be found in the prophets. The natural place at which to begin the study of the Old

Testament, or of the Bible as a whole, is with the earliest of the prophetic documents, the book of Amos. As we go on from this point and trace the development of the prophetic message we shall find two great formative impulses struggling to assert themselves in the religion of Israel.

One is the prophetic insistence on God's righteousness and the other is the insistence on God's mercy.

"God is not man, nor the son of a man, that he should repent". How often does this refrain occur in opposition to the popular belief that God was capricious and unreliable? And against the belief that God can be bribed, there are the words of Micah which are typical of the whole prophetic band:—

"Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

But integrally bound up with the idea of God's holiness is that of God's mercy:—

"Though the Lord cause grief, yet will he have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies. For He doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men."

It finds its finest expression in the Book of Hosea:—

"How shall I give thee up, Ephraim, how shall I give thee up Israel? . . . Mine heart is turned within me, my compassions are kindled together. I will not execute the fierceness of mine anger . . . for *I am God and not man.*"

It is mercy which goes so far as to suffer instead of the wrong-doer, the innocent for the guilty:—

"In all their afflictions he was afflicted and the angel of His presence saved them. He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities."

Here then are two standards by which to test all the rest of the Old Testament. In so far as the story approaches these it is in accordance with the main message. What for instance are we to make of this:—

"Blessed is he that shall take thy little ones and dash them against a stone,"

or the story of Jael and Sisera, or the story of David and Bathsheba, or the deceptions practised by Jacob and Abraham, unless we see them as part of a great unfolding of moral principles? Tried by ordinary standards and taken out of their context these parts of the Bible are of course quite immoral. But these are not of the message of the Bible: it was on the contrary to situations like these that the message of the Bible was delivered by Samuel and Nathan and Amos and the rest of the prophets. And the wonder is that in soil so apparently commonplace and unlikely the plant of prophecy sprang up and flourished until the very soil itself was broken up and made fertile.

This treatment dismisses to the circumference problems such as whether Genesis can be reconciled with geology or whether Jonah was or was not swallowed by a whale. These are no longer moral but literary questions, and the message of the Bible is not affected by the answer. This need of a central principle determines all our methods of Bible study.

The story continues in the New Testament. Jesus claimed to be in the prophetic succession, and these two strands of prophetic testimony are woven together by Him in the great parable of the Prodigal Son. Here we have the culmination of the divine dealing with man. God is

righteous and God is merciful. But in the parable it is the prodigal who emphasises the side of righteousness and asks nothing for himself because he has deserved nothing :—

“ Father, I have sinned before Heaven and in thy sight and am no more worthy to be called thy son ; make me as one of thy hired servants.” And it is the father who exhibits mercy and forgiveness :—

“ He had compassion and ran and fell on his neck and kissed him.” This is as it should be. The development has gone on until the sinner rather than God demands punishment and God rather than the sinner claims forgiveness. The whole situation has turned round. And it is typical of all teaching. The art of teaching is to get the child to apply standards to his own life and to judge himself by them. The teacher acts as judge only temporarily, just as in human life generally the perfection of morality is that where we have done wrong we should try ourselves by absolute standards, and where we have been wronged we should make allowances for the wrong-doer. So much is this the case in the parable of the Prodigal Son that the elder brother seems out of the picture altogether. To him morality is a nice adjustment of effort and reward, an almost mathematical thing.

The life and death of Christ are not only the crown of but the clue to the development of the Bible. Anything in the Bible difficult or obscure has in the first instance to be considered in relation to Christ. If it can stand in this relationship it is well ; if it cannot, then it is either wrong or we have misunderstood it. This applies not only to the Old Testament but also to the New. What for instance are we to make of belief in hell ? Undoubtedly it says : “ Outer darkness ” and “ everlasting fire ”, but does this vindictiveness square with Jesus’ own attitude to even the worst people ? Does the death of Christ on the Cross mean this ? I think not. Then we cannot believe in hell in this sense. We are thus faced with a literary and not with a moral question. The question—Can a good God condemn people to an everlasting hell ?—is a simple one. The answer is No, He neither can nor does. The death of Christ proves that. We can then go on to discuss how it was that people expressed themselves in a way which appears to cast reflections on the goodness of God.

Another example is the case of the Gadarene swine. Why did Jesus send the devils into the swine ? It has been said that the Jews had no right to keep swine and so Jesus punished the people for doing it. But is it in accordance with the character of Jesus to take away people’s living in this arbitrary fashion ? Surely not. Well then we must look round for another explanation, and I myself believe that here again it is a literary and not a moral question. In tackling all problems of this kind it is essential to decide first of all on the standards we are going to apply, and whatever happens we must take our position on what we know of the character of Christ.

The method of imparting the historical element to children will depend on their stage of development. With younger children the narrative comes first. The subject matter of religion is stories. In the *Cambridge Bible for Little Children* the book begins with the story of Jesus, and the Old Testament narratives come in as “ stories Jesus would have heard from his mother.” In this way the interest of the stories as stories is retained and at the same time they are put in a most helpful setting to meet later difficulties. They are associated with Christ and presented as stories rather than as scientific history. Moral difficulties which arise, e.g. in the story of Jacob, can borrow help for their solution from

both the literary association and the moral standard of Jesus. Against the character of Christ Jacob cuts a very sorry figure but, if we see the story in its true light, we are not tempted to put the Genesis narrative on the same level as the Gospel narratives. And again, as the historical element in the Bible shows us a gradual development from a low level to a higher, we are here dealing with human nature and its re-making, the theme of all great literature. Job and Isaiah were faced with problems not dissimilar from those faced by Aeschylus and Shakespeare. Human nature is all of a piece, and although the Hebrews certainly made the more successful attempt at its re-making, the material was the same—the soul of man. Accordingly we can use literature and history outside the Bible to illustrate those inside the Bible, and so the sense of the strangeness of religious experience may diminish. It is precisely because children are led to feel that the stories in the Bible are about people wholly different from themselves and deal with problems wholly unlike those of anyone else that the Bible is less effective as a guide to youth than it might be.

And the historical approach has to be supplemented by the other three. As the subject is the life of man on this earth, we can have a fellow-feeling with psalmists and prophets as they wrestled with precisely our own problems. These are things that stir the emotions as does the supreme tale of Christ Himself. And as we feel them we realise the demand they make upon us. They require our loyalty and our acceptance of their moral standards, and this history, this emotion, and this morality have sealed the Church. The institutional side of Christianity is an inevitable result of its historicity. There is no Buddhist Church or Hindu Church or Moslem Church. There are services and priests and temples, but no developing institution arriving at an end beyond itself.

This historical side of religious education is regulative of all the others. If the events recorded in the Gospels did not happen, then our preaching is vain and our faith is vain.

2. The second element is the *moral*. Now morality is quite independent of the Christian religion, yet it helps our appeal if we realise that there are already in the human heart these dispositions towards evil and towards good. If this were not so there would have been nothing to which Christ Himself could have appealed.

In my opinion while morality itself is of the very nature of things, what things are moral and what things are immoral depends on the nature of any given society. I must act by my conscience always, although it may tell me a different story from that of another man's conscience. But conscience can be educated, and it is part of the teacher's business to educate the conscience of his pupils. The obligation to act by your conscience remains, but we train people in morality by withdrawing some things from the domain of conscience and bringing other things under its sway. This is not done by fiat, nor is it justified simply by the personal prejudices of the teacher but rather by developing the circle of a person's loyalties. At first a child's morality is determined in the family circle by his parents. Some people get no further than this and remain immature. The next group may be the school or the class, a wider but still a limited group. The only ultimate group is that which has the most universal significance, the values that have been found most true in the lives of the best men that we know. *Quod semper quod ubique et quod ab omnibus* is much more relevant to the appreciation of moral values than it is to intellectual belief.

Now unless we are prepared to act according to the light we have we shall never become moral beings and our religious education will be incomplete. The world cannot stand still until we are perfectly educated and know what is the right. We find what is the right by doing what we believe to be the right and by being always ready to receive new light on the subject. Not to act, not to make decisions, is a refusal to grow, and after a while it makes us incapable not only of action but also of illumination.

“ Not once or twice in our rough island-story
The path of duty was the way to glory ;
He that walks it, only thirsting
For the right, and learns to deaden
Love of self, before his journey closes,
He shall find the stubborn thistle bursting
Into glossy purples, which out-redden
All voluptuous garden-roses.”

Accordingly, in our religious education we shall not neglect to put children up against decisions, by making which they will be able to move on to still greater issues.

Edward Bowen would never give any marks to boys who never finished a task—there was no reward for bits, he said. That in itself is good training and needs the will to carry a job through. The value of scouting and of team games and team work is not that the play and the strenuousness are in themselves character-forming ; it is rather that these things involve a whole series of choices in small matters and, if they are seen to be choices, the habit of decision becomes something that is helpful in still greater matters. They are choices between softness and toughness, between self-indulgence and self-mastery, between individual self-seeking and individual self-denial, between purity and indecency, and many more.

But the habit of decision is the chief thing needed in the development of the moral side of religion. It is often assumed that a person who is quite lax about minor moral questions will somehow find it quite easy to make the biggest decision of all—whether or not to follow Christ. Yet the greater includes the less, and the less is the preparation for the greater. The continued vigilance of Jesus in Galilee was the guarantee that in the great intense issue of Gethsemane his resolution would not fail.

In matters, however, outside ourselves the growth of the religious sentiment depends on a harmony among our moral earnestness, our sympathy, and our intelligence. So that, although a cold morality may carry us along in our way of life, it is not sufficient to make us full members of society. There are causes which demand our allegiance, and the finding of the right causes at the right ages is one of our tasks in the religious training of children. The keeping of pets is a very elementary one ; the “ Society for the Prevention of cruelty to Animals ” is an extension of it ; the cause of Missions and of the League of Nations, have a much more grown-up feeling about them. They are all dependent somewhere on a quickness of the sense of right and wrong, but they also demand a lively sympathy and intelligence. There is need for discretion in deciding not only what causes to hold but also how to hold them. For moral indignation is the parent of Pharisaism and in the name of love may lead to hate. Keeness on the good name of the school may lead to tale-bearing simply as a form of amusement. Accord-

ingly, while morality needs the stimulus of sympathy, it no less needs standardising by something other than our own feelings. Here the historical standards of Christianity are of value. How did Christ act in a moral issue? He hated injustice, certainly, but He saw the unhappy plight of the wrong-doer quite as much as He saw that of His victim. Zacchaeus needed sympathy no less than those from whom he had taken falsely. The Pharisees were unlovely people, but He sat at meat in their houses. Jesus never lost sight of the human element in the situation. The religious life to Him never meant censoriousness.

And the institution has also its place. Christian morality is not something with which we are individually born. It has to be taught us and carried on from age to age. And although the Church may not always have been right, and although there have been periods when a higher moral standard has been observable outside rather than inside the Church, yet the fact that the group as a whole was there to conserve whatever growth had been made and whatever lessons had been learned has meant progress in Christian morals. One new issue after another has arisen in history and has been brought under the Christian standard, and in so doing the standard itself has developed. So that morality needs always to consider the group, and inside this particular group there are the highest moral values that are known to us, because they spring directly from Christ. The loyalty therefore of the Christian man is loyalty to the most universal group in existence—not in numbers but in appeal—the consciences of Christian folk. And it is good for children to appreciate that they are not merely themselves; they are part of a large society whose existence cannot but have its importance in determining their conduct.

3. The third element is *emotion*. Just as the informing of the sense of right and wrong is a *praeparatio evangelica* of Christian morality, so is the development of the sense of wonder a chief help to Christian feeling. It comes in all kinds of ways, in the wonders of Nature and of the human mind and of human achievement, in things done decently and in order, in the ritual of play, in drama, in the thrill of sound, in public worship, in music, in creative art.

These things are not particularly Christian but they are included in Christian experience. It does not come all at once. There is a grammar of religious education. Accordingly, everything not an end in itself which stirs religious emotion is the concern of religious education. This implies not only a certain subject matter but also a certain way of presenting all subject matter. Suggestion is of more value than statement, and the impression that there are depths of knowledge that have never been plumbed is not only true in itself but is a help towards a right attitude to the universe. Some subjects of course lend themselves to this better than others. We may teach the history of the American revolution in the date and fact method, or we can gather it around these noble words of Burke as a text:—

“My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government; they will cling and grapple to you; and no force under heaven would be of power to tear them from your allegiance. But let it become understood that your government may be one thing and their privileges another, that these two things may exist without any mutual relation, the cement is gone, the adhesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution.”

This may be called a "purple passage", but "purple passages" have a particular value for childhood. Facts which are the common-places of politics or business are here seen *sub specie aeternitatis*, clothed with splendid form and having a significance far beyond the mere occasion which gives rise to them. And it is this eternal aspect of life which acts as a stimulus to religious feeling. Hence poetry is in general so much more religious than prose. A line such as—

"The still sad music of humanity"

will do more to kindle the spirit with the right emotion than all the moral appeals to abstract justice. It is not enough, but it is enough for feeling, and literature is not the only place where you find it. It was in this way that Huxley and Darwin wrote of science and Gibbon of history. That is why we always go back to the great books in order to get that feeling for a subject which a mere text-book cannot supply.

Suggestion, form, and now *ritual*. Things done decently and in order are part of every child's way of playing. Why is it that at one minute we are a miscellaneous group of people and at the next minute—by the giving out of the number of a hymn or a request for order—we are a constituted society? We do not chatter nor move about. It is not done and we cannot do it. It would be entirely against our feelings to break the spell. That is the nature of ritual. It is an established way of doing things which helps to produce an appropriate feeling in the minds of those who do them. It is not an ecclesiastical thing; it is a psychological thing. We come into school and go out in an orderly fashion, we take up a special courteous relationship to women, our salutations are formal and orderly, and thus we are helped not only to know the right but also to feel the right.

The drama is a great stimulus to feeling, whether it is tragedy, which purges the passions of pity and fear, or comedy, which is a mirror held up to life. We have plays in our schools for this purpose. We dramatise the Christmas story and display a crib in our churches. And above all public worship needs to display this quality of order and reverence. It is so often perfunctory and mean, it says what it wants to say and it suggests nothing: there is no hint that we are dealing with a great mystery, or with a society of human spirits that was formed in the earliest ages of the world and whose end is not yet: there is no beauty to suggest the presence of that which is so different from our own unlovely selves. Yet, if religion is concerned with our relations to the unseen, there is surely need for the form to correspond with the reality.

Yet feeling needs to be re-inforced by the other sides of religious education. The moral appeal gives direction to emotion and sees that it is not lost in a morass of sentimentalism. The institutional side of religion gives it restraint and prevents feeling becoming merely anarchical. The historical side gives us a standard of conduct, in the life of Christ and the story of the development of the Christian church. Moreover, emotion by itself is an evanescent thing. It depends on moods and often on chance. The other sides of life help not only to discipline the feeling that is there but also to recapture it when it has been lost.

4. The fourth element is the *Institution*. The institutional side of religious experience is not difficult to grasp by children, although like everything else it has to justify itself at the bar of adolescent reason.

I think it was T. H. Green who said somewhere that religious observances were essential for the preservation of the religious sentiment. Thoughts, ideas, causes, feelings, naturally seek a body in which to be incarnated. They cannot function in the air. If war has to be outlawed, women emancipated, vice abolished, social righteousness vin-

dedicated, these things cannot be brought about by an amiable feeling of goodwill. They need a society to stand for these things and fight for them. And that society requires a basis of action. It needs to know what it is doing and why it is doing it, and it will naturally find these reasons in its past and will formulate for its own purposes a statement of its belief. This crystallisation of belief and action will not, of course, appeal to everybody, but everybody who shares its ideals is dependent upon the formal preservation of those ideals by people with whom perhaps he himself does not agree.

And for the individual himself the neglect of external observances makes it difficult to keep alive spiritual values in a season of dryness. They have in themselves no particular value and, if they become simply a matter of convention whose worth is not appreciated, they can effectively stand in the way of religious growth. We shall get a true understanding of them if we remember that religious character is something that has to be built. It is not there automatically. And it needs a scaffolding in which to grow. External aids are neither essential nor non-essential; they are convenient, and most of us need them. It is a great comfort, when faith is dim when adversity or familiarity has beset the soul, and when we suffer from hardness of heart, to have something outside ourselves, a church, a set service, which has once been full of meaning and may be so again. At any rate it is a witness to something that is permanent and that transcends our moods.

The institution is necessary in religious education. It symbolises the result at which one aims, it is something that can be seen and felt long before its meaning is grasped. The story of the Church is the story of men and women engaged in a great discovery, it is full of colour and romance, and it has in it plenty of material of interest to children. It is excellent that in these days the attempt is being made to put church history into the scheme of history reading, and a book like Somervell's *A Short History of our Religion* does it very well. In an earlier generation the Oxford Movement owed a great deal to Charlotte M. Yonge, whose *Book of Golden Deeds* attempted to do the same thing.

But it is not only the historical side that has its uses. There is the contemporary international side, the fact that the Church is a present society, of all peoples and nations and kindreds and tongues, of which we ourselves are part. I remember the boys of an English school being greatly interested in an address on the World's Student Christian Federation. The existence of world-wide Christianity had never struck them in quite that way before. And everything which has in it that sense of the group, whether the school itself or movements outside is of value in emphasising the institutional side of Christianity.

And then there are the pedestrian needs of every day. It is, I think, an unjustifiable snobbery to look down on the social side of church life. It is quite probably true that young people come to church because other people come and for no other reason, but that after all is quite a good reason. If it were cultivated and developed by study and partnership in some cause of value to the neighbourhood or to the country, it would be an effective agent of religious education. For we are all in the main gregarious animals.

The institutional side like all the others needs to be supplemented. The Church is not an end in itself and its standards are not altogether in itself. It too has continually to test its life by the Spirit of Christ—it can no more exist apart from Christ than the individual can be a Christian apart from history. It is not a vested interest and is rather the agency of a moral appeal which comes to the soul of man often in other ways.

And it is not a dead group to which one belongs as one might belong to, say, the Royal Geographical Society. It is a living thing whose value is seen by the affection it can inspire in its members for one another.

RELIGION IN SCHOOLS

DR. WILLIAM BOYD

(1) *What is religion?* What are we seeking when we try to teach children religion? We may be content to make them conform to certain accepted ways of thought and behaviour—to know the Bible stories, to go to church and Sunday school, to show outward respect for the sacred things of life. That is good enough so far as it goes, but it does not go deep enough. The real religion is not limited to such conformity but implies the right attitude to life, good relationships to man and God. Without the implicit religion which has its roots in right family life and in the service of our fellows the explicit religion of church connection is an empty form.

(2) *Religious Education in a Democratic Country.* National practice in regard to Religious Education varies in different countries. Among peoples accepting the democratic principle it will be generally agreed that religion taught in the schools can only be of value in so far as it reflects the desire of the citizens to have religious education. If the spirit of a nation is pagan, no amount of religious teaching in the schools can save it from paganism as some good people seem to hope. What chance is there of the teachers being religious if religion is not a reality for the community at large? No prescription of religion by the authority of law can overcome the irreligion of a teaching group who reflect the general attitude of the people. Further, even if the teachers are religious people (as most of them are) they cannot exercise much influence unless the parents are in active sympathy with religion. The religious attitude does not come from teaching about religion either in school or church but from contact with living religion in ordinary life.

(3) *The Three Institutions concerned with Religious Education*—the home, the school, the church—have quite different functions. The school stands midway between the home (the personal centre) and the church (the community centre). In the home the religion of right attitudes has its origin in the personal relations of parent and children: these determine in great measure all later attitudes to one's fellowmen and to God. The Father in heaven gets his significance from the father on earth: the child with a bad father makes an unpromising beginning with his religious upbringing. In the church, the central fact is fellowship and worship, implying ritual and creed. In his connection with the church religion acquires quite a different meaning for the child.

(4) *The Atmosphere of the School.* The atmosphere is different in different church communities. Catholic and Protestant represent two complementary types. On the Catholic view the school is simply an offshoot from the church and the religious education it gives has the same fundamental aim of bringing young people into the communion of the church. On the Protestant view the school is a different kind of institution from the church, primarily concerned with the secular side of life but not by any means without regard to the religion of the nation. The Catholic atmosphere is the church atmosphere, the Protestant atmosphere is that of the secular community on its highest level. Really there is

imposed on the school in a modern democracy the obligation to create a special society based on freedom and encouraging the development of a fine social personality. From this point of view the prevailing practice of corporal punishment and other methods of external coercion are antagonistic to the spirit of religious education. The atmosphere they create is anti-religious. This is one of the strongest arguments for the New Education and the religious spirit which it implies.

(5) *Religious Education in the Public School.* The difficulties of teaching religion in school are least serious in countries like Scotland and South Africa, where the great majority belong to one faith and communion, and greatest in countries like England and the United States, where many sects are represented. Under any conditions it is important to recognise that the public school in a democratic country is different from the church in many ways—in respect of worship, of personal convictions on the part of teachers and pupils, of variety of creeds. Where children of parents with diverse faiths assemble these must all be minimised or even excluded. The logical outcome of the situation is the undenominational school with the rights of individuals protected by the conscience clause. A more extreme development of the idea is the American school, from which not only religious formularies are banished but even in some cases the reading of the Bible. In the Old World and in South Africa it is taken for granted that schooling is incomplete without some measure of religious instruction. There is increasing objection to the teaching of catechisms presenting doctrinal statements, as unsuitable for the immature minds of children and raising unnecessary difficulties for both teachers and pupils in an unsettled age. In the same way the act of worship tends to be simplified and take the form of uncontroversial hymns and prayers at the opening of the school or on special occasions. What then is left for the school? Three things: the cultivation of a sympathetic attitude to religion, the presentation of Bible history and literature as an essential element in the culture of any people with the religious tradition, and a sound moral training based on reverence.

(6) *The Teacher.* What is to be required of the teacher in regard to religious education? Is every teacher to be required to be a teacher of religion? Surely not, any more than every child is to be required to become a churchman. It is a mistake to think that the interests of religion are served by the attempt commonly made to compel all teachers to accept the orthodox faith. The day of formal tests for teachers is past in most democratic countries, but pressure is still brought to bear on candidates for teaching posts which imposes an indirect compulsion. Such methods defeat their own ends. They are unjust to good men and women with tender consciences, who have views of their own on religion different from those commonly professed; and they are prejudicial to the spirit of good religious teaching. The effect is not to exclude irreligious people from the office of teacher but to encourage hypocrisy and sham, to the detriment of the children. There is really only one way to get right teaching in the schools. That is to leave the teaching of religion to the religious teachers. Nobody wants a mathematician to teach literature: he does best in his own line of interest. So it is better to accept the fact that some teachers have the gift for religious education and others have not, and throw the responsibility on the school to make the best use it can of the differing gifts of its Staff in this respect. Even those teachers who willingly undertake this work will do it best in the absence of the outside control commonly imposed on the school. The examination in religious knowledge concentrates attention on mere facts and imports into the religious period the spirit of cram and com-

pulsion. No more examinations in religion, then. Likewise there is a spoiling of the atmosphere when all the teaching has to be done to an externally imposed syllabus. The school should be left to make its own syllabus with what help it can get from the many admirable schemes devised in recent years. The Scottish Syllabus prepared by a Joint Committee of teachers and churchmen may be commended for consideration. But, it may be asked, are ordinary teachers able to give this teaching? Surely! If a highly intelligent section of the community, which has been brought up in the church, is not fit for this task, the church has failed badly. No doubt there is need for some special knowledge—knowledge of the structure of the Bible, of Bible history and background, of the story of the Christian church through the ages. If the foundations have been properly laid in the education given by the church to its members, the ordinary teacher will find no difficulty in adding the extra equipment required for school purposes with the help of the many text books available.

(7) *The Minister in the School.* It is sometimes suggested that the minister being an expert in this sphere is the person best fitted to give religious instruction in the school. The advice of a friend is that not being qualified for the job they should keep out. It is a wise man who knows what he can do and what he cannot. The minister is better to recognise that the handling of children requires a skill which his kind of life is not likely to have developed and that he risks his own dignity and the good of the cause he wishes to further when he starts to compete with the teacher on his own ground. The best thing the minister can do is to accept the teacher as a brother and man and recognise that each has a part to play in religious education and that though co-operation is necessary there is a difference of function. The person who needs his attention even more than the teacher is the parent.

SUPPLEMENTARY :

Incidentally I visited one of your Native townships to-day and found there churches of two sects. What a pity that the religious quarrels of the European should be thrust into the lives of the natives! It is terrible that we are infusing all those deplorable divisions which we ourselves abhor into this new culture which is in the making. Surely a union of the churches is the solution.

As to methods of teaching religion in schools, the object is to get a religious atmosphere into the school. This can only be achieved where a spirit of freedom reigns in the school. School should be a place where children learn the joy of living.

I deprecate strongly what is still often to be found—the teaching of religion through corporal punishment, where the master drives home the Catechism and even the Beatitudes with a strap in his hand. That the two can be associated is appalling.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF A CHILD'S RELIGIOUS IDEAS

PROFESSOR PIERRE BOVET

Children deify their parents. When they are young they look upon their parents as omniscient, omnipotent, and perfect. It would not be impossible to show that for the child its parents are beyond space and

time, and it would not be absurd to speak of the omniscience and eternity of the parent as seen by the child. This has the negative implication, of course, that the child cannot imagine a time when his parents were not there.

Then comes a time when the child patronises God and transfers to some Almighty Being the attributes which he first gave to his parents. A great crisis comes in the life of the child when it discovers that parents are not omniscient or omnipotent or the perfect beings of his imagining, and the discovery may come with a great shock.

When the child asks a parent a question it may not be to gain information but rather to find out if the parent knows, since the idea may already have dawned on him that the parent does not know everything.

In matters of religion the teacher and the parent should adopt the attitude that the child is in no way inferior. The child is really full and the man empty, and we have so much to learn from the child in the realm of religion that we must be careful not to impose upon him any religious duty.

SUPPLEMENTARY DISCUSSION :

PROFESSOR F. CLARKE stated that in Quebec, where he had been for five years, religion did not play the great part in education that one would expect when one remembered that religious bodies were the movers responsible for education and not the State.

The question had been asked what the public school could do in religious instruction, and he wished to make it plain that he meant the schools in South Africa and not as that term was applied in England. In those schools it seemed to him that it was not likely that there was much chance of introducing the desired religious teaching. It was, however, not correct to say that advancement was the result of being secular as far as the schools were concerned.

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A return to the Bible, not so much for its religious importance as for its value as a fine representative form of literature, was PROFESSOR VICTOR MURRAY'S opinion on the use of the Bible in the schools in England. The scripture lesson as such had ceased to be a thing of importance at all.

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Several other speakers then expressed their views and appealed for more religious instruction on a practical basis in schools in this country.

CHAPTER VIII.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN HOME AND SCHOOL

THE NEW EDUCATION IN HOME AND SCHOOL

DR. WILLIAM BOYD

In speaking of the New Education you must think of it in terms of everybody's education. The notion behind its precepts is that education is life. An experiment was made in America to determine the extent of moral influences on children. Extraordinary results were obtained. The moral influence of the Sunday School teacher was found to be zero ; that of the day school 8 ; of the Cub and Scout master 20 ; of the father 40 ; of the mother 60 ; and of the child's friend 78. This certainly humbles the teacher. The father and the mother and the child's friend are the most important educators. The home is the basic factor, because the first five years of the children's lives are the years that make them, as has been proved by the psycho-analysts. Freud says that it is these early years that shape the child's destiny, but, although they fix our natures for life, they do not fix them so rigidly that education cannot modify them. Human nature is always escaping from circumstances. Education is a method of escape. We shape our destinies on the basis of our powers. The home has a fundamental part to play in education, and any adequate education recognises this. In Scotland—and the same thing seems to be the case in South Africa—a bad job is made of the relations between home and school, yet when my children were at school in America I was almost as much a member of the school as they were. The great job of making human personalities does not belong to one person or another but to everybody. It is very important that those who matter most to the child, parents and teachers, should come together and co-operate.

From the point of view of the New Education the education given in the home is almost ideal. A phrase is used " Education for life by life ", i.e. you learn by living. The child picks up its mother-tongue without any difficulty. We learn to live through living. We learn how to do certain things and acquire certain habits without any very real consciousness of learning, or—education by experience. Parents also help, but they exaggerate the part they play.

Practically all that we learn is not instinctive but rhythms and patterns impressed on us by experience. Teaching concentrates on certain habits, such as that of going to sleep at distinct times. The child has to be taught certain habits of life, but sensible training gives him sensible habits. There is a real art, for instance, in teaching the child to eat nicely. The responsibility of the parents is very great, because the personality and development of the child is the work of the home. But the less one is conscious of the work of bringing up children the better. The first-born has a hard time ; we are far too conscious of his behaviour. This is the besetting sin of the teacher ;

the cult of the blind eye is often a blessed one. Above all, we must not fuss too much about the child's behaviour. If human conditions are reasonably good, the development of the child is all right. Children want to be good. We do not *make* the child do things right. We are the gardeners giving the child his food. We must awaken in the child this power to be himself. Foolish people sometimes say that the child is a parrot. This is not so. The child, through his mastery of speech, is gradually humanising himself. In a child of three we find all the moral and aesthetic words. The moral words and words of appreciation are all there. The child's vocabulary, his 2,000 words, gives him civilisation condensed, and by the time the child is five he has command of the essentials of civilisation.

The most important attitudes are those which come in reaction to the home. The most important people in the home are father and mother; brothers and sisters are less important. It is difficult for the child to sort things out. We like in modern life to distinguish between what women and men think, but mentally and morally men and women are very like one another.

The distinctive note of father is the note of authority—"He who must be obeyed." Watch the effects of authority exercised on the child. This lies at the root of all new thinking. What is the effect on the plastic personality of the child? Plato was rather worried about the effect of imitation on the child. What would happen if the child were exposed to evil influences, or saw bad pictures, for instance? Would he not copy these? Aristotle thought that perhaps the sight of evil things would act as a purge to the soul. Probably everything depends on the child. Each child is a human being out on its own adventure. We must help the child to be itself. All we can say is that some might be influenced in the wrong direction, but others would not.

There are parents with the authoritarian attitude—and later on we must remember that the teacher is the parent's substitute. A strong child rebels against his father's authoritative attitude, and if the attitude of rebellion goes on long enough he will be a rebel his whole life through. A gentle child also resents the rod of iron, but he evades authority by subterfuge, lying, and cheating. No child lies naturally; the cause is often to be found in the person to whom it lies.

What does the mother do? Well, she loves the child, is thoughtful of it, is considerate, but too much love expended on the strong child leads to exhibitions of mere caprice. On the other side, what happens to the soft, tender child in the too-affectionate atmosphere? The tender-hearted mother can be a very dangerous person. We can love our children too well. We can prevent them from becoming persons. A weak child might have its personality sapped by its mother. Girls are in greater danger than boys of being swallowed up by the personality of the mother. The best thing a girl can do is to get away from her mother. I always advise my own women students to run away from their mothers, to take up posts in other towns. I have, of course, spoken in very abstract terms, and in application we must mix up these ideas in their proper proportions. Authority is a big part in all our lives, and love is a very big part too.

The best service the home does to a child is to give him security. We can get too much security, of course, but the child gets from the home the sense of something stable, and it is important to keep in mind his need of this. All of us need such a sense. A good home gives a child a good start in life. Some of the security comes from the very character of the home. The child suffers from the relation between the parents.

The good relations of the father and mother are of paramount importance. Friction between the parents is a sin against children. Divorce is the very devil for the child—it hurts his soul.

Now we come to the conscious influences of the home. How can we consciously help the child? We can help when the child asks questions. Some of us make notes about our children, especially the number one. In passing, when our economic conditions improve I think we are going to have bigger families. Our modern families of one and two are no good. People want big families, and they are going to have big families, and they are going to demand an economic system that will allow them to have big families. The world is big enough for a vast multiplication of its population. But to return to the child's questions, it is the duty of the parents to answer these and to keep alive a sense of curiosity. The questions of children are not of the fanciful type, usually attributed to them, but usually require the answer "yes" or "no", thus showing that the child wants reassurance. I believe that if a child asks a question he must be given the answer that he wants—that will satisfy him.

Sex questions are of especial importance, for sex is a very important and interesting fact for the child. We must not give the question of sex a wrong, strongly emotional falsity. Questions are bound to come up early and should on no account be checked but answered simply and truthfully. If the child feels you are evading him there, he will lose faith in you. The beginnings of sex-education should be made in his early years; delay until the age of eleven or twelve years is wrong, and the teaching of sex *via* biology is futile. When the child is three or four, he will ask where the baby comes from. He must be told the truth. It is the mother's task to tell, and the telling deepens the relations between herself and her child. Sex-education consists of two or three human facts that the child must know and is going to know. We must teach it in the right way. Get your own mind simple and direct about it. The difficulty lies in our own attitude, which is due to our own upbringing and education.

School again is a necessity, not an incident, and its influence is not merely in the sphere of learning. The real advantage of the school is that it takes a child away from home; it is the first step out to a personal, independent kind of life. The school provides a new kind of environment, an artificial environment. It is an agent of the community. The purpose of the community in setting up the school is to prepare the child for the community in later days. All kinds of objections are brought against the school. For instance, the critics say that big classes swamp the individual. But big classes are not really a fault, because we have to learn to fit in with our fellows. The school takes us into a new kind of life. It sets us down to concentrate on certain highly artificial things, such as writing, reading, etc. Writing, reading, are instruments of knowledge and so are highly artificial and in themselves uninteresting.

Another difference is the difference in focus. In the home, or in the playground, or in the world at large, the child is in the midst of things. But in the schoolroom the centre of interest shifts to teaching. In the world things are jumbled up. In school there is order and even rigidity. The time-table provides the subject. But life is whole. The child vibrates with life. The school subjects are but fragments. This is the character of the school. It is highly artificial. Life has been broken up into shreds and patches. In the class-room we learn to do what we are told. Each child is out for himself. In this respect, a football team is on a higher spiritual plane than the school. In the playground the child becomes alive. The child has his own part in the

team, but he has to forget about scoring for himself. Here real moral education begins.

The school cannot become a community. It is necessarily concentrated and artificial, but we should make it more alive. Some English Public Schools put their excess emphasis on games, because the child is not getting anything worth learning in the class-room. We have to interest the child to make it learn. When the children work with the same enthusiasm and interest as they play, we have succeeded. The supreme aim in the New Education is to vitalise the school till it palpitates with life. The child should find its preparation for full womanhood and manhood in the school. The object of the school should be to introduce something of the home atmosphere of vitality; its basis should be altered from teaching to learning. The teacher has to cease to be feared—a dictator—and become a guide, helper, and friend. That is the first obligation of the older to the young people. We must give them the help they need. The essence of the New Education is to learn from within.

There are two more points. The first is, how are we to bring home and school together in a fertilising union? The first thing we want is a universal scheme for parents' education. Bringing up children is a difficult business, and we are all blunderers at it. Nowadays we are thinking of adult education. I should like to see in South Africa a definite attempt to help the parents and give them instruction in the extraordinarily difficult business of bringing up children. The best adult education is that which enables us to bring children up in a healthy and happy home atmosphere. The second point is this—the obligation of happier relations between parents and teachers. Parents and teachers think of each other as enemies. We must bridge this gulf between them. We teachers have a lot of opportunity through the children to get into contact with the home. In America the parents are made welcome at the school.

The matter of discipline at school is also important. In the matter of corporal punishment we must, I think, find other ways of making the children learn. If teachers are to be a self-respecting profession, they must avoid coercion and corporal punishment. Coercion poisons the whole atmosphere of the school, and also poisons the relations between the parents and the teachers, who must have friendlier relations.

DISCUSSION :

MISS RAMSBOTTOM. In home and school the very fact that we are so interested in the children makes us think a good deal about them with the result that we think *about* them rather than *with* them, with one unfortunate result—a kind of reticence in the child. Proud parents expose a child to a real ordeal in showing it off. Children become sensitive and shrink from the curious gaze of strangers. Excessive comment made about their remarks is, I think, one reason why they find difficulty in saying what they really feel and think. If parents and teachers could enter into their minds, rather than think *at* them, if they could develop with the children, we might get away from this difficulty.

DR. WILLIAM BOYD : (*In reply to questions*)—

The visiting teacher is not of great value in bridging the gulf between home and school. Every teacher should have the functions of the visiting teacher

The sons of clergymen are no better and no worse than other children ; they are distinguished intellectually. I find myself that the naughty children are the sons of teachers

I have not had any experience of boarding-schools. My own prejudice is against boarding-schools as compared with day-schools

My prejudice is in favour of the co-educational school. Girls and boys must learn to adapt themselves to each other, in order that when they marry they can live happily ever after.

My reasons for advocating larger families is that the small family is a very insecure social unit. The only child does not get normal experience. As to the suggestion that in poor districts parents do not desire education, I find that parents are always anxious to learn in their capacity as parents. There could be periodical gatherings of parents, with intelligent people to organise a course of lectures. With poor parents it is a good idea to get them together, give them tea, and then talk about their problems.

The home should attend to the problem of sex-teaching. No special sex-classes are needed. Incidental knowledge can be given, if the home has done its share.

It is suggested that the doom of the White races is at hand. I cannot look into the future. Certainly a right-about turn in social and economic life is needed. Mankind is certainly running the risk of inventing machines which will kill off the race. By taking constructive thought, however, we can achieve happiness.

If necessary, parents should say that they do not know the answer to a question put by a child and should say that they will try to find out the answer.

A snap-shot impression of the common practice in South Africa of having children nursed by Native girls is that the practice is wrong. . . .

The cult of blinding one's eye must be applied with common-sense. But sometimes the mischief is deepened if one pays too much attention to misbehaviour, to bad words or swear words, for instance. Too much fussing over such matters is certainly harmful.

The truancy question is bound up with the whole of the child's life. Either the school is not worth going to or there is a bad home relation. We must get back to the family situation.

In advocating co-education I am under no delusion about the fundamental sex difference. But there is a better moral atmosphere when boys know girls, and when girls know boys. Naturally the school must discourage the flirtation business, but it is as well for the two sexes to be mixed. This belief in co-education is based upon my own personal experience.

Management in Infancy by Blater and Bott is instructive as to training in table manners.

The demand for examination results has led to more frequent use of the cane, which I condemn from every point of view, and which is forbidden entirely in America. Boys are by nature more rebellious than girls and so more frequently under correction.

SEX IN MODERN LIFE

PROF. B. MALINOWSKI

The question to start with is whether we should have sex-education at all. Is it necessary to make sex a compulsory subject in schools, or

is it better to leave the matter to the natural course it has taken in previous generations? While I was completely conservative in my childhood, I realise that a profound change has occurred in most of the conditions which determine our attitude towards sex. Most of the trouble arises from man's insatiable desire to interfere with nature. One result of this desire is the use of contraceptives. Many people have a strong distaste for the whole subject, but it should be borne in mind that contraception is not merely a device to make love-making easy, it is also a prophylactic and above all a means of regulating parenthood wisely.

Another factor which has profoundly changed the situation is the greater economic independence of women, and in the third place conditions have changed in regard to personal relations. Personal relations in modern life have become anonymous and there is greater scope and freedom from the eye of public vigilance. In a small community, or in a typically mid-Victorian town, every one knows everyone's else's affairs. In the big overcrowded cities of Europe two people can go away for a week-end and nobody knows anything about it. It is better to tell about things exactly as they are. But one inevitable calamity is the spread of cheap and easy information about sex. It is sometimes difficult to draw the line between sound information and rank pornography. The literature on sex is difficult to draw up. Unhealthy information about sex is permeating the "movies," the Sunday papers, and, last but not least, all schools of modern thought. Yesterday you had a soundly Bowdlerised expression of Freudianism from Prof. Bovet. That is all very well, but, whatever Freud told us, the findings of psycho-analysis have not been uncritically accepted by everyone. I myself do not accept all the theories of psycho-analysis on sex, such as the castration fears, for example, while I regard the "unconscious" as a nice cover for a good deal of ignorance rather than as an established psychological fact. Another point about psycho-analysis is that it has very generally been the vehicle for unrestricted and unbridled talk about sex matters. Our greater acceptability of sex in speech has come to stay. Our attitude towards sex has changed. Opportunities for carrying out these functions in undesirable ways has increased. We have to regard sound education in matters of sex as one of the essential prophylactics within our modern atmosphere, which is not altogether healthy. Moreover, we have to recognise that we have to educate not only the child and the parent but also, very seriously, public opinion to take a definite, constructive, conservative stand in the matter.

In the evolution of sex a profound change has taken place in the circumstances of the family. I do not sympathise with those who wished to use repressive, policeman methods. I do not approve of pushing the woman back into the kitchen or giving her just the 'three k's of Bismarck'—'children, kitchen, and church'. If I had to choose between contraception and Hitler, I would always plump for contraception. I detest all things modern, including the modern girl, but I agree that all repressions are bad. Some, for example, lead to the familiar Oedipus complex.

If we, however, do not want to fight the modern decomposing influences, should we submit to them? Should we resign ourselves to the chartered profligacy advocated by a great many writers? Should we encourage "petting parties" in our primary schools? We would all agree that that is not the right line.

Some of our old sanctions have gone. Contraceptives and prophylactics have removed nervousness about venereal disease. Even the moral value of hell-fire sanctions has lessened. But our modern society is already developing new sanctions.

The beauty of sex can be taught by showing that the physiological act has its real significance in the personal relationship between two partners. The fullest consummation of this personal relationship has always been found in the full development of family life. The institution of marriage is the fullest expression of the sexual life.

As regards the future it is impossible to foretell exactly how conditions will change. I can well foresee a development in which certain men and women who become completely engrossed in professional work will perhaps lose interest in the procreative side of life, will perhaps abstain from family life, and will be able to lead a full sexual life under other conditions made possible by modern conventions.

I believe that the human race will retain its fundamental institutions. At the same time our domestic institutions are in danger. The subversive factors are working against not only conventional morals, but also against the integrity of two institutions on which the health of social life depends, marriage and the family. At present the economic difficulties of our life, the technique of life, and also legislation, are working against rather than for the family. In a highly taxed community like England the married man is badly over-taxed as compared with the bachelor. In many countries the married woman is not allowed to be a teacher. She has to relinquish her position on marriage. If we expect women teachers to give sex and sociological instruction, is it sound that we leave it to spinsters without experience of love and motherhood, or allow these spinsters to live in sin and draw their salaries? I think that the community which is not prepared to make sacrifices for its ideals is not a healthy community.

Physiology is not enough. It is not enough to teach children about pigs and guinea-pigs. The purely scientific approach to sex is not enough. The greatest difficulties about sex-teaching lie in the strong emotional attitudes which are connected with the crisis of adolescence. We have to mobilise the emotional interest in the right manner. The right way is to show the beauty of sex as contained in personal love and that the fullest sexual life must lead to parenthood, which is associated with a public declaration and the acceptance of responsibilities in marriage and the family.

DISCUSSION :

DR. E. P. BAUMANN, M.P., (*Chairman.*) I hold that you cannot give sex-teaching in schools, at least not in classes, but only to the individual. And the only person who can give that teaching with 100% effect is the parent. Next to him comes the doctor with about 15%, because the doctor, like the parent, can give his teaching unobtrusively. The parson has about 0.5% ability in sex-teaching and the teacher about a quarter of that. You can give sex-teaching only to the individual, and then you cannot give him anything worth while. You can only give him warnings about the suggestions of dirty boys and girls. When you have warned him you have done your best. When he grows up, you can give him physiological warnings. You can at least warn him against consequences. Teaching will not keep a boy from immorality if he is inclined that way.

PROF. PHILLIPS: Had biologists been present in greater numbers, the discussions might have been different, because statements have been made by people who, if they were correctly reported, know no biology. Biology has a rôle to play in the instruction of sex. We have been told that the biological approach is futile. As a biologist, and as a father of five children, who has attempted to give sex-instruction, I most strongly disagree. When I commenced sex-instruction, I was a very young Scoutmaster. I knew no biology. I attempted to teach my boys about sex *via* the Bible and *via* the art of boxing. I was dealing with the most difficult of matters, instruction regarding masturbation. Since I have gained my knowledge of biology, I have had similar tasks to perform, and I have been more successful because I have been able to take the biological approach. Two of my family I handled at the tender ages of 10 and 8, and I gave them sex-instruction *via* the open field and the home animals. I think that the children have grasped the central beauty of it all. We hear remarks about the crudeness of the physiological approach. Is there anything crude under the sun? Is not nature inherently beautiful? It is entirely the interpretation we place on nature. We are part of nature, but if we are true biologists we will go further. I believe that if our biology in our Universities is properly given, if our students are not merely mental students but can grip the true spirit of biology, biology plus social civics will enable the teacher to deal with the subject of sex-instruction. The teacher should give it in groups formed in the class, not teach the class as a whole, and not within four walls. Take the children into the open and teach them the glory and beauty of nature.

FATHER CLARKE: I agree that biology has a part to play in sex-instruction. But we are not mere animals, we are something more. Psychology is the science of the soul. Certain passions are given to man for the preservation of the individual, i.e. for the preservation of life. Certain passions are given for the preservation of the race. If these passions were not here, the human race would die off in a generation. But since these passions are so strong, we have to control them. We must not teach birth-control; we must not destroy, we must build up. The natives are horrified when they hear that Europeans practice birth-control. We must respect the natural. We must teach the child self-control, and not birth-control. I give children an examination in Christian doctrines each year. I believe that we must be strengthened and believe that the Creator has given us these things, and we must practise self-control. A good common-sense Christianity could help in this way.

REV. H. P. JUNOD: Being a Missionary, also among the African races, I have been most struck by the stability of the sexual life of the natives, and when I hear our Chairman say that no teaching can deter a young man from immorality, if he is so inclined, I must entirely disagree. I am sure there are positive forces in sexual life, which have tremendous forces for the individual. Biology is often dry bones. There is something more than biology and the teaching of nature. There is something of a much greater value; there is natural godliness, there are spiritual forces and relations in the individual's community. I strongly disagree that a young man inclined to immorality is unable to be put into another direction.

Speaking about Natives, I find that the sexual life of Natives has been most wrongly described. My contact with the Native races gives me a

great respect for them in that matter. I knew one tribe in which the husbands were away for years from their wives, but there was complete fidelity on either side.

Question : First of all, can we compare primitive marriages with our own, because the life span of the primitive is so much shorter than our own? They seem to live from 16 to 25 years. We live from about 25 to 65 years. If these primitive people can make their marriage monogamous, is it possible for us with our long life span to maintain the same? My second question is whether Prof. Malinowski has found in primitive society that there is a difference between eroticism and sexuality? Eroticism is the idealism bound up with the sexual feelings. Finally, is contraception practised in primitive society to any large extent? and is this not to the advantage of the women particularly?

PROF. MALINOWSKI: With regard to the first question. No. I do not draw any illustrative comparison. At my next lecture I can give my reasons for thinking that the monogamous type of marriage exists in every type of primitive society. As to your statistics, I think you are optimistic. Modern marriages do not always last so long. There are no statistics about primitive marriage.

As to your second question, I would plead that most of my brief contrast was devoted to the establishing of this difference that sexuality is merged in the sentiment of love and results in the domestic situation. The study of eroticism and romantic love is more important than sexuality. From the practical point of view, I have found that the sentiment of attachment does exist amongst primitive people. As regards contraception, this, if ever practised among primitive peoples, is practised in a very crude form. Modern gynaecologists have not pronounced on the benefits of contraception.

Question : Does not the direct teaching of sex by the parent not have a real danger?

The young child is essentially a very practical person and, when you get your child up and begin to talk to him about sex matters, he invariably immediately connects the sex question with the father and mother. This is one of the difficulties we parents have when we face up to the question. I have studied the native to a very large extent. I have lived with the Native and have gone into the question of sex-instruction among the Natives in Zululand, and I do not know of any direct sex-teaching by the parent. The instruction is given indirectly. If there is any case of immorality or pre-marital birth, the question is discussed openly before the children, and the children are thus given an idea of these matters indirectly and their minds are thrown on to somebody else. There is no personal contact with the parents, and do not the Natives get a very much better conception of sex matters because these matters of sex are discussed fully without the personal element being forever dragged into it?

PROF. MALINOWSKI: I do not want to ram sex-education down the throats of either teachers or children. At the same time, is it not true that the extraordinary differences between the treatment of sex which the child always receives from its parents, on the one hand, and from the dirty boys, on the other, has made it difficult for the children to ask their teachers frankly? Our attitude is changing nowadays. We believe that sex should be treated in a constructive manner, and not as a dirty affair.

Question : How are we going to reconcile the teaching of Jesus Christ with the new teaching ?

PROF. MALINOWSKI : The matter is being dealt with by the Church. It should be remembered that the Lambeth Conference two years ago gave its assent to the use of contraceptives. The Church of Rome, to which I belong, has not yet given its consent but will no doubt come to terms.

FATHER CLARKE : The Church of Rome has been attacked. I maintain that contraception is unreasonable. If we are given passions, why should we not use them ? I disapprove of the Church of England attitude of the Lambeth Conference, which appears to me to be "If you can do evil with a good conscience, go ahead."

MRS. L. SMITH : I think the great question that is troubling the minds of all of us is how much to tell the child. The problem is, how do children accept the information given them ? If we tried to find out what children like or dislike about the information, we would know what to tell and what not to tell. Children do not like to associate sex with their mother and father.

Question : Is it not more important to raise the economic status of the boy in the gutter than to protect the child of the middle class ?

DR. BAUMANN : (*Chairman*) I shall continue to preach, in spite of the denunciations I have received, that the child cannot be taught much but the parent can be taught. The trouble in the past has been that we have not called a spade a spade.

Question : What will the effect be of social nudism if it becomes more general ?

PROF. MALINOWSKI : I am unable to make up my mind whether social nudism will have any effect on social relations. I have not participated in this movement. You will remember how Anatole France tells us that when the naked penguins put on many ornaments they became so very attractive that even the missionary succumbed to their fascination.

I accept the rebuke of Father Clarke. Many Roman Catholics regard the matter in this light. I do not agree that contraception is unnatural because Natives do not practise it. Many of the things which we civilised people use are not given us by nature. We find them. The statistics force us to come to terms with contraceptives.

I found Professor Phillips' argument particularly convincing. I am going to study the futility of biological education in sex. But human beings do not produce like sweetpeas. Their passions are coloured by sex, religion, law, and morality.

Referring to yesterday's question on Marie Stopes, I did not make fun of her or her work at all. To-day I have tried to defend her from that formidable opponent, Father Clarke. I appreciate her contribution to the problem of sex-education and her public work in organising birth-control clinics. I appreciate her public spirit, her conservative and sound approach to the subject. She does not advocate the use of contraceptives to enable people to indulge their passions with impunity, but in order to develop family life and put it on a sound economic basis. My attitude to her is that of collaborator in the same field.

If we try to sum up the results of the discussion of yesterday and to-day, we find that we are not carried away by any enthusiastic attempt to force sex-instruction on the home and the school. It will not be difficult to teach sex, provided sex is not made a subject in its own right. If it is taught as part of three subjects, it will become of increasing importance in the school curriculum. If the teaching of sexual matters is made a by-product of biology, and if it is linked up with a study of the human mind and the study of human society, we may be able to teach sex. Finally, if the place of eroticism, the love between man and woman, is definitely established within the study of domestic civics, we may be able to teach sex and develop a healthy attitude in the young, in parents, and in the community. We may do much without over-emphasising sex. But if we want to teach the whole community certain truths, we must start by teaching the child those truths.

MISS R. VAN GELDEREN stated that at Cape Town for six years she had given frankly sex-instruction in classes to the satisfaction of the parents, but that the children took this as a matter of course without indications of emotional excitement in discussion or of desire to experiment.

Discussion in general indicated a cautious and conservative attitude and would leave the instruction to the parent.

SEX-EDUCATION

PROFESSOR PIERRE BOVET

I feel that we must first of all have a clear idea of the aim and goal of sex-education. A great difficulty in educational problems is that the aims themselves, and not only the means, are often subject to discussions that cannot be settled without involving the whole of our appreciation of human values. So it is at present with the aims of sex-education. There are very different opinions as to what ought to be the general attitude in regard to sex.

A few years ago I was asked to address, on this very subject, a great body of Turkish teachers and student-teachers, of both sexes, a mixed audience who had just been through a revolution. One or two years before the girls had still been segregated and veiled and now they had been launched in co-educational schools. In less than two years this audience had had to abandon the whole of their traditions, to replace the fez by the hat, to unveil themselves, to spell and read in a new alphabet, to apply to their schools a radical and utterly new separation of church and civil matters.

I was greatly perturbed. I could not take for granted things taken for granted in England, for instance. I knew that their morals and sex ideas were different from ours. On the other hand I knew that they had given up the Islamic tradition. Where was I to find a common ground on which to build an educational construction? I asked myself the question—"What is the common aim?" What helped me eventually was the fact that the Turkish Republic had just adopted a new code of civil law, which they had taken over from Switzerland. This meant that they had made their own a conception of marriage which implied as its essential foundation the reciprocal fidelity of man and wife. So I spoke on the duty of faithfulness in the monogamous marriage.

If we want fidelity between man and woman, we must prepare the boy and girl for it. Fidelity is not something natural, something to be taken for granted. This conjugal fidelity is an ideal, the realisation of which is not easy. Its attainment requires a sustained effort of education and training. An intelligent and prolonged co-operation between parents and teachers is necessary if this ideal of a monogamous marriage is to become a reality. It is worth while to educate in view of that aim. We may take as a goal in sex-education the simple aim even as set down by the law—faithfulness in monogamous marriage. We have other goals taken from education, politics, ethics, and religion, but let us start here.

We cannot reckon on nature to help us. This goal to which we look has been the result of a long development. We can consider this development from the biological, or the sociological, or the psychological point of view. From the biological point of view, which we are going to make use of occasionally with our own pupils to show them how reproduction takes place, we see that at first, as with fishes, there is no contact, that later on, as with birds, there is such contact, and that later on we come to the mating of mammals, where the contact, and in many cases the life together of the two sexes, becomes the normal state of things.

From the psychological point of view it is interesting to recognise that in different types of civilisation the relation between husband and wife is different. The wife may mean very different things for the man. In some types the husband may look on her chiefly as a worker. She toils for him, hence it is a good thing from the labour-saving point of view to have many wives. In other types, the wife is looked on almost exclusively as a child-bearer. But it is only when the wife is considered as a lover, a companion, or an equal, and love can exist between the parties, that we can in the full sense speak of the monogamous marriage in which faithfulness is the chief requisite: and this type of marriage represents a long evolution.

From the teacher's point of view the most exhaustive consideration has to be taken of the psychological development of the sex feelings. It is interesting to know its steps, and knowledge of them may even be a help. In the first stage the child has sexual feelings or sensations which are not yet localised in any special part of the body. All the mucous tissues are interested in these same sensations, and the child derives some satisfaction from them, which may be called sexual but which is not as yet limited to the sexual organs. At the second stage there is a selection, and decidedly the sensations which we call sexual concentrate on the sex organs. But as yet the individual requires no object outside himself for sexual satisfaction. This is the stage of auto-eroticism or narcissism, where some sexual satisfaction may be had without the choice of an object outside the individual. At the third stage we have an object. The feelings and sensations are associated with somebody outside the individual, but this somebody need not be an individual of the other sex. This is the period when some love of a sexual nature may be felt for an individual of the same sex. At the fourth stage we get heterosexuality. An individual of the other sex is required to give full sexual satisfaction. But no particular object is necessary for that satisfaction. There is no persistence of feeling for one particular person. This is the stage at which, according to Freud, we find Don Juanism. No one object can give full satisfaction, there must be a constant succession of new objects. At the fifth stage, we come to the monogamous marriage, where the feelings of sex are procured by and fixed on one individual, of the opposite sex, an achievement arrived at after long development.

But at every step of this development something had to be abandoned and the feelings and sensations have been focussed more and more, and every one of these steps has meant some abandonment. This must be told to the adolescent. He must know that there is a fight going on and that only by sacrifice and by giving something up can the ultimate goal be achieved. We cannot simply reckon on nature, but we should count on education for help to get over these different steps. There is a danger that the boy or girl may not reach the last stage, but may remain at an unsatisfactory stage of development. When this occurs it is usually regarded as a perversion, but it is not really perversion, merely arrested development. For instance, if the child remains at the third stage of development there is danger of homosexuality, while if it is arrested at the fourth stage there is danger of Don Juanism. We must help the child to reach his ultimate goal. Between a letting loose of sexuality uncontrolled, such as no organised society has ever seen it—(but such as we can imagine it in some decaying society which this state of things would hasten to its ruin)—and a canalised sexuality the distance is measured by renunciations which mean sacrifice, fights, efforts,—efforts which, if they are not to produce deviations and neuroses, must have the consent of the individual and not merely be imposed on him by the rules of Church or State. Here is the place of education.

What is the help education can give in this fight? First of all, the school can give enlightenment and knowledge. Secondly, the school has to take some hygienic measures of great importance.

Dealing first with the enlightenment, instruction, and knowledge, which the school can give, if we think of instruction we must distinguish three different moments in the child's life, and three different tasks. The first moment occurs when the child is six or seven years of age, the second when the child is twelve or thirteen—about the beginning of puberty, while the third occurs when the child is fourteen or fifteen and about to enter the world. The problems at these moments are different, and the methods employed must also be different.

When the child is six, his curiosity awakes. His awakening is a crisis. He is now not only interested in the origin of life but also in the differences between the sexes and in the question of where he comes from. The general tradition has been to put the child off, yet the answer is simple if we admit that one has to tell the truth.

An enquiry was made by a research student by means of a questionnaire in which people of all ages and nationalities were asked at what age and in what circumstances had they received an answer to the question of where they came from. In most cases the answer had been got through wrong channels, through servants, through older acquaintances, and so on. In a few cases the answer had been given to the child by its parents. The questionnaire also dealt with the attitude which each subject had had during his adolescence and in later years towards women or men, as the case might be. Men were asked "What was your attitude towards girls and women?", while women were asked "Did you feel inferior to men? Were you humbled by the thought that you were not a man?". It was striking to discover that, when the sexual initiation had been a wrong one, the men had a feeling of contempt for women while the women had a feeling of inferiority. In those cases where the subjects had received their information on sexual matters from the mother, there was on the part of the men an exaltation of womanhood while on the part of the women there was a pride of motherhood.

The school clinics too, especially through the work of Dr. Healy, have shown us again and again that the person who gives the child

this knowledge acquires in the eyes of the child an exceptional prestige. The older boy who has initiated the weaker one has a mastery over his pupil's conduct. How then can mothers not take advantage of the extraordinary prestige they gain in this way by telling their children the truth and by imparting the knowledge for which they are looking? Yet not more than 10% or 15% of people have acquired their knowledge through the right channels—namely the father or mother. The child ought to get a simple and true answer from the mother before going to school, but for as long as this is not the case the task remains for the teacher, and it can be done in the kindergarten. At the second moment, that is about the age of 10 or 12, the children must receive some information which should not be given in the form of a lesson dealing with birds and eggs but rather in the form of personal talks. At this stage we sometimes find that the information at the first stage has not been given, or that the information of this second stage has been given in the wrong way—by taking the matter too practically, by telling of illnesses and disease, by giving knowledge and instruction in the way of warnings. We must not, however, deal with the problem by frightening the child but must help him to step over to higher levels. At the third stage, we can give instruction about the dangers of social life with the sexual temptations on every side and the dangers of disease. This should be the task of a lady officer, who may be invited by the school to give one or two talks to the girls or to the boys before they leave school.

If we relied, however, only upon instruction we should find that the task is very difficult, and that we could not give true help to the adolescent. There is something to be done in the way of school organisation, school curriculum. We know that it is a gain if we can postpone the age of puberty for the child, and there are certain conditions of life in which puberty may come earlier or later. In rural districts, where the child lives an open, out-of-doors life, puberty commences later. In urban districts, with their streets in which posters and movies provide a dangerous erotic atmosphere, puberty comes earlier. Co-education works for the postponement of the age of puberty, and co-education, contrary to what has been thought and said in older times, does not have the effect of focusing the attention of boys and girls on sexual matters but frees their minds from these preoccupations.

There is another series of measures which result out of good school organisation. Everything that gives the child an active interest in his surroundings is a great help. By making an appeal to his creative activities, by taking advantage of all his spontaneous and natural interests, we can do much to place him in conditions favourable to a healthy sex development. The sexual functions can cause great misery while the relation between sex and his whole development is so close. Consequently, everything that will stimulate his ambition and give his powers the right direction is a great help. One subordinate aim of the hygienic measures is to multiply interests and do everything that will help to turn his thoughts to something positive and creative. The schools are responsible for the extension of self-abuse, because the school-work is so uninteresting, dry, and bookish, whereas interest and aim will give the whole libido, the whole impetus of child life, new direction, and no time is left for thoughts to haunt the mind.

But the whole problem remains a fight. We have to contend with formidable forces around us, and no auxiliary must be neglected if we are really anxious to succeed. All religious, philosophical, national, family, and personal ideals must be called upon in this struggle, and must be welcomed and brought to bear in the conflict.

SEX-INSTRUCTION : RÔLE OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS

MISS G. M. WILBY

We are all agreed that the parent is the right person to give the right answer and instruction to the child, for if the first knowledge of this sort of thing is so important it must come from the parent. As the first five years for the child are so important in forming the pattern of his character, so his ideas on sex will be formed by the answers he gets to his questions on sex. Our first problem then is to help the parent to give the right answers to the early questions. While it may be true that at present only about 15% of parents answer their children truthfully, it is equally true that nearly 88% would like to do so but are afraid and hold back because they themselves have not been taught in the right way ; parents should be given confidence through a fuller scientific knowledge. Very often they fail in the first question and then fall back on the old vicious lie though, as a matter of fact, the young child seldom pursues his enquiries beyond the first few simple questions as to where he and his parents come from.

Something can be done in the nature of a formula to answer that first question "Where do I come from?". I find the lecture most helpful in teaching parents who must get used to using the right words. As a rule at the beginning the child only wants to know a few simple facts, but the parents hang back from the truthful answer because they do not know where it is going to land them. Some children will present difficulty by wanting to know a great deal more. Parents must be prepared in order to get over their own embarrassment and must be helped to an objective point of view.

The emotional bond existing between parent and child in discussing this subject is very real. The teaching of sex to the child makes a valuable link between parent and child. If the early teaching has not been given, it is difficult to approach the subject in the adolescent. There must be care in order not to shock. It is even harmful to give negative teachings, such as warnings, without some positive teaching of the facts of sex. I have known a young boy of shy and retiring disposition whose uncle had enlightened him on the subject of prostitution with the result that he lost all interest in life.

Parents should undertake some of the preparation for puberty. The first knowledge of the origin of life should be in the child's possession before he reaches the age of 10. If he has not asked directly before that age, it is likely that he is getting information from some undesirable source. It is very necessary to find out if this is so, and in the case of a retiring child to instruct him before he gets a rude awakening.

In the next stage, of preparation for the age of puberty, education should be undertaken by the parent. There are big changes for the girl, and it is obvious that the mother should deal with these. Boys are frequently neglected at the age of puberty because the changes in the girl are so much more obvious. I think that a man should talk to the boy at this stage. We agree that the first part of the teaching should be done by the parents, but many parents will be quite unable to give this teaching.

Very often the child we want to help is the child lacking knowledge or possessing the wrong knowledge, and surely we can try to smooth out the wrong impressions. Biology is of importance here. South Africa is fortunate in having biology as part of the regular teaching in the schools. The teachers, however, are very nervous about tackling this matter, since their own bad teaching as to sex has left its impressions.

They are at ease on the question of the frog or the fish, but the mammal gives difficulty, and the child gets the impression that the teacher does not want to talk about the matter, if the wrong person gives this kind of education in the wrong way.

Special classes in sex are unnecessary and put the subject in the wrong perspective. Wherever reproduction and sex come in the teacher should take them quite naturally in his stride. Much of the scientific knowledge which can be given in school can be given by the parent. Our difficulty is that we have people teaching children who themselves are not adjusted to sex.

The Normal Colleges should be beginning to prepare teachers for giving sex-instruction, and they should be helped in order to carry out their ideas. Here the co-operation of the parent is necessary. If the lecture intended to help the parents be given throughout the school they will probably be willing to help. I know of one kindergarten in which the mothers wanted the teachers to tell their children about sex.

In South Wales there are two specialist visiting teachers giving lectures on Hygiene, which includes sex-instruction, in all schools, to boys and to girls separately. These two experts feel that knowledge of the child is more important than knowledge of science. The instruction is given before puberty with the prior consent of the parents who are entirely agreed as to its desirability. That is the only way to approach sex-teaching in schools, to do so with the consent and preparation of the parent.

In the case of the adolescent, the boy and girl beginning to be self-conscious, far from wanting information, shun the teacher. One girl told me that the class had had some teaching on sex and that none of the girls who were 15 or 16 years old had wanted it. This shows a definite reaction to class teaching at that age; the students wanted more individual teaching from the mother. The Transvaal Education Department has drawn up a syllabus for sex-instruction in schools. A danger is that young teachers, inexperienced in handling children, may have to deal with their questions on sex. Teachers who feel able to approach the children should do so. There should be no compulsion to give more than mere facts, and no stress should be laid upon the spiritual or emotional facts.

My opinions will seem a check to enthusiasts, but we are experimenting; sex-education is going to be a slow process and we have to build up from the bottom. We will then get the children dealing with the subject with complete freedom and naturalness.

DISCUSSION

MR. NOTT briefly reviewed what had been done in Johannesburg on the question of sex-instruction in schools, pointing out (1) that on the 4th June, 1932, the T.T.A.* Education Committee had agreed that some form of education via Nature Study, preparatory to Sex-Education, should begin in the primary school, (2) that the Johannesburg Society for Mental Hygiene had held a symposium on the subject in November, 1932, and (3) that a sex syllabus had been submitted to the Federal Council of Teachers on the 19th August, 1933.

A certain curiosity and interest in sex were to be expected in an intelligent child, and it was most unfair and harmful to treat as a moral delinquent a child who shows a tendency to talk of such matters with his companions. He quoted from *Towards Racial Health* by Norah

* Transvaal Teachers' Association.

Marsh. "He who would seek to instil an ideal of right sex conduct must not be of a lower ideal himself. If the adult has his own vision of sex clouded and distorted, the impression will reflect itself upon the child's vision also, veiling in grey or even in black what should shine forth in white."

MISS WILBY. It is difficult to know what attitude to take about the passing on of knowledge by child to child. Some people feel that children should be warned not to talk about their knowledge. When a child spreads sex knowledge complaints from other parents often result. It is deplorable for a parent to reprimand a child for his knowledge.

Country children often learn a great deal on the subject from watching animals, but it is not always a satisfactory way of learning sex knowledge.

An adopted child should be dealt with even before school age. There is some reference to it in Dr. Healy's work.

Do not force a child who takes things for granted into sex questions, but make it clear that you will not rebuke desire for information. We have to deal with each child individually.

In the sub-normal child curiosity awakes later.

PROFESSOR BOVET. If in a class of fifteen-year olds the prostitution question arises, such a question voices the need for enlightenment of the community. Such instruction has been given in schools; where the question is asked and answered from the beginning, there can be no distrust.

MISS WILBY. To a boy of six asking "Where do I come from?" some simple, truthful answer can be given. For instance: "You come from a seed in the mother's body". If he asks further questions: "Yes, but how do I get there?", though the young child usually is satisfied with the first answer, you must explain that the father also does his share. The child is satisfied with quite simple answers as a rule.

Even at a dinner-table it is possible to answer immediately if the child has been brought up that way.

When dirty knowledge becomes a menace to the school, it would probably be helpful to call the parents together for a consultation.

Bibliography recommended for sex-instruction was:

"Sexual side of life"—Mary Weir Dennett,

"How a baby is born"—Schwenitz,

"Life and Living"—Dr. Phillips,

"Men, Women, and God"—Gray,

also Alliance of Honour pamphlets, while Professor Bovet suggested reference for advice to the Y.M.C.A. at Geneva.

THE UNCONSCIOUS IN EDUCATION

DR. J. J. VAN DER LEEUW

The majority of men would be astonished to find that man's conscious life is but a fragment—a function—of that wider unconscious life which modern psychology terms the "Id" as distinct from the "I"—which

is the wakened consciousness or the conscious self of everyday life. The conscious self may be compared with the surface of the ocean on which only occasionally the looker-on sees traces emerge of the teeming life which goes on below it, or to a vast building in only one of whose many rooms we sit and see visitors enter and pass out again through different doors, we know not whence or whither.

At times, without any apparent reason, suddenly thoughts, ideas, and moods will come over us and we suddenly feel depressed or elated, without having any idea whence these visitors from the unconscious come; we take them for granted; we are aware only of these results, these emotions and thoughts, without any knowledge of their causes or their origin.

It is no wonder then that education is difficult, if we recognise the child only as a conscious being and deal only with the surface of the ocean or the one room, without recognising the unconscious life.

Primitive man—natural man—did not know that same sharp separation between the conscious and the unconscious. There was a phase in the evolution of man in which he had not yet developed individuality as we know it, nor had he yet erected around himself this barrier of self-consciousness to the gain of the fruits of individuality but to the loss of his kinship with the whole of universal life. So too the infant child without a full self-consciousness does not use "I" but its own Christian name; it still has something of that primitive kinship with nature and of harmony with the universal which, with the growth of self-consciousness, man loses. The race and the individual have each a moment of awakening to individuality, of realisation of self as the "I" as against the world of "not I"—which is a field for exploration, conquest, and control. Natural man being part of it cannot see that universe in this light and cannot have scientific development, and so the intellect begins by *distinguishing*. This step is a condition of growth of consciousness and development of individuality. The way of knowledge for the child, as for primitive man, is by instinctive intuition, while an adult person will have to reason laboriously.

The "I", the conscious life, is therefore like a circle surrounded by the wider unconscious life in which are the roots of being and the springs of vitality, and evolution in its separation from the unconscious has this danger, that the self-conscious barrier tends to cut man off increasingly from that unconscious universal life around him. The conscious "I" can "remember" and "forget" every-day thoughts and past experiences. Association, or a reminder by others, will revive memory, but some things no reminder can recall. It is as if there were some inner censor, and the real process of forgetting prevents us from remembering the painful or shameful or what not which the conscious self does not want to know.

The conclusion is that man only forgets what he wants to forget. We forget an important appointment and resent any suggestion of intention, all owing to the conflict between the conscious and the unconscious, agreement between which would make life simple. Each life has its own desires and fears, and while the conscious self may want to do a thing the unconscious self makes us forget to do it.

Similarly there is in the unconscious a cause and a reason for the forgetting of some word, there is a conflict between your conscious will and the will of your unconscious self, and the unconscious self always wins by its greater cunning. Accident and illness is really due to the unconscious, which may design the accident which will prevent you from doing some undesired piece of work. The escape of the less healthy

man and the infection of the man in splendid health have something to do with the unconscious, which in this way expresses its own desires and will in defiance of the wishes of the conscious "I".

An apparently purely physical ailment may be an obstacle created by the unconscious and will prove so on analysis. When the cause is made conscious such an ailment will disappear. A child genuinely feels "growing pains" when he says so and maybe does not want to go to school, and the unconscious can bring about physical symptoms.

In Charcot's experiment the placing of a piece of paper on the subject's hand with the suggestion that it was a mustard-plaster was followed by the appearance of a blister. In another case when the subject was asked to touch a cold stove and burn himself, the burn actually showed itself. M. Coué, too, actually brought about physical changes. Hence it is exceedingly dangerous to deal with the unconscious "it" which causes strange things to happen in this subterranean, unfair fashion and thereby spoils even the things we consciously want to do.

Seeming errors in speech or in writing are often slipped in, unknown to the conscious, by the unconscious self, and all day long in the great or the small things men are the victims of conflicts between the conscious and the unconscious which only analysis can solve.

In our dreams we get to know what the unconscious is, but on wakening we re-form the barrier. You recall a vague picture, but cannot remember; the "censor" prevents remembrance of things which it did not want to know in the past. This strong power of resistance to the conscious will on the part of the unconscious self makes difficult the remembering or analysis of your dream. In this dream-life the unconscious uses mysteriously all the things experienced, heard, or seen; and though your dream may seem chaotic nonsense, analysis will reveal the work of a master artist. A dream, because of the process of the unconscious, cannot be explained. In any analysis there are many things to be considered. A man dreams of a house; questions, such as—what did the house look like? did it remind you of anything? was there a hedge round it? and so on, will gradually awaken some memory indicating an association with some experience in a similar house. Not the psycho-analyst but your own unconscious life from the different component parts of the dream tells you the meaning of your dream, and a person talking freely and unhampered by interruption will also show how the unconscious is engaged and its influence on the conscious life.

The process of repression in the unconscious starts in the early life of the school child. He may be lying, stealing, not doing his work, behaving in a strange way, keeping to itself, not mixing with its comrades, and argument will be useless. Enquiry, if the child trusts you and gives you full confidence, may show that the conscious self wants to mix with friends, and the child cannot define or explain the unconscious desire for isolation. In a case of theft it is useless to moralise or to say "It is dishonest to steal", because you have to deal with the conscious and the unconscious. A child again may yearn for the love and affection of his mother yet unconsciously hate her by reason of her imagined preference for a younger brother. The mother, unaware of his conflict, offers him her affection which, though craving for it, he spurns in his resentment. And so in your schools and elsewhere one comes into daily contact with the child's unconscious self, the ocean-surface on which moral results appear. You have to deal with both his selves, and most of the conscious can only be explained by the unconscious.

One aspect of the education of the child is the trouble taken to sublimate the primitive instincts of which the child is but a bundle. See his resentment of denial or disappointment—yet without these primitive impulses, and forces, however savage or crude, nothing great can ever be accomplished. The process of civilisation gradually makes the motive powers fertile and places them on different “higher” levels so that cultural and creative work can ensue. Primitive man is ruthless in his way of acquiring his desires. He must suffer to build some form of social life, give way to become a member of a group, bridle instincts or renounce desires to make social life possible, and all the higher results of civilisation such as art, culture, philosophy, and science are accomplished at the cost of man’s primitive instincts.

It is all a process of sublimation. The same aggressive instincts which turn primitive man to warfare may afterwards be the strength of the explorer and, when turned to higher performances, produce scientists or philosophers. Sex instincts too, which at the lower animal levels need only seek for their immediate satisfaction, may be the creative powers of great accomplishment on the higher levels. Hence, if a modern child shows passion strongly developed, do not see in this a low or base nature, for without this motive power the child will never achieve anything great. But the conflict constantly recurs between the instincts of the child and civilisation, and some of the former have to be renounced or bridled for social life to become possible.

The most innocent child has these very primitive instincts. One little girl, when refused a bracelet by a very much beloved aunt, who said “I will leave it to you when I die”, exclaimed “Can’t you die now?” and after a while looked enquiringly at her as if to say: “Well, are you not going to die?” She was not a barbarous or murderous child; she loved her aunt, but her primitive instinct desired immediate gratification. So too the resentments of a small child, and the attempts to give these practical effect, on the occasion of a new arrival in the family indicate very primitive and murderous instincts which do not make the child bad or sinful but will gradually be sublimated and qualify him to enter social life.

At the same time sublimation takes place at some cost of primitive vitality. Primitive races may lack civilised culture but, their creative instinct being stronger, they enjoy a much more intense life. Modern man has even gone back to primitive people for his music, dancing, and sculpture. Much of man’s modern dance music is parodied from primitive cultures. He does not idealise primitive man but recognises in him a vitality lost by himself in the development of his individuality.

In education, therefore, care must be exercised because repression may involve a great deal of harm for later life. We have all experienced this and, having been told that some display of our natural instincts was wrong, naughty, sinful, or degrading, have retained an association with the influences repressed. Repression of yourself strengthens your inclination for repression in regard to your pupils; the thing repressed is no longer recognised or remembered, and you have the inclination to repress its manifestation in children owing to the principle of over-compensation whereby, the stronger your own desires and the more painful their repression in your childhood, the further you will go in the opposite direction, so that even the denunciations of the very exacting puritan in the case of often innocent amusements will be due to his own severe repression in childhood. Confronted by an action which you do not think moral be slow to condemn, for a mental strain indicates

something in yourself which wants to do the same thing; the fault wants to enter into your own conscious life.

That accounts for the opposition to early psycho-analysis when people thought Freud ascribed too much importance to the sex impulses. All of us have resented the repression of natural impulses which have been, and unconsciously still are, important in our lives but have been banished away into darkness. The man who has materially overcome some weakness in himself will never judge this hardly in the case of another. A man who judges harshly is the one who feels guilty himself and knows he deserves punishment. Pursuit of a criminal is really pursuit of a guilty self. In the process of sublimating the natural urges and instincts of the child recall your own youthful difficulties. For instance the remarks of unwise adults about our sexual impulses, and their association with ideas of something that was low, disgraceful, naughty, and wicked, make it impossible for us to regain a normal attitude towards sex though we may gradually shed some of the abnormal repressions.

In the awakening of sexual life in the child there are the periods of infancy, and finally puberty and adolescence, in each of which repression takes place and associations are formed. We have no right to condemn any natural instinct as something filthy or dirty, but we must understand it and try to create that relationship of perfect confidence in which the child, knowing there will be no punishment or reproach, will never feel the slightest fear in speaking freely whatever his troubles. In this way only can we help him. The more normally you can deal with this early manifestation of sex in the child and the less the repression, the quicker will be his escape from excesses and his growth into a normal attitude; the firmer the repression the more firmly do you plant excesses in his life. The actual harm done to the child is less by his own acts than by the association of these by adults with guilt and wretchedness. A child may become ill and suffer for years and years, not because of the thing itself but because of the attitude of the adult which makes him feel an outcast or that he has injured someone whom he loves.

A normal attitude in the adult with regard to sex will make the child a natural being who will live a normal sex life. Unhappy marriages in general are the outcome of those unwise repressions and childhood associations which actually react on happiness and can wreck a life forever. The process of sublimation of these natural impulses is, in a wise education, taking place all the time as new objects and new interests show themselves; while some power, which otherwise would have spent itself in the gratification of natural impulses at its own level, will be transferred to different levels and produce the forces of civilisation and culture. Cultural creative work is really the flower which is rooted in the soil of our natural instincts and gradually transforms them into the fragrance and beauty of the flower, and it would be very wrong to condemn as a thing ugly in itself the soil which gives the flower its strength. The flower can only live upon the strength from the soil. So flowers of our own life, past creations, owe their strength to these natural urges and instincts which give the motive power enabling us to do great things in our lives, in art, science, philosophy, and social intercourse.

Refrain then from unwise repression but act rather with a wise understanding. When you try to find the causes which affect the child's behaviour, recognise that in every child there are many rooms in the whole building, and that you can only understand what is happening in the one room of the conscious life.

All of you should not psycho-analyse the children entrusted to your care because that would be dangerous in untrained hands; to have

read about it is not enough. No one is supposed to practise psycho-analysis who has not himself undergone training for at least a year. Even so, I urge you not to try to psycho-analyse but to try and familiarise yourselves with the work of Freud and his followers, to attempt to understand the conduct of your pupils in the light of those theories, and also to try to find out in what way your behaviour to them will be affected. When the child's behaviour seems strange to you, remember there may be something troubling him; there is always some conflict between the conscious and the unconscious, and in regard to the conscious even without analysis you can always find out the truth. You may enquire into home conditions, into the relationship between the members of the family, whether an elder brother is bullying, whether a child has been punished or has suffered some shock; without attempting a process of analysis let the child talk freely to you and you will very soon get light on his behaviour and be able to help him infinitely more than by the usual moralising. First understand the child's actions and then attempt to remove the causes. And the main condition of all is this, that the child must not only love you, but must trust you perfectly so that it can say anything to you without, as it were, feeling an outcast.

A good educator must train his powers of observation. In the past educators have been too forcible. The teacher should not pour out all his own personality on to the child; he must try to understand why the child behaves as it does and then he can help to solve the conflicts between the conscious and unconscious self. These conflicts are not so fixed in childhood as in later life and can be resolved in the child, whereas in the man they may be too crystallised. The child is not so shut off from the unconscious as is the grown up, hence it is all the more important that the child should regain its normal life in childhood instead of having these repressions and conflicts strengthened by unwise educational methods.

I hope that you will all study this unconscious self and that in your approach to children you will try and recognise that what you see before you in each is not the whole being but only the surface of this ocean of individual and universal life.

In an incidental illustration during the discussion Dr. van der Leeuw referred to *The Spacious Adventures of the Man-in-the Street* by O'Duffy, in which a character was catapulted into another planet where each inhabitant enjoyed freedom in sex matters but was restricted to a single type of fruit as diet. His explanation of freedom of diet was unintelligible to his hearers who asked if this did not lead to over-eating. The moral was that a healthy attitude towards sex will not beget sexual monsters.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS IN HOME AND SCHOOL

DR. F. PERLS

When Galileo discovered that the earth was merely one moderately-sized planet among many others, human vanity sustained its first severe blow. A few centuries later it was again disturbed. Charles Darwin discovered that man is not a unique being created by God, but that just as the earth has been put in its place in the planetary system so man is relegated to his place in the animal world. And now Freud makes his

appearance to give the most severe blow. In ignorance of the gigantic significance of his findings society received them with the most intense hatred and repudiation, or at best degraded them to social chit-chat about sexuality, repression, and complexes, while the interpretation of dreams became merely a social pastime. The main point is not that decades must pass before the conviction finally becomes forced upon us that we are not master in our own house, that we do not live, but that we are lived by unknown forces for unknown purposes—even Socrates had an inkling of this (although he did not prove it scientifically) when he spoke of the *dæmon*. Freud's chief merit is that he provided us with a method of putting an end to our illusions, which are many, and enabled us to face reality by providing us with the technique for doing so. An illusion is like morphia. Its source is the helplessness of the Ego, and its inability to come to terms with reality.

You call it insanity when a woman, who has lost her child and has no other purpose in life, rocks a piece of wood in her arms and treats it like a child. In this case the contrast between reality and illusion is so great that it will strike all of you. This comfort mechanism, by which one deludes oneself with respect to uncomfortable facts, has two great disadvantages. In the first place these illusions render one more or less ineffectual in dealing with the problems of life, and secondly every illusion is followed by disillusionment, and the disappointment leaves us in a bad way. Hate, bitterness, depression, discouragement are its consequences.

We want positive prescriptions as to how we can make use of psycho-analysis for educational purposes. In the short time at my disposal I neither can nor desire to give you these. Psycho-analysis and its applications demand serious study extending over years and can never be learned by way of the intellect, but I can help you to make a choice from the bewildering number of educational systems, each probably offered as being the only true one.

One of the most dangerous of the illusions is idealism. There are here present many who are proud of being idealists, and the higher they rise into the clouds or even into the stratosphere the more glorious and divine they appear to themselves. Please make yourselves clear on one point. Every ideal is a fantasy, and the less the ideal corresponds to the reality, that is to the real capacities of a person, the greater is the certainty that it will be condemned to frustration; the more the child or the adult must regard the unattainability of the ideal as a defeat; the more easily in later years life appears to be without meaning and without purpose, and the stronger becomes the impulse towards suicide. For a concrete example: I once heard a clever and certainly progressive woman maintain that the capacity for development in the child is best guaranteed when it is allowed to occupy itself with things in which it is most interested, and when it is not burdened with subjects which are distasteful to it. That is, it is to be allowed to go the way of least resistance. A contrary view might maintain that a child should be forced, if necessary by means of punishments and the corresponding instilling of fear, to face the distasteful subjects, since reality, too, is unpleasant and hard. I for my part regard both these views as false. A healthy child should be able to master all school subjects with ease. If it cannot do so, we are dealing with an inhibition of thought, or an anxiety, or something similar. To exclude the uncongenial subjects means giving one's approval to these inhibitions of thought. On the other hand, to force the child by means of punishments means to force the child to work with excessive and exhausting energy. Take the example

of the motor-car. If we compare the inhibition with the brake of the car, this means working the machine with the brake on. The engine must revolve at a speed which must destroy both the engine and the brake, but the first method—of not bothering the child with the difficulty—denotes a standstill. I will give you an example from practical experience. A young man of rather a paranoid type came to me on account of inability to concentrate. He indulged in dreams and fantasies the whole day through. He was convinced that he was a great producer of operas but, apart from the fact that he would occasionally play the piano for half-an-hour in a desultory fashion and that he would sometimes give his mother a beating, his relations to reality were nil. Analysis showed that until his tenth year he was a very good pupil. Then he came to grief over Botany. He tried desperately to overcome his incapacity to learn this subject. This incapacity to learn gradually extended itself on to other subjects. He became a bundle of nerves and withdrew himself more and more from reality into his world of fantasy. Now what was responsible for his failure in Botany? I do not know what methods are pursued in South African schools, but in the German school one hears nothing in the Zoology classes about the sexual organs of animals. Yet plants are not only permitted to have sexual organs, but the pupil is even given a lens and is allowed to examine the sexual organs minutely. He is given forceps and scissors and is told to dissect these organs. You will now understand that my patient, whose sexual curiosity in his early years had been most violently suppressed, was unable to cope with the new situation and was unable suddenly to give up the former inhibition in thinking, because the whole process took place in the unconscious. After analysis the patient became a good observer and a clear thinker.

You see from this example what is the analytic attitude to education. We must not approach the child from the outside with definite ideals and theories, but we must study the inner mechanisms and correct any faulty development from within. This for the time being will probably remain the task of analysis, namely, to investigate why a particular child, or a whole class, or a whole educational system, or even the structure of existing society, should show imperfect achievements. In other words, psycho-analysis refrains from trying to make the human being into something that he is not. Its sole concern is to determine the optimum capacities for development and to attempt as far as possible to correct the errors that have already been made.

Faulty development in childhood leads in later life to more or less serious illness, the so-called neurotic disturbances, which render a person more or less incapable of work and enjoyment. It leads to anxiety neuroses, hysterias, and obsessional neuroses, which latter are prevalent in this country to an alarming extent. It leads to character neuroses, that is, to a form of illness which is usually not regarded by the patients themselves as an illness, but which does not allow them to enjoy life and which frequently drives the people in their environment to despair. It leads further to unhappy marriages, in which the partners instead of living in happy comradeship live in the most intimate hostility. It leads to impotence and frigidity, which are known to occur in women, but which also occur in men not less frequently.

As to what causes this faulty development, and how we are to deal with it, many of you know that the first "Five Years' Plan" in Russia was devoted to the creation of a system of industrial production, and that the second "Five Years' Plan" is concerned with mastering technique. In our case we do not need to concern ourselves with the pro-

duction of children, but we must be all the more concerned with mastering the technique of education, and we will not learn this technique until we are clear about the fundamental facts of development. We must learn how to use the right technique at the right moment, and we will then see that the stick and punishment do not probably constitute the best educational technique. I believe that an educational technique involving punishment and intimidation and depending on the awakening of fear is based on a fundamentally correct observation, but that this kind of education belongs to a stage as primitive as the primal fact itself. The primal fact is that the small child is an animal, that it is a creature of impulse that knows nothing of the demands of society, and the conclusion was drawn, naturally not by means of a logical, intellectual process, that this small animal must be tamed. If this little animal did not do what its parents required of it, they flew into a rage and beat it to death. This punishment became attenuated into beating it until it was half-dead, and finally into just beating it. But here an error enters. The fear that a child must be squeezed into forms, that it will remain an animal if it is not tamed, is unjustified. To mention just one factor. The child forms itself, it trains itself, it brings itself up, under the powerful impulse of imitation and identification. If we keep our eyes open, it is in fact not difficult to see what decisive importance the copying of the surrounding world, particularly of the fascinating persons in its surroundings, has for the child. Children differ constitutionally much less than is usually supposed, and the idea that "this or that characteristic is inherited from my parents" is generally to be replaced by "in this or that way I unconsciously imitate my father, mother, teacher," or whoever it may be. In their play children imitate the grown-ups. The child plays the mother with its doll, it imitates the intonation of the grown-up voice to its finest detail. When the child learns to write, it imitates the strokes shown to it. The child thus imitates instinctively and blindly. So it comes about that it is often unable to distinguish the essential from the unessential, often with comical effect. That this instinct of imitation is the basis of learning is often overlooked, but you can easily convince yourself of it if you imagine that a monkey would probably imitate to a slight extent writing movements made in front of it but that a donkey, for instance, would not respond in this way. That is, if a child did not possess this instinct of imitation, or if this instinct were exhausted, you could do a thing a hundred times in front of it without eliciting imitative responses. When the mother says "I do not want the child to spend so much time in the kitchen, it learns bad manners from the boy", this certainly does not mean that the boy is teaching the child but that the child sees this behaviour and copies it. The consequence of this insight is naturally that we bring the child into situations where it will exercise its instinct of imitation on matters which we consider desirable.

This instinct of imitation also explains many conflicts in education. The mother says to the child "you are naughty", and next day she is annoyed because the child says to her "naughty mother": she regards it as lacking in all respect. Yet the child has simply copied the mother: it has learnt something and now wants to apply it. Perhaps the mother has actually done something that the child did not like and, in the eyes of the child, has really been naughty. But the mother has probably felt humiliated and will punish the child for this.

The situation becomes more difficult when the teacher or parent, in his overvaluation of the results of education by word of mouth, is guilty of contradictions and thereby rouses the greatest conflict in the

child. Take lying as an example. "With your hand on your heart", have you ever come across a grown-up who does not claim for himself the right to tell lies, even if only "white" lies? It is specially in their relation to children that most grown-ups tell lies unscrupulously, make many promises without the slightest intention of keeping them, lie about the origin of children, or about their own school-days' achievements, and so on. On the other hand have you ever seen a child that was allowed to tell lies, in whom lying was not regarded as the most terrible crime, unless of course it suited the parent otherwise? If the mother has something to conceal from the father, she will not hesitate to induce the child to tell a lie. You can quite well imagine what conflict is produced in the child by the desire to copy the beloved liar and by the prohibition on lying.

Some of you may think that we do not perhaps know the whole extent of the imitative instinct of the child, but analysis has so many other things to explain that are difficult to understand. Analysis has shown how powerfully the instinctual life of the child works itself out—for instance, how disturbances in eating can lead to inhibitions in learning. Psycho-analysis has been the first of the sciences to investigate and explain the origin of conscience. Above all, it would be of importance for the teacher to know something about the management of transference, for transference is the psychic link between the home and the school. Further you will object that I have gone astray on the question of idealism. If so, you will do me an injustice. For me to speak even superficially about the significance of the instinctual life would require in you a good practical analytical experience. If I were to attempt to take you on a flight in record time over the whole field of analysis, I fear that not only would you get no pleasure from it but you would suffer indigestion from the unassimilable analytic catchwords. Let us be satisfied with our modest walk, and, if it seems to you that I have wandered off the path, it is not really so, for imitation is just the process which brings about fulfilment of the ideal. After all, we show the child pictures, we describe to him what he shall become, we hold up heroes and great minds, fathers and grandfathers, as examples, in the hope that the child will live up to the model. But we are always forgetting one thing. We are giving more or less untrue pictures, which are either unattainable to the child and cannot be copied, or which he does not wish to copy because they do not accord with his personality. We overlook the fact that he is continually engaged in the copying of reality, and that it requires a disappointment in reality to cause him to fill out a day-dream with idealistic fantasies. We overlook the fact that unattainable ideals lead to play-acting, to the putting on of a mask, and that it is in this way that many false and divided personalities are produced. The ideal for the child must correspond to reality. We ourselves are the ideal in the eyes of the child. Every teacher, every parent, who does not blind himself, knows with what delicate awareness the child detects good qualities and weaknesses in ourselves. A great part of our hypocrisy in our dealings with children is derived from our shame that we do not correspond to the usually unattainable ideal which we want to be to the child. But every education must fail if it does not depend on, you will say, the ideal: I would say on the assumption of 100% honesty, frankness, and admission of one's own mistakes, i.e. on the acknowledgment that one is not ideal. Where concealment, hypocrisy, and deceit flourish, there can be no trust, no comradeship. Where distrust, spying, and guilty feelings predominate, we bring up a timid race of slaves, who are suited for lands ruled by tyrants and dictators, but who can

never know inner freedom, productiveness, and responsibility. From all that I have seen so far of this Conference it seems to me that the majority of you oppose compulsion and tyranny, that most of you favour freedom and the unfolding of the personality.

DISCUSSION

DR. LIKNAITZKY : The time has long passed since psycho-analysis could be killed by laughter : indeed, there never was such a time—if there had been, psycho-analysis would have been stifled in its cradle. Psycho-analysis is one of the most important movements in contemporary thought, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that in the future its findings will provide the basis for all the sciences which deal with the relations of one human being to another—anthropology, sociology, politics, criminology, and of course education.

What is the relation between psycho-analysis and education ? Two very important questions arise : in the first place, can psycho-analysis be brought directly into education, i.e. can and should education involve the actual analysis of the children ? and secondly, to what extent is it desirable that the teacher should be familiar with the findings of psycho-analysis ? The first question is easily answered—the actual process of psycho-analysis is completely out of place in the class-room. Quite apart from the practical difficulty that child-analysis is one of the most difficult branches of psycho-analysis and requires prolonged training before one can be proficient in it, the processes of analysis and education are essentially distinct ; if a child requires to be analysed, the analysis should certainly not be carried out by anyone who is responsible for his education. Books of the “ Psycho-analysis in the Class-room ” type are based on a misconception of what the process of analysis actually is. Complex-hunting is always useless, and may be harmful.

The other question of how much psycho-analytic theory should be included in the training curriculum for teachers is less easily answered. Speaking generally, I think that the teacher should be acquainted with the main facts of the instinctual development of the child. A knowledge of the mechanisms of identification, displacement, and transference, would enable the teacher to understand the part played by him in the emotional life of the child—he will understand how the child displaces on to him all kinds of emotional attitudes which originated in the family circle. A knowledge of the emotional development of the child will also give the teacher a better understanding of the sex problem. At this Conference a great deal has been said about sex-education. Great play has been made of the difference between the “ right ” kind of sexual knowledge and the “ wrong ” kind, a right attitude to sex and a wrong attitude. It seems that a “ wrong ” attitude to sex is betrayed by the fact that the children laugh and snigger about it. But what is wrong about this ? Laughter has a definite psychological function. Yesterday our Chairman entertained us with his after-dinner jokes, and—we laughed. Perhaps he felt that as a result of all the sex talk the atmosphere was becoming a bit tense, and to dissipate the tension he made us laugh. Why should we deny to children the relief which we get ourselves ? This seems to be another example of our demand of a moral standard in the child far higher than that which we impose on ourselves.

And, from a careful study of what has been said so far, I have been forced to the conclusion that what is regarded as the “ wrong ” kind of sex knowledge is the knowledge of the actual physical, and particularly

of the emotional, realities of sex. The defence against sexuality takes different forms at different times. Fifty years ago it took the form of a simple denial. To-day we have altered our tactics. We are prepared to tell children everything about sex, provided the subject is regarded purely as a matter of biology and is shorn of all personal and emotional implications. I cannot help feeling that a great deal of the agitation for sex-education is in the service of this defence against sexuality. Sex can no longer be denied, it will be tolerated, nay encouraged, on condition that it is completely—desexualised.

DISCUSSION

Question. How would you deal with a child who is perfectly intelligent but has fear-complex about one particular subject? Are “fairies” lies, and what is truth?

DR. PERLS. With regard to the first question, it is obvious that there is an inhibition at work. Even if we knew what the inhibition was, however, it would help neither us nor the child. We must know analysis ourselves to understand how the unconscious works in the child. Psycho-analysis deals with resistances, and it takes a life time to remove them. What is truth? The truth of each theory is only proved by reality. As to fairy-tales, there is a great deal of truth in them in a symbolic way. Truth need not be immediately real but must be true for the unconscious. We are so blinded by our ideologies that we cannot see the truth.

Question. How far does Dr. Perls consider it necessary to give instruction on the work of Freud in the training of teachers? How long does an analysis last?

DR. PERLS. The length of an analysis depends on the depth of the resistances in the individual. It is not easy to say how much psycho-analysis a teacher should know. Unless you actually undergo an analysis, you can only trace those few faulty developments in the child which are easy to recognise. If you know a little about analysis, you can really see these in the children—you do not merely know them with your brain, and it will be much better for the children if you know about transference. The chief thing is to let the child speak, if you come across a child that has difficulties. Children cannot be easily approached. They have such an armament. They keep their secrets so tightly from the world. If we could get the confidence of the child and get what is called a negative transference, that would help. People usually think that transference merely means love or hate for the analyst. It actually means the relation that you transfer from your parents to somebody else. The negative transference or the latent negative transference is important. The child seems to want to please you, but actually he obstructs you in every way, he loses his book, he comes late to school. If there is such obstinacy in a child, he should be asked “what have you against me?” It is not pleasant to invite a negative transference, but if we can stand the hate of the children—if we bear their criticism, we can help them.

Further replies to questions were as follows:

DR. PERLS: There is never any necessity for corporal punishment. If you want to take revenge on a child who will not do your bidding, by

all means beat him. But you are the unsatisfactory person, not the child.

We are not concerned with the right and the wrong way of sexuality. We are only concerned with the gratification of sexuality. The important thing in teaching children about sex is to avoid giving them sex inhibitions, and guilty feelings. Take the question of masturbation. The illness of children is often attributed to masturbation. But it is not masturbation that makes them ill but their guilty feelings in connection with it. We need not educate the child in sex methods. We have only to answer the child frankly.

No repression is dangerous if there is no energy behind it.

Teachers and parents should not encourage their children to tell them their dream-life, unless they know how to deal with the dream-life.

DR. BAUMANN (*Chairman*): I constantly tell boys that masturbation does no harm at all.

DR. PERLS. Referring to the subject of masturbation: we do not think of the sex glands. If we don't use our muscles they will atrophy. It is the same with the sex organs. They are producing all the time. The body must get rid of the emissions. If we have to choose between a boy of thirteen going to a prostitute, and masturbating, what are we to do? You have asked me for advice in dealing with some of the behaviour problems you have encountered in your pupils. I must emphatically maintain that I cannot do in half-a-minute what takes half-a-year in analysis. In regard to these behaviour problems, you must realise that a severe behaviour problem must be treated by a specialist in that branch. You cannot treat it yourself, any more than you would yourself treat a child with pneumonia.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AND EDUCATION

DR. J. J. VAN DER LEEUW

There has rarely been recorded an individual act of genius such as that of Freud, though Charcot and others have been intimately connected with the beginnings of psycho-analysis. Even those who reject psycho-analysis are influenced by it as part and parcel of modern thought, and with its conceptions the modern novel is intimately connected. The central point of Freud's discovery was his postulation of the unconscious, but he did not only discover the influence of this and its state of conflict with the conscious but he also studied the technique whereby it could become conscious. Those who have been psycho-analysed themselves can understand the resistance which is put up, and the urgent need of the help of the psycho-analyst to overcome this. Self-analysis is almost a miracle, possible only in Freud's own case because he transferred the matter out of the realm of personal interest into that of general scientific interest and thought.

The reason for the extent of the opposition to psycho-analysis is easily intelligible; repressions being due to painful episodes we would

rather not have them spoken of. If you merely disagree and reject calmly you show your objections as normal and rational, but any violent emotional disturbance associated with your objection indicates an underlying emotional complex. Unkind personal statements which are true excite us most, but our greatest anger is aroused when we do not realise their truth. In childhood the first love of the mother brings with it a desire for the elimination of the father, and if we hear the unconscious telling of the experiences of childhood we realise the truth of this complex.

Freud's conception of sex is wide, and he himself says that had he termed it "Eros" opposition would have been less. The United States of America oppose socialism but accept its doctrine under the name of the "Roosevelt Plan". Adherence to the term showed Freud's courage. Repression leads to the spontaneous desire not to hear the truth about sex, but we must face the truth.

The Zurich School of Psycho-analysis is more popular as having eliminated the sex-urge as its mainspring of human action. In general we need to let out the foul air and let in the fresh. Freud's conception of sex is very wide. It provides the driving force of all that we do. Early experiences prevent frank discussion, and the subject is connected with ideas of degradation, so that, when we try to connect the idea of its sublimation with social behaviour of a high order, the natural reaction is to ask—why bring the best things of life into so low a relationship? Our unconscious prevents us from accepting what Freud has to say, and the whole being rises in rebellion when some old repression is touched upon.

Some find an unhealthy gratification in dabbling in sex, but true psycho-analysis will not increase morbid interest in oneself, it will rather take a man out of himself—a painful not a gratifying experience. The technique of psycho-analysis lies in making itself superfluous, and it will become so, except in pathological cases, when repressions and conflicts cease. Its future will be not in analysis of individuals but in its teachings.

Teachers and parents should all be psycho-analysed to enable them not to psycho-analyse children but to help them by avoiding harmful repressions. Remedial work is slow. The patient must be completely honest—a difficult task, as we tend to ascribe noble motives to our weak acts. He must also be completely frank: nothing is too trivial to report, and day-dreams are of great importance. The explanation of a dream is released from the unconscious of the patient, not made by the analyst. The psycho-analysed teacher will put aside the method of direct approach and proceed by way of question—"Why is the child acting in this way?" He must learn what to do or rather what to refrain from doing.

A normal attitude to sex produces a normal self-control. We associate spiritual life with asceticism and renunciation because we regard primitive urges as base. Instincts terrify man by their strength—hence he seeks refuge by flight. Hence there is a false duality—spirit versus matter—in life, whereas in primitive man there was unity: to him the material world was alive, we have made the material world lifeless. Yet a world without spirit is a world without meaning. Psycho-analysis helps to overcome duality, and materialism is an exploded theory. Man's life is first a period of primitive urges; he then becomes aware of self and surrounds himself with a barrier—an intellectual not a final stage—; and thirdly with the barriers of self removed he regains his Paradise. Psycho-analysis is not the cause of this but a symptom of world-wide change.

DISCUSSION

MR. S. BIESHEUVEL submitted that there were two difficulties in the conception of psycho-analysis.

- (a) We are blankly unconscious at birth *or* we have a consciousness with certain contents. If we accept the former we press bits from the conscious into the unconscious, which later becomes the main function, *or* if we accept the latter we inherit something in the nature of racial memories—(anthropology denies this)—*or* accept the theory of the birth trauma. Will a human being adapted to his environment shrink from it?
- (b) The Freudian problem cannot be tackled in a rational way. It involves dogma; e.g., after a religious revival the convert cannot be reasoned with but just says “you have not experienced this yourself: you do not understand.” If we cannot approach psycho-analysis rationally, where are we?

DR. VAN DER LEEUW. Psycho-analysis does not profess to produce a philosophy of life. Separate the philosophy of the nature of the unconscious from the fact of the conscious. On the former psycho-analysis does not pronounce judgment. At present only our own ideas are available. “I do not feel that the mind is a blank to begin with. I believe that what any previous race has experienced is my inheritance not only transferred by education but the very essence of life.”

No comparison with a religious revival is possible, but rather with a sailing which you cannot understand until you have sailed. In my personal psycho-analysis I was not asked to be anything but rational and critical.

Idealism is not opposed to determinism. Freewill is not freedom to do as one pleases. Determinism as fatalism is not that which recognises that the determining factors are both within and without. Freedom is identified with wholeness: the part is never free.

The psycho-analyst *guides*, he does not suggest. Character develops. In the early years certain lines of development emerge under the influence of environment and remain permanent.

In the case of the student forgetfulness is mainly due probably to the unconscious though there may be a conscious factor of failure to learn properly.

MODERN TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

DR. WILLIAM BOYD

The most outstanding fact about educational thinking in the last two centuries is the emphasis on the psychological aspect. “We must psychologise education,” said Pestalozzi, expressing aptly the change that had come with the new education of his time and ours. Psychologising education means thinking of the aims and purposes of education in terms of the child mind, and understanding the basic facts of learning through a study of the mental processes involved.

When we come to psychology for help in this task, however, we find ourselves bewildered by the multiplicity of psychologies. Psychology is regarded by its exponents as a science, but it differs from the other sciences in the fact that there seem to be almost as many psychologies

as there are psychologists. Up against the conflict of psychologies the educator finds himself at a loss.

There is this amount of common ground that practically all psychologists profess to be scientists and use the methods of observation and experiment in their analysis of mind. As a matter of course, this gives a decided advantage to mechanistic ways of regarding mind. To analyse and to experiment requires a reduction of experience to certain elements—reflexes, sensations, aptitudes, urges, instincts, or what not. Hence the prevailing assumption that mind is the kind of entity which can be so reduced.

From this way of approach come a variety of atomistic psychologies, which proceed to work out the conception of education as a building up of mind out of elements, like the Stimulus-Response school. Most thoroughgoing in this respect are the behaviourists, with Professor Pavlov as scientific leader and Professor J. B. Watson as educational exponent. In their scheme mind really disappears as a conscious experiencing, and human behaviour is expressed in psychological terms without reference to consciousness.

In contrast with this atomism are the psychologies which bring into the count the *whole* mind. Most typical is the Gestalt or Pattern psychology, recalling in some ways the Kantian philosophy in the idea of mental wholes. Some of the other psychologies which begin with mental units bring in this concept of wholeness in various ways. The factor psychology of Spearman, for example, preserves the idea of unity by the postulate of a central integrating factor. MacDougall beginning with separate instincts which are worked up into sentiments gets co-ordination through the self-regarding sentiment. Freud and the psycho-analysts in spite of the confusing relations of *id* and *ego* and *super-ego* manage to keep alive the notion of personality as fundamental by postulating like MacDougall what may be described as a purposive urge. Out of these psychologies of the whole emerges the view of education as a process of growth determined ultimately by the nature and direction of the mind.

What is the meaning of all this diversity of psychological view? Professor Dewey suggests that it indicates a science in the making, which by its very immaturity cannot but issue in conflicting methods and results. That is a suggestion not altogether to be put aside. Psychology is undoubtedly a very young science, and young sciences should not be expected to be clear and definite on all or even many points. But that is not the whole truth, or even the main truth of the matter. Though the psychologists dislike the idea, what seems to be involved is not such differences as characterise the physicists of to-day who are wrestling with conflicting theories but differences which are ultimately philosophical. What is at issue in the battle of the psychologies is the age-long conflict between materialism and idealism. Fichte once said that starting with the *ego* and the *non-ego* it was possible to develop two quite different philosophies according as one thought of *ego* in terms of *non-ego* or of *non-ego* in terms of *ego*. Whether the psychologists who have diligently extruded the *ego* from their system admit it or not, that in effect is the issue, if not for experimental psychology certainly for the educator who asks the psychologist for guiding principles.

A good many educators, it is true, do not concern themselves with the conflict of psychologies but are content to be eclectic and take what they need from this psychology or that. Behaviourism, for example, is a useful doctrine when thinking of habit-forming. The factor psychology has been invaluable in the development of mental tests. The horrid

psychologies have thrown new light on the behaviour difficulties of problem children.

But the teacher who wants a philosophy of life as well as a psychology of method is not likely to rest satisfied with this piece-meal selection. For him the central consideration is this conception of personality at which so many psychologists boggle. For those who think of education as a mass process, especially in countries under dictatorships where the school indoctrinates according to prescription, the scientific denial of selfhood yields a psychology which fits in with the determination of mind from without, and all the measuring of the educational products can go full steam ahead without need to ask whether these products really are measurable.

But the teacher who watches the child growing in mental power from day to day, dependent on his social environment and on the direction he gets from his elders, yet obviously urged forward by a unique impulsion from his own nature as a human being with distinctive powers, will not be tempted to think of mind as mechanically constituted and determined. If the teacher is working in a free atmosphere and can see the child expressing himself creatively in fresh personal ways—as some men and some children are fortunate enough to be able to do—he will know that Self, Ego, Person, call it what one will, is the central fact in human growth and development. It is not conditioned reflexes or Stimulus bonds or instincts that will interest him, but the marvellous, organising, creating power from within that progresses towards ever richer personality under social stimulus to which it is able to react with distinctive effectiveness. Whatever his working psychology it will inevitably be a psychology of the Whole Person, and the social adjustment to which as teacher he seeks to contribute will be one that does justice to the Whole Person.

DISCUSSION

DR. BOYD. The "one stimulus, one response" theory is too narrow for a general concept.

The learning process alone is not sufficient. The "whole" must be seen first. The words stimulus and response are only another set of metaphors.

The whole business of human life depends on certain things producing certain re-actions (determinism), but the individual in re-acting makes the things different. Plato would never have children see bad models; Aristotle, however, held that good could come out of evil.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY

PROFESSOR HAROLD RUGG

Perhaps the most universally accepted idea of modern psychology is that *we learn by active response*. We respond actively "with meaning", we do not passively acquire meanings from the environment about us. Experience only has meaning when the organism makes an appropriate reaction. Hence "the learning child is an active child."

To illustrate this, in any social situation in which two or more persons are engaged each reacts to the other, that is, meaning is conveyed by one to the other by means of facial and bodily movements and by words. Each communication from the one creates in the other a meaningful response, which is a fusion of a great variety of psychological and physiological elements. The suggestion of flash-like changes in physical and

mental action of one person produces instantaneously a corresponding "reaction with meaning" in the other.

In the case of a child's playing with his ball and learning to respond to it with a multiplicity of meanings, all of which will be concentrated in a symbol "ball", all of his sensibilities enter into the building of meaning. He learns to hold it in his hands, making the appropriate physical adjustments. Eventually these tactual responses, integrated with the response that his eyes make to the shape, bring him to express and understand the meaning "round". Roundness is also built up by noting that the ball can be rolled along the floor, fits into the curved hand, and can also be rolled on a smooth surface. Other actual perceptions lead him to note hardness and softness. A ball can also be thrown, struck, and caught. Thus throughout countless varied experiences he learns to fuse together a multitude of reactions, all of which come to mean "ball", with the co-operation of the adults about him, who give him the words and who teach him variations and possibilities of response which would not occur to him in solitary play. Thus a background of experience or stock of meanings is built up.

Meanings thus arise out of the active experience of the individual. Experience is a continuous stream of minute, complicated, integrated responses to actuality. Each separate minute response is a fusion of physical movement, of ideas, of emotions, and a complex integration of physical traits, intellectual traits, and emotional traits.

In the process of learning to react with meaning we can note the second major concept of the new psychology, namely the integrated, or whole, character of response. Every aspect of the human organism,—anatomy, physiology, nervous system, muscular system, glands,—contributes to the totality of an individual's response.

The day of the young child, for example, is a kaleidoscope of evanescent social experiences, each one infinitesimal but crucial and making its distinctive contribution to the development of individuality. Each of these experiences is a constantly changing complex of movements, emotions, physical experiences, ascribed meanings, childlike judgments. The contribution that each one makes to personality is determined by the integrated action of several factors—motives or desires, some obvious, some hidden; motor-mental set or attitudes—and the predominantly potent meaning which the child selects and builds into his experience through his reaction.

Responses are meaningful only when both physiological and mental attitudes are appropriate. For example, to express an attitude of fear our bodies must show a posture of recoil, or an attitude of gladness or delight is conveyed by an advancing or "going out" posture. In anger fists are clenched, teeth are set, the body becomes rigid.

As one responds with the meaning "broad", he actually tends to expand physically, or the meaning "narrow" produces its appropriate contracting response. The body may not be seen to move, but the tendency to make appropriate physical adjustment is there. We call these physiological adjustments "attitudes", and it is now believed that they are the essential carriers of meaning.

The principle of integration reveals itself in a multitude of ways in our daily behaviour. Note, for example, how we tend to pitch our voices in terms of the meanings of the social situation to which we are reacting.

To do otherwise than to correlate physical gestures with intellectual emotional meanings causes intense strain in the organs. It is difficult in learning to play a musical instrument to use a legato touch with one

hand and a staccato touch with the other, or again the magician or the acrobat spends hour after hour in training himself to break down the tendency towards symmetrical behaviour of the various parts of the human organ.

It is not too much to say that current interpretations of the physiological foundations of human behaviour are based more thoroughly upon the principle of integration than upon any other,* and several different lines of scientific research have advanced this principle during the last century. One of the most fruitful of these has been endocrinology, the exploration of the constitution and rôle of such organs as the thyroid and parathyroid, adrenal, pituitary, and pineal glands. Between 1775 and 1800 physiologists had discovered the significance of the cell as a structural unit in body tissue. About the middle of the 19th century the part played by these ductless glands in the emotions and the general physiological behaviour of the individual was revealed by a slowly accumulating body of experiments and experimental evidence. By the time of the 1880's and 90's many direct relations between the condition of the thyroid, pituitary, and other glands and the mental, emotional, and physical health of individuals were well known and scientifically established.

About the beginning of the 20th century a series of researches was launched in regard to bodily changes under the influence of emotion. The rôle of emotion in determining conduct was studied by investigation of the action of the digestive organs under various conditions. Pavlov in Russia in 1902 conducted his famous "sham" feeding of dogs in which he showed that the secretion of gastric juices is a true psychic function. In America, Professor Cannon and his associates later established the relation between *unfavourable* emotion and a hampered secretion of digestive juices. They established, for example, that emotional hysteria in animals invariably evokes in them not only fear and rage but an increased adrenal secretion into the blood, and that under conditions of pain and other intense emotions there occurred marked increase of sugar content in the blood. These results they confirmed on human beings. Furthermore they showed that by injecting adrenalin into the blood stream an individual's fatigued muscles were quickly restored.

Thus it was that physiologists confirmed William James in his insistence that emotional excitement has an energising influence upon the entire physical condition of the body. Sherrington had pointed out as early as 1906 that it is "the emotion that moves us". James had said "reservoirs of power are developed by emotion". These investigations merely confirmed the long-noted influence of emotional excitement upon physical endurance in various religious rituals which often sustained zealots without food, rest, or sleep, during successive days and nights.

J. B. S. Haldane emphasises this "wholeness" of response:—"Such processes as secretion, absorption, growth, nervous excitation, muscular contraction, were treated formerly as if each was an isolable physical or chemical process instead of being what it is, one side of a many-sided metabolic activity of which the different sides are indissolubly associated." Other physiologists and physiological psychologists have made integration or "organisation" the very crux of their study, and, whereas earlier investigators thought of the human individual as an aggregation

* Note, for example, the manner in which Professor C. N. Childs organises his entire interpretative work entitled *Physiological Foundations of Behaviour*—Henry Holt & Co., 1924—around the principle of integration.

of many traits, the new physiology, neurology, and psychology deal with the individual as an organism, an integrated unity.

It was thought that any mathematical entity could be analysed apart and put together again, and in the later 19th century there was a deep-seated and wide-spread tendency to carry over this principle from the fields of physics, chemistry, and mathematics, to the field of biology. The human being, too, was visualised as an aggregate of many minute traits. Indeed, experimental psychology consisted almost entirely of the measurement of minute traits,—such specific “mental functions” as reaction time, appreciation time, rate and accuracy of tapping, and other motor-control experiments. A vast array of anthropometrical measurements were made, classified, and interpreted. Voluminous measurement of mental and emotional traits also took place. The whole individual was regarded in short as the sum of a multitude of minute mental, emotional, and physical functions. Hundreds of standardised tests for specific skills were designed precisely on this principle.

During the first quarter-century of educational measurement all this analysis did little harm to the truth because it was aimed at minute and relatively unimportant processes. Skill in arithmetic can not ideally be abstracted from a total social situation, practised in isolation, and then put back into social use. But the teaching of arithmetic by this method did not do undue violence to human behaviour. The larger concept, however, that the human organism is a mechanism consisting merely of the sum of its parts, is utterly unsound and even dangerous. Accumulation of scientific investigations, as well as wide observation of human behaviour in everyday life, shows that an individual responds as a whole and totally—not in part and segmentally.

The educational worker must therefore recognise one fundamental principle in the development of all his work—the *whole* child in action.

To these two basic concepts of human behaviour, namely active response and the wholeness or integration of response, add the third basic idea that the world is made up of ego-centric, self-defensive individuals who are unsocial defenders of their own individuality.

Our picture is of the two-fold reciprocal inter-action between individual and group. On the one hand successively changing small social groups assail the individual with a multiplicity of stimuli; on the other hand the individual responds with meanings to these stimuli, and defends himself against the other self-centred aggressive egos in the groups by learning to develop along the same ego-centric lines.

This interpretation of the individual as a protagonist of self is based on a vast amount of concrete investigation, partly of the behaviour of pre-school children. In one investigation, of the language of four- and five-year-olds, we found that more than two-fifths of all their conversation revealed a naïve interest in themselves and their own affairs. Only one twenty-fifth of the conversation was an overt expression of the child's interest in the group. Most of the remarks were indicative of the trait we call “self-assertion”, that is, showing a sense of personal power, self-display, interjection of self into a situation, defence of one's feeling of ownership, and resistance to interference, contradiction, commands, threats, and derision.

Cooley* investigates the manner in which little children develop in their use of the words “I”, “my,” and “mine”. He concludes that the words do not represent to the child his visible and tangible

* A Study of the Early Use of Self Words in Child's Physiological Review, 1908, pp. 339-343. See H. Cooley.

human body but indicate rather a *self-assertive feeling or attitude*. "I," he says, "is a social concept in that the very essence of it is the assertion of self-will in a social meeting." Robinson, too, says in *Mind in the Making*—"The little word *my* is the most important one in all human affairs, and properly to reckon with it is the beginning of wisdom. We resent the imputation not only that our watch is wrong or our car shabby, but that our conception of the canals of Mars or our pronunciation of 'epiglottis' is subject to revision".

Out of the investigations of Freud and others has come widespread agreement upon the nearly universal trait of "inferiority", which is an almost inevitable outcome of the social pressure which moulds individuals, especially in the years of childhood and youth. Human beings are guided almost continuously by the fear of economic insecurity and the fear of social disapproval. Life is driven by the everlasting quest for food, and in this quest one must have the approval of his neighbours, employers, clients. Hence "what will the neighbours think?" plays a very large part in determining behaviour, and life tends to become a succession of episodes in conformity. Independence of thought is minimised; loyalty to the ideals of the groups is canonised; and in the process a sense of inferiority in each individual accumulates. The pressure from parents and elders in general upon the less effective produces inevitably a growing sense of inferiority. Constant reminders of dependence and inability, the under-valuing of opinions, the ridicule of questionings, and other forms of adult behaviour, steadily tend to kill the child's self-confidence.

Self-defensive mechanisms are now a matter of definite record and show six fairly distinct types. One form is known as "rationalisation", the attempt of the individual to give "good" reasons for the "real" reasons behind his behaviour. He behaves in certain ways, wishing to appear in certain other ways to the social groups about him. Hence he tends to make up explanations or justifications for what he does.

By way of example, a boy has hurt his foot slightly. When the time comes for the using of it for a club "hike", his limping has become more pronounced and he decides that he cannot go. After questioning, however, he admits that the real reason is that he heartily dislikes cooking over an open fire. Or, again, a girl, evidently much behind in her work, when invited to go to the theatre decided to do so, her defence being "I am so tired that I know I will do better work if I have some recreation".

We unconsciously then take on the meanings of the social environment about us, and the real reasons for our actions are concealed, even from ourselves, unless we are made very conscious of this trait of rationalisation. Constantly confronted by a feeling of inferiority, and hence constantly on the defence, we try to supply reasons for our behaviour which will best enable us to pass muster.

Closely correlated with this mechanism of rationalisation is that of "compensation", sometimes called "the sour grapes philosophy". The tendency toward compensatory behaviour reveals itself most clearly in an individual's specific disgusts or in his desires to conquer felt inadequacies. Allport has shown us that there are various ways by which individuals reconcile weakness with aspiration. The weakling may compensate his defects by building up inner imaginative pictures of himself as hero in physical combats, or the social climber often creates an imaginary family tree with ancestors of unusual glory and high social position.

Another way of compensation is to make up in effort what one lacks in ability. Inferior intellectual capacity is sometimes compensated by an everlasting perseverance which produces as high academic standing as does brilliance. Thus we see that many persons of only average intellect achieve the highest of administrative positions.

G. Stanley Hall illustrated how "each bilateral organ compensates for defects in the other, one sense for the other, like touch for sight in the blind." An undersized man may express contempt for the frivolity of modern dancing. His real, although unconscious, reason is that he cannot bear the thought of dancing with girls taller than himself. Hence he walks with men that either are shorter than himself or are abnormally tall.

The very shy boy may present a defence mask of being a recluse, a compensatory adjustment which may be misinterpreted as snobbishness, punished by unpopularity, and therefore still more over-compensated.

Many instances are on record of phenomenal achievements by individuals who, deficient in certain traits, over-correct them because of the criticism of parents and elders. For example, a man completed his College work in three years because his father had declared that he might not be able to get through even in five years, let alone four. In the same fashion persons sometimes develop habits of persistence, hard work, self-control, etc., as compensation for scornful, unbelieving behaviour of those about them. Or again a boy who cannot run suggests in place of a running game some such game as "hide and seek", having developed unusual facility in finding good hiding places, or the child with the greatest sense of inferiority in a particular trait will often put on the boldest front, rush into the limelight, and there force himself into the centre of activity. In short, we either find a way of atoning for our weaknesses or deficiencies by rationalisation, compensation, or over-compensation, or we take the course described first—refuge from the real world in a world of fancy.

Another frequent form which tendencies of self-defence assume is the *substitution* of another kind of behaviour. For example, a person who is prevented from answering back to an economic or social superior vents his reaction in some other and available form of spleen. "He may kick the cat or fire his stenographer."

Another form of self-defence is known by the term "projection", which is the practice of attributing our own traits or responsibilities to others. In group gossip, "the scandal-monger may enjoy his own rottenness vicariously", attributing to others the meannesses and faults which he subconsciously knows to lie at his own door. Groups exhibit this phenomenon of projection as well as individuals, and it is a fairly safe generalisation that the party most loud in recrimination is the party most at fault. "Projection" is at work.

Closely related to rationalisation and compensation is the way of behaving called "*escape*." Few people accept their responsibilities in the social world and face the realities of their situations. Unable to react thus appropriately to actuality they create and live in an imaginary world of irresponsible pleasure. Escape in its most complete form results in the delusions of insanity, when the individual lives entirely in a world of imagination. Most Utopian societies and experiments in socialised communal life are also examples of escape mechanisms, their restricted appeal being possibly the reason for the consistent records of failures.

These outstanding mechanisms of behaviour on the part of ego-centric self-defensive mankind reveal man responding to the emotional,

intellectual, mental, and social pressures, which surround him, with a growing sense of self and with a growing tendency toward defence of this self. Thus the individual rationalises, substituting "good" motives for the "real" motives of his behaviour; he compensates for his defects; he escapes from realities and responsibilities; he projects on to others traits that he recognises as deficiencies in himself; he is a bundle of ego-centric self-defensive mechanisms.

Every educational worker should build his theory and his programme with a view to serving individuals such as these. Society is essentially the interaction of unique individuals, but all individuals act in the light of such mechanisms as have been here described.

CHAPTER IX.

PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION

THE NURSERY SCHOOL

MR. A. J. LYNCH

With regard to the name, it is desirable to say at once that a Nursery School is neither a 'nursery' where a child is merely taken care of for a time, nor is it a 'school' in the academic sense of that word. It is a combination of the best elements of both nursery and school.

The idea of the Nursery School can be traced to Pestalozzi and others as far back as the end of the 18th century. Robert Owen, who in 1816 started in New Lanark the first school for infants in Great Britain, visited Pestalozzi in Switzerland and described how he saw small children making a first-hand acquaintance with that which they were learning instead of merely studying subjects at second-hand through books or the teacher's verbal description.

In his own school, he said that children from two to six years of age were to dance and sing; be out of doors as much as possible; be enabled to learn when their curiosity induced them to ask questions; and not be annoyed with books. They were to be trained to mutual kindness and a sincere desire to contribute all in their power to benefit each other. His reason was that, if the foundations were not truly laid, it would be in vain to expect a satisfactory super-structure.

Not very much happened in Britain in this direction till about 1900, when the mind of the British public was becoming disturbed about the high rate of infant deaths in the first year and the low standard of physique of men who wished to enter the army. As the outcome of an inter-departmental commission the following recommendations were made and later on adopted throughout the English educational system:—

(1) the establishment of a regular system of medical inspection of school children;

(2) provision by school authorities for underfed children;

and (3) the encouragement, as part of the school curriculum, of physical exercises of a recreational character.

The Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in 1907, when asked to inquire into the question of the school attendances of children under five, concentrated its attention on the following points:

(a) the need for making public provision for infants whose home conditions were imperfect;

(b) the possible methods of dealing with such infants;

(c) the ideal institution for them;

and (d) the advantages to be derived from attendance at what it termed 'Nursery Schools'.

They held that children under five years of age, who were admitted to these, should not be subjected to any mental pressure or undue physical discipline. Formal lessons in writing, reading, and arithmetic, and everything which required prolonged complex operations of the nervous or muscular systems should be rigidly excluded. Freedom of move-

ment, constant change of occupation, and opportunities for sleep were essential and the building itself should be roomy, well-lighted, warmed and ventilated. The number in a class was set as high as thirty and, on the ground that the care of these younger infants presented difficulties as great as those of the teaching of older children, teachers were to be selected with scrupulous care. The best teacher would have made a careful study of the physical and mental development of childhood and have a sympathetic, bright, and vigorous personality.

These views have remained the basis of the Nursery School Movement in Britain and have, in the main, become the accepted basis of all Nursery School work everywhere. They formed the background of the clauses in the great Fisher Act of 1918 which enlarged the power of Education Authorities in England to "supply, or aid the supply of Nursery Schools (including Nursery Classes) for children between two and five years of age whose attendance at such schools is necessary or desirable for their healthy physical and mental development; and attend to the health, nourishment and physical welfare of children attending Nursery Schools." They are also implied in the remarkable report "Infant and Nursery Schools" issued last year by the Hadow Committee, which should guarantee the future of the Nursery School Movement in England.

In the meantime, there is a piece of work associated with the names of Rachel and Margaret McMillan, which began in 1908 with the founding, on a voluntary basis, of the first London School Clinic in the upper room of a County Council Elementary School at Bow. Though both these ladies were educationists, they did not propose to train the minds of children until they had healed their bodies. Later, they removed to Deptford. Here were received children under, as well as over, five. Their work showed that, though the clinic cured thousands, a great deal of time and money was wasted in alleviating preventible or eradicable diseases. In the last three months of the year 1913, the Deptford nurse treated 950 cases of skin disease, 927 of which returned for similar treatment within a brief period. Facts of this kind led, with the policy of prevention rather than cure, to the opening of the pioneer and exemplar of the Nursery School Movement at Deptford in 1911.

Miss Grace Owen, to whom the English Nursery School Movement owes so much, sets out the following six clearly defined principles for such schools :—

1. To provide healthy external conditions,—light, space, and fresh air.
2. To ensure a healthy, happy, regular life as well as continuous medical supervision.
3. To assist each child to form for itself wholesome personal habits.
4. To give opportunity for the exercise of the imagination and the development of many interests as well as skill of various kinds.
5. To give experience of community life on a small scale where children of similar as well as of varying ages work and play with one another day by day.
6. To achieve a real unity with the life of the home.

Much will depend on such external conditions as the provision of suitable premises, or the making of existing premises suitable, or the attitude of the home, or the education, or the demands of public opinion, and so forth, but that these aims can be accomplished, often with astonishing success, every Nursery School throughout Europe and America fully testifies. There is no doubt as to what these schools succeed in doing in the way of providing ample space, sleep, and good and regular

food ; of fostering cleanliness and tidiness ; of inculcating good social habits—such as learning to be companionable, good-tempered, and truthful ; and of developing powers of correct speech. Added to all this is the relief provided for harassed and hard-working mothers ; the advantage to the child without brothers or sisters ; and the benefit of access to some place, other than the street, in which to play.

The usual procedure is to provide a garden—to afford beauty and air and space—surrounded by shelters of simple construction, in which to carry on the work. Then there must be suitable furniture and equipment, a good mid-day meal followed by sleep, an adequate Staff, and the services, when required, of a doctor. With little children the curriculum will include learning to walk,—with all children it will include learning to play, both individually and co-operatively. As they grow older, sense-training in colour, sound, and form, will be provided. Hygiene must be practised throughout the day. All this may be summed up as ‘nurture’.

In passing, while the Nursery School Movement in England centred round the child from two to five years of age, there is now a distinct tendency to provide for the child up to seven.

Two objections urged against the Movement are that the proper place for the child is the home, and that it takes away from the parent the responsibility of the child. In the absence, however, of adequate housing provision, so that decent homes can be established, the Nursery School Movement must go on, while experience also shows that these schools rather bring the parent nearer to the child and help to add intelligence to natural affection. Hence, to most Nursery Schools there is attached a Mothers’ Club, which besides forming a centre of help in the matter of sewing, mending, and many other services, forms a centre where lectures can be given on the care of children, hygiene, psychology, and so on.

Miss Freda Hawtrey, a member of the Hadow Committee, stresses the urgent necessity of the establishment of Nursery Schools, when in writing on “Education” she says :—

“Of one thing I am perfectly clear, and this applies to children all the world over. We cannot read accounts in the many reports already published, based on the evidence of experts, without a conviction of our special responsibilities toward children of the early age. If, during their early years, we starve children’s growth, deprive them of their right environment for their mental activity, and misdirect their emotional impulses, some day we shall pay for our neglect. Provision for damaged children will fall heavily on the later stages of education and, after adolescence, there may be a yet heavier debt to pay.”

If the foundations are not well and truly laid, it will be in vain to expect a satisfactory structure.

DISCUSSION

MRS RUGG. Parents come to school to study child behaviour and learn to deal with problems by watching teachers. The Nursery School with its educational direction is to be distinguished from the crèche which is a convenience.

MR. LYNCH. Secondary school girls should assist in the Nursery School and so get elementary sex-training. The child who does not fit in with the family, e.g. a boy of 9 years of age between a sister of 18 years of age and a baby a few months old, needs special consideration.

The foster-mother, who tends to become the substitution for the institution, often lacks understanding of children.

DR. TE WATER. Physical abnormalities are not necessarily accompanied by delinquency. Wrong attitudes towards them lead to complexes of inferiority and antagonism. I look forward in general to Government assistance of provision for social workers and to a day when "it will be fashionable to look after children."

PRE-SCHOOL CHILD TRAINING

DR. MARION THOMPSON

In the light of medical science body and mind are inseparable, acting and reacting on one another, and health in the widest sense of the term depends on the condition of both. Further, if we are aiming at the production ultimately of a citizen in every way a credit to the nation—and that is the object of our maternity and infant welfare service—the individual must be not only healthy but efficient, and not only efficient but moral according to the tenets of our society. Moreover, all physical health, efficiency, and morality, should go hand in hand with happiness.

The main secret of mental ability lies in the training of the infant and the little child. The first thing to grasp is that mental life is a process of continuous growth.

Children are extremely imitative. There is a very great psychological advantage in the establishment of regularity in physical habits,—sleeping, washing, exercise, and so forth. This lays a firm foundation for regularity in other spheres of life. Another point to emphasise is the importance of fostering a spirit of independence in the child. Buoyant and vitalising emotions should be encouraged, whilst depressing notions—fear—should be cautiously discouraged. Self-development should be fostered.

As to the need for supervision of the toddler, the choice for the majority of town children lies between the gutter and a cramped room. Home is a centre, but it is not a roomy place to play in, and children need sleep, play, and happy companionship. The key to the early years is to provide a suitable environment, with plenty of simple sights and sounds to sink into the fabric of the child's brain and help to form the substratum of experience on which its character at this stage will develop.

The Nursery School should bridge the gap between the years of two and five, when school régime begins. The fundamental purpose should be to reproduce the conditions of a good nursery in a well-managed home—a place where a small group of children are independently and happily busy, with alert but inconspicuous supervision developing desirable habits and behaviour—and thus to provide an environment in which the health of the young child (physical, mental, and moral) can be supported. The training of the nursery stage must be a natural training, not artificial. Its aim is not so much to implant knowledge as to aid and supplement the natural growth of the normal child; play should be the chief education, and each child has to find its own level.

The great opportunity of the pre-school age is the chance of noting early deviations, not only physical but mental. Any unusual behaviour needs observation.

The toddler cannot be reached through infant welfare clinics alone. If a rich harvest of good citizenship is to be reaped, it might be said that the Nursery School would undoubtedly prove to be the period of seed-time.

Hygiene and health should be included in the school curriculum. It is not enough to begin and teach mothers the rules of hygiene and health. They must feel that the younger generation, who are to become the mothers and fathers of the future race, must be equipped with the essential facts and knowledge of life and hygiene. It is time that every girl, as part of her education, should be required to learn the essentials of hygiene and mothercraft and those simple methods and precautions for lack of which suffering and lifelong handicaps have been wrought.

DISCUSSION

DR. A. J. MILNE: With all deference, I would have liked to have heard Dr. Thompson's views more on the remedial than the purely academic aspect of the question.

To my mind she is much too diffident and scarcely goes beyond a somewhat tentative suggestion that the remedy for the condition arising in the pre-school age period lies in the establishment of Nursery Schools. Of course we must have Nursery Schools, though I heartily dislike the term.

The beginning and end of pre-school instruction is not education but persuasion, and correction of physical defects and mental faults.

Pre-school instruction, or what I prefer to call nursery health classes for pre-school children, should aim, I think, not at education in the sense of the three R's but primarily and principally at producing at school age a healthy body and healthy mind and a happy and healthy outlook on life's problems.

It seems to me that that state can only be achieved firstly by meticulous physical examination of the pre-school child throughout pre-school life and by careful correction of any or every disability, whether occasioned by dental defects, nose and throat disorders, eye abnormalities, or malnutrition.

In the nursery health classes there should be friendly and intimate understanding between instructor and toddler.

Unfortunately very few teachers in primary schools have been trained in hygiene and public health. The time is, indeed, overdue for the education authorities to make provision in all schools for at least one teacher with special training in physiology, psychology, growth and development, general hygiene, mental and social hygiene, and mothercraft,—such training being of course, not necessary for anyone who undertakes the supervision of Nursery Schools or nursery health classes.

The Johannesburg City Council is the pioneer in South Africa in the establishment of nursery health classes, the first of which was established in Vrededorp about four years ago.

MR. F. HANDEL THOMPSON, M.P.C. (*Chairman*), stressed the possibilities before the rural school. The question of health, he said, meant money, but it had to be met. He was hopeful, as the country was beginning to realise the importance of the health movement in schools.

* * * *

In the discussion which followed, the difficulties of the pre-school child in the rural areas were stressed. It was stated that out of 120 municipalities in South Africa only 17 had Health Visitors.

THE PRE-SCHOOL CHILD IN AMERICA

MRS. HAROLD RUGG (*née* LOUISE KRUGER)

In America the compulsory school age is 6 but most schools have kindergarten departments for children of 5 or less, so that pre-school education is generally for children below 4.

The American movement started with the economically favoured child. Those who work with young children in kindergarten schools have felt the need for getting them into school earlier, as at the age of 4 many important and undesirable traits have been fixed and others that were desirable have been ignored.

Those who work for Nursery Schools in America feel that the need for pre-school education is as important for the economically favoured child as for the poor child. The schools in the United States are not financed by the State but by Foundations and other private or semi-private interests. All of them are based on a wide idea of child development and put the emphasis on building up a system which takes care of all the factors of child development.

The old idea was that the Nursery Schools took children out of their environment and relieved parents of their responsibilities, but in the Dalton Elementary School they are working with the parents in finding out about child development and problems. The parents are allowed to visit the school whenever they like and stay with the very young children if they think it necessary.

To the High School Department of the Dalton School there is attached a section for babies only a few weeks old, so that the girls can spend part of the day learning how to care for small babies. They also take classes in nutrition, diet, and child psychology. It is the only school of which I know where the care of babies is taught and I think it is a subject that ought to be introduced into all girls' schools.

While in their school time the children are allowed a great deal of freedom in choice of occupations, a subtle distinction is made between activities that are a free choice and those which must be done as a matter of course. The children are not, for instance, asked whether they would like to rest after lunch. Rest is taken for granted, and the child who rebels has to learn that his refusal is anti-social and that it is necessary in this case to conform with the general practice.

Miss Kruger also described the buildings and the methods by which the children of 18 months to 3½ years were taught social behaviour through play. She emphasised too the need for constructive play. In too many toys the possibilities for constructive play were exhausted almost as soon as the children got them.

THE INFANT SCHOOL

MISS V. JOHNSON

The speaker conducts a London County Council Infant School in a slum area of Chelsea. Her pupils are drawn from overcrowded slum homes, adjoining luxury flats. The school building consists of three

floors for infants, boys, and girls, each under separate management, an unsatisfactory system which interferes with freedom of activity and movements for the infants on the ground floor. The reception room is very bright and is used for self-expressive and creative work, drawing, building, etc. Children enter at 3 years of age, and the 3-4 pupils are in the Nursery section, the 5-year-olds work on the project-plan, the 6-year-olds work in individual occupation and on the sub-Dalton plans, while the 7-8 pupils are in the transition stage. The aim of the school is self-expression through the project-plan to combat anti-social tendencies and as a means of acquiring knowledge. Nursery School activities exercise the large muscles of the body,—polishing, dusting, sweeping, playing with bricks and beads, sand and water, trays, and larger toys.

In the project-plan an empty classroom is made available and there is a carpenter's bench in this. Group models are made from the starting-point of the centre of interest. The spirit of adventure finds scope in measuring, cutting, and fixing lengths of wood, and number work is introduced incidentally. The application of the means of knowledge follows signs of anxiety to acquire its tools.

The sub-Dalton pupils work, at differently coloured tables for different forms of work, with assignment cards of work to be completed at their own rate.

There is also an open-air class for pupils affected by backwardness, ill-health, or mental deficiency.

Miss Johnson displayed a draft of her school time-table and explained the individual application of the subjects of the curriculum. Number work commences at the age of six with a shop-keepers' class, the various transactions in which involve the use of money, the understanding of the values of different coins, and practice in addition and subtraction. Lunch-time milk may actually be bought on the spot. Counters, beads, blocks, etc., are used as number-teaching apparatus, and 'tables' are begun at this stage. There is incidental reading in the necessary stages, and the posting of notices, games with command cards, a daily news sheet, and simple nursery rhymes, follow the stimulation of the desire to read.

Parents' meetings are held regularly and co-operation is encouraged.

There is a regular rest period after the lunch.

In the project-plan children might play at hospital, shop, railway station, etc., planning and putting together the necessary apparatus.

DISCUSSION

Several speakers emphasised the need of the Nursery School to supplement the home in which home-problems prevented the mother from giving the child all-day care or scope for its activities. "Children suffer greatly from loneliness in the absence of companions of their own age".

THE TEACHING OF READING

Miss G. M. BEGBIE gave an interesting account of the method of teaching reading in her school,—Tennyson Street, London County Council Infant School, Battersea.

PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION BY CORRESPONDENCE

MISS SHELAGH HARTDEGEN

The speaker gave an account of a personal experiment in Pre-school Education by correspondence originating out of requests from parents for advice as to matter and method. Her clients are scattered all over the Union, Rhodesia, and Kenya, and to achieve any success preliminary agreement had to be established with the mother-teacher as to the objects to be aimed at and the spirit of the work, and workable courses had to be devised for daily use.

Their basic creed is that action should precede theory. Children get their sense of numbers from actual things and generalise by sense of analogy. They are satisfied for example by laying out 6 counters in 3 pairs that they have also laid out a pair of 3's, or that 2×3 is the same as 3×2 . In grouping they learn addition for themselves and that multiplication is the same sort of thing. They count by groups, recognise words as wholes without reference to the letters, and accept the picture 2 as standing for the number 2. Writing is delayed until fingers and mind have learnt to work together by handling tools. 'Plus' and 'minus' if introduced casually are adopted without difficulty.

Play requires playthings supplied in a "ditty-box" packed with suitable materials and tools and containing detailed instructions for use day-by-day by the mother—also helpful health-literature issued for the use of mothers. The method and contents are based on reports and replies to questions by the latter, and the work is graded for the child irrespective of age.

The course has to be designed as a whole, and in the absence of any inspector the responsibility is the greater. With the doctrine that life is to be enjoyment, in the sense that "the chief end of man is to glorify God and enjoy him for ever", and that to enjoy ourselves we must function freely, there can be no general standards and his own function can only be determined by the individual. Hence the child is encouraged to self-revelation through practical exercises and by free selection of materials and free self-expression, e.g. in drawing-books, whose original meaningless scribbles soon give way to designs showing meanings and thought as hands grow firmer. The child is the final authority and must exercise a choice which leads to the forming of a will and the edification of character. He seldom goes wrong in his selection from the wide variety of his box and, if he does so, soon corrects his error. Born a social animal with instincts for companionship and imitation, ready to lead or choose a leader, he has the foundation of ethics in the desire to please those whom he likes and esteems and, as the child of the race which discovered the values of regularity, neatness, courtesy, and cleanliness of body and mind, he will quickly learn their desirability.

Emphasis is laid on the unforgivable sin of lying to a child, who will realise a presence of fear or a lack of trust, which benefits neither parent nor child. It is far better to acknowledge ignorance and join in the quest for the unknown, the existence of which is itself an inspiration.

While standardisation is anathema, we must prepare the child for admission to Standard I or II, and save him from the fate awaiting the otherwise well-developed country lad of nine years of age who enters school with no experience of school work.

For examinations, the daily record of progress is an unfailing test, and results have shown that the 'correspondence pupil' has done better work in general than those actually under supervision in the school. Interest is probably the key to this, and there are fewer distractions in the country than in the town, while the parent-teacher has fewer claims upon her attention.

The unifying power between town and country, and the creation of sympathy between parent, child, and teacher, in the partnership are of great value in a work, the usefulness of which has been promoted through the energy of some devoted individuals who gather together groups of children to use the courses. At the moment the task of organisation is really too great for the resources of one individual, and co-operation and advice in ensuring its continuance and extension will be welcomed.

CHAPTER X.

EXAMINATIONS AND TESTS

EXAMINATIONS AND THE NEW EDUCATION

DR. WILLIAM BOYD

Some of you who have been hearing about the ideals of the New Education will naturally look for an outlet in the work of the school and come up against difficulties. The bogey in most cases is the bogey of standards, inspections, and examinations. The question is, how are we going to manage to get results? But what results? The results that matter are human results. These are the results that specially concern us and specially concern the pupils. One way to escape from your bogey of inspectors and examinations is to escape from yourselves and your fears. When that time comes every teacher with a sense of personal dignity will stand up and look the examiners squarely in the face and will have the satisfaction of seeing real and adequate results. The time will then have come when we can claim our rights as a competent and respectable profession, and, when school teachers claim their rights, school inspectors and all those sorts of people who tell us what to do and what not to do will fade back into their proper place of insignificance. In the meantime,—there are examinations and there are inspectors, and we have to make up our minds that we must measure up to whatever requirements are imposed on us. The New Education, whatever it is, is not to be a slack system of education. On the contrary, I have a vision of results infinitely superior to the results obtained in the schools to-day and, if you go about the business in the right way and set up a proper system of encouragement, you will get proper reading, writing, spelling, and counting. But the more you worry about these things, the less satisfactory the results. The same principle that is involved in the scriptural text—"Seek ye first the Kingdom of God; and all other things shall be added unto you"—is involved here. Get your educational system right and the results will come of themselves.

Being a practical man in this sphere as well as an idealist, whose hopes slip up to the heavens, I have to take account of the fact that this is a hard world for the idealist and for the realisation of his visions and dreams. The idealist cannot always get his own way but, if he is practical enough he will manage to build on existing foundations and endeavour to bring about a more satisfactory scheme of things than is at present realised.

People often speak of examinations as a necessary evil. To me that phrase is rather absurd, because if examinations were an evil they should not be necessary, and if they were necessary they would not be an evil. The fact that we have got to think in that contradictory fashion shows you the dilemma in which the New Educator is placed with respect to the examination system.

I propose to put the villain of the piece in the dock to-day and have a trial of the examination system, myself appearing as counsel for the

prosecution, and as counsel for the defence, and also playing the rôle of judge and jury.

To be quite candid the case against examinations is a sorry one. If you will concentrate on that to the exclusion of everything else, you will be bound to banish examinations from the body politic.

By our examination system we profess to be measuring. That may be so, but I say that our measurements are fraudulent. If any grocer were to sell goods with a measure as bad as the examination measure, he would find himself in gaol. People do not realise how unsatisfactory the examination system really is.

Some years ago, going into an examination exhibition at which there were displayed the work of school children and the marks which the teachers had given them, I found that the marks which one teacher had given her pupil were 83.6%. It reminded me very much of boys, beginning Science, being asked to make some elementary chemical calculation and giving as a result the weight of something as 2.37198 grammes. The plain fact of the matter is that it was absurd on the part of the teacher to put a figure like 83.6 pretending to show such a degree of exactness. It is equally absurd where having two candidates, the one with a mark more than the other, you pass the one and leave the other fellow in outer darkness. I had the honour to be a student—not a very bright student—under Lord Kelvin. I got the 13th prize in his class; and I once heard him state that the gas meter did very well if it registered within ten per cent. But I wonder whether the examination meter ever gets as near as ten per cent.? To my mind to try to get anything like an exact measurement in human quality is absurd.

The examination system breaks down on three points. The first concerns the paper to be set for the test. No mortal man can set a succession of papers of the same difficulty. The examiner sets one paper and the pupil gets one mark, with another paper on the same subject he will get a different mark. I set three different sets of papers once, the one with a comparatively easy theme and the other two with harder topics. I found that the pupil who took the right subject, the easy one, got the highest marks, and the one with the lowest marks had taken the wrong subject. The same applies to any test whatever in an ordinary examination. The test paper is good or bad according to the capacity of the person setting the paper, and he never really knows whether it is hard or easy for those who have to do it.

Point number two concerns the student at the examination table. He sits down to his paper, and what happens then depends on his temperament. There are some of them, by the grace of God, who are good showmen, and the good showmen manage to get the marks, but the others, whom the test paper depresses, do badly because they sat down with that handicap. That is the second notable feature of the examination system, that it does not register correctly because the person who has the qualities may not be able to show them.

The third point is the uncertainty displayed once the paper passes to that mysterious person—the examiner, probably the most fraudulent feature in the concern, who has to pretend that he is able to mark the paper so that it will be an exact expression of value and will do justice to the teacher and the pupil. But if you ask him to mark the same examination twice over, he gets different results, and if you ask two examiners to mark the same paper you get different results. Anything is liable to happen when an examiner gets a blue pencil in his hand. I once told my students that if they failed with the examiner whom they had got, they might pass with some other examiner they did not

have. That is a serious business. There is a certain amount of rough justice. On the whole, those who come out on top are amongst the best students and those who go down are amongst the poor. In the same paper, as marked by a number of different examiners, while some gave a mark on the top of the scale, others gave it at the bottom or in the middle. A system that depends upon such measurement is condemned by that very fact.

The deeper evil, however, is the demoralising effect of the examinations on the life of the school. To begin with, there are some things which you cannot measure. If you are an examiner you concentrate on the things which you can measure. The evil of the present system of examination is that it tests knowledge by externals. The things which you can measure are external, mechanical things, and the things which you cannot measure are the things of the soul. A composition is marked not for its inner merit but for mistakes in spelling and for bad writing. The examiner is apt to forget that there is a joy and gladness in creation and he concentrates on spelling and writing, and not at all on the child's creative ability. Spelling is important, but it is quite subsidiary. You may say a person who can write and spell well can think well. Nothing of the kind. A person who is a real thinker may not do himself justice with his spelling and writing. Nevertheless, we as teachers have to remember that an examiner will bother about spelling, with the inevitable result that we constantly attach too great importance to the external things. By our examination system initiative is entirely paralysed. The examination is conducted on a syllabus; you cannot set the things to your pupils which you think are the best, nor can you make experiments. As a result your own soul dries up; you stop thinking. You are only the teacher; you are not to reason why. Somebody else has the whole thing fixed for you.

A Canadian inspector recently told me that a syllabus was introduced in one of the Provinces and the opinion of the teachers invited, but not a single teacher had a word to say about it. That was natural, because in Canada they have over-directed their teachers. Teachers in South Africa may be in a bad position, but, if it is any consolation to you, they are worse off in Canada.

But to get back to Scotland—where we have the best teachers in the world—in our secondary schools we have graduates equal to professors in other countries, and yet the work of their schools is lacking in freshness and originality. Where we should teach pupils to think for themselves, we set them a bad example by giving them teachers who cannot, or are not allowed, to think for themselves. If you keep on telling people what to do they become slavish in mind, however good their mental qualities may be. That is the worst count in the indictment, that the examination system paralyses the good teacher and prevents him from doing his legitimate thinking properly, and this also applies to the pupil. You cannot have free-minded pupils if you have not got free-minded teachers. The accepted way of thinking in school and College is unfortunately the thing that pays best. I often say to a student: "If you want prizes find out what the examiner wants and do that; don't think for yourself because, if you do, nobody will give much consideration to your immature thinking, though in actual life it is very precious."

There is another aspect of the question. The worst arithmetic test paper that has ever come to my notice came from South Africa. Elementary school arithmetic is very useful for general standardisation. If a strange pupil comes to your school, he always finds his place in the

scheme of things according to his arithmetical ability. Similarly, inspectors have always used arithmetic as a kind of intelligence test in assessing the children in a class. If, however, you test pupil and teacher by any subject, then the standard of that subject rises and goes on rising out of all relation to the need in life. That is what has happened with South African arithmetic. It has been artificial and unreal and ought to be put in a museum. Other countries are in the same position. School arithmetic is everywhere stupidly complex, even though one gets through the world with a very small amount of counting. In your newspapers you will find that there are half a dozen simple fractions in ordinary use, and yet you occupy the minds of your pupils with complex fractional problems that will never be of any use to them in life. So too in the secondary school no doubt your matriculation papers are just as remote from reality as those set elsewhere. The examiners set fancy papers for prose writing for boys of 17 and 18, and ask them to write French which most Frenchman cannot write, and you ask for English compositions beyond the powers of most Englishmen to compose. The trouble is that the examiner is always forcing the teacher to higher and higher standards, and the teacher, by his skill, beats him every time, and up go the requirements to irrational heights.

Then one last, and the most serious, item in this indictment—the ruin of the right human relationships between teacher and pupil. In Scotland our secondary education has flourished and developed steadily during the last forty years; but one effect of the examination system there is that everybody in the schools is thinking of examinations all the time. A recent calculation showed that examinations took up a fifth of the school year—a fifth of the time was stolen from real education. Quarter after quarter we have to look forward to the next quarterly examination and consider last quarter's results, and so the game goes on. Moreover, under our present system, if we cannot teach people honestly we coerce them and thrash them. There is very much more thrashing in the schools in Scotland to-day than 25 years ago, because examination standards have risen higher and higher and teachers are always eager to obtain results. Our object in the schools should not be to get results, but to make good men and women, and that is not to be done by thrashing them and getting high marks. *We are not going to be a respectable profession until we cast the evil thing out of our schools.* To do so we have to tackle this matter of examinations and nip the evil at the root. If examinations make beasts of us, then we must say we will have no more of that kind of education.

The counsel for the defence now comes forward and can put up a very good case of examinations. In the first place there are situations in which examinations are of real educational value. I give examinations to my own class, since I recognise that it is worth-while gathering together what has been done during a session so that the students do not merely see this bit and that bit but get a view of the whole. For myself—I get very valuable information regarding the response of my students to my teaching. I know whether the pupil has grasped the things I have taught him. It is good for him and for me that we should both understand how we are getting on. At the same time, I do my best not to worry him with examinations; I do not talk about examinations, if I can help it, but he has to get through mine. All good teachers know the value of sensible tests. It is worth-while to stop now and again and find out how things are getting on. The child mind is very mysterious, and even we who have lived our lives among them find it difficult to know how they are responding. It is therefore worth-while to have

tests occasionally to find out how they are progressing and so help us to do our mutual job better. That is a good thing. But the danger is that you can have too much of that good thing. I believe in as few examinations as possible, because examinations mean analysing, and analysis and life do not go well together. It is possible to measure different forms of skill, but the precious manifestations of the creative powers in Art and literature defy all our attempts at evaluation. Religious knowledge may be assessed but not the religious spirit, and it is only too likely that in the assessment of the knowledge the spirit may be destroyed. Let the examiner therefore confine his efforts to the things that can be tested and not cripple the spiritual life of the child by forcing it to conform to external patterns irrelevant to its own genius.

Then, dealing with the second point, I say examinations are valuable administratively. Where you have a whole big continent as in South Africa, very much spread out, there is some virtue in knowing the standard of the work of the schools in different parts. And it is good to have some test to give a guarantee that public money is being used to good purpose. Therefore, administratively, the examination if properly conducted can be very helpful. I believe that is the argument for inspectors. Their place in the scheme of things is to help to build up a system of national education to a level of high efficiency before demitting their functions to a body of well-educated and well-trained teachers.

Point number three brings me to the situations in which selections have to be made for professional and technical posts of different kinds as well as for promotions to higher rank in the scheme of national education. Even if all the annual tests of inspectors were scrapped, there would remain the need for selective examinations at the critical points in school life, more particularly for the selection of people who are to advance to higher education. There is, too, your elementary pupil at the end of his preliminary education. What is the best course of study for him? Or there are people who, when they have completed a full secondary course, are ready to go to a University. Are they fit to profit by a University course? It is good to have a check-up at not too frequent intervals. The pupils should not be handicapped by a lack of the requisite knowledge for the more advanced work, and examinations are needed to test their fitness. There are again certain important professions and situations in which the public is specially interested and for which it demands a guarantee of proficiency. For example, a doctor is a dangerous person if he is not fit for his job. You want to know that the man to whom you entrust your life has had a proper training. If you want that guarantee of fitness for your doctor, then you want it for your teacher. If you do not want to entrust your body to just anybody, why entrust the soul of your child to a person not properly trained? You have, therefore, got to have a certain test of fitness. The disinterested competency of the Civil Service of England is a world wonder, and it got its efficiency through the examination method. It is not open to the suspicion of nepotism and corruption which the older system of personal appointment incurred. A man's position in the Service is determined by examination tests without fear or favour. This indicates that there is still a place for examinations in the life of the nation.

And now, to pass on to the judicial summing up. My task now is that which confronts one as a New Educator in the whole work of the school, the task of finding ways and means of reconciling the claims of personality and of social requirements. You must allow personality to have free scope and at the same time you must train for satisfactory citizenship and public service.

As New Educators we do not want to forswear all examinations. We could not if we would, and actually we do not desire to do so. Most of us who talk of examinations with strong denunciation, when we get back to school, get back to examinations,—that is to say, we accept the situation in some measure and are content to modify it so far as we can. We really start out by recognising that examinations fulfil a very important personal and public function. If we then go on to say that examinations are bad, it is up to us to find a proper substitute which will do all the work of examinations without the evil effects. I mentioned, for example, the idea of a guarantee of efficiency. Here is the State giving good money for the education of its children. You and I as citizens are the State, and we have a right to ask that there should be a guarantee that that money shall be well spent. Now the present guarantee is got from inspections and examinations. But we do not admit that that is the only way to get a guarantee: actually there are other and better guarantees. This really calls attention to the situation in the Universities. As a University teacher, nobody examines me; nobody ever thinks of examining a professor in a University, because he is trusted by virtue of his position, he is recognised to be a person fit for his job. If you have that trust in University professors, why not have the same trust in competent teachers?

I may refer again to my own examinations. When my examination takes place there are always two examiners, one external and one internal. The external examiner does not examine me or my work; he is my fellow-examiner and the results are based upon our joint judgment. It is worth-while getting a man from outside with special competence to come and help the teacher, not as the teacher's boss but as the teacher's equal in this particular situation. Perhaps we teachers are not all good enough for it yet, because we have not been allowed to get the right kind of training and standing, but we have got to demand that people who are engaged in dealing with young people in the schools shall be the best-educated and best-trained people in the community, fit to guarantee the work of the pupil. Instead of that they have given us the half-baked thing which we call a Normal College training. Five years' training brings a doctor only to the beginning of his job, and the teacher who is going to be trusted must have as good an education as a doctor. When you get such people as teachers, you will trust them and pay them bigger salaries.

In this whole business I come back to the quality of the teacher every time. The teacher must have the same standing in the community as your doctor. That means a good many changes from the old system, and you cannot get that in a day. I do not know if in any Normal College the teacher is given a course in the conducting of examinations, whether there is a science of examination which every teacher ought to know. I do not know if you teachers know how to check-up yourselves. Do you know whether you have been giving too many people high marks or low marks? Common-sense suggests that the teacher should possess such knowledge, but it requires special training. If this training is not given, the examinations of the schools conducted by teachers will be at the mercy of individual caprice. Until this training is given there will remain a need for external examinations. Ultimately there is only one guarantee that can give satisfaction, and that is to see that in every school right throughout South Africa there are well-trained and well-educated teachers. But that meets only part of the problem. There are professions where we require external examinations, though even in the case of University entrance the plan of the

American College Entrance Board, for the recognition of certain approved schools as being entitled to send students to the Universities, suggests a way out of this external control. You have also to ask whether in examinations like the Civil Service Examinations there cannot be a closer linking-up with the actual work done in the school. My belief is that in all these situations you want to get back to the school performance and make that part of your groundwork of judgment.

In the matter of promotion to higher institutions you would say : "Here is a person who has done well in the school or College, and we will see how he can now do this new job to which he aspires." Even when it is necessary to call in external judgment and supplement the opinion of the school by the work of expert examiners, it is essential to do everything to prevent crushing down the spontaneity and initiative of the school.

DISCUSSION

Dr. Boyd (*in reply to questions*) :—

I find considerable similarity between Scottish and South African education.

I object to the terms standard, sub-standard, and inspector, and prefer "adolescent" to "secondary".

I foreshadow an extension of the school age to 15 or 16 and ultimately to 18 years with the transition from elementary to secondary at 11 or 12, and a specialised education to fit the individual to take his place in the world, secondary education becoming the University of the people at large. Elementary standards should be abolished.

The child should be allowed to grow and not incessantly diagnosed. A cumulative record of his work should replace examination. He has a saturation point in each subject beyond which teaching is useless.

A more formal check is necessary at 11 or 12 to sort out pupils for special lines of adolescent work, but this cannot be nation-wide in view of varying conditions. The teacher and the inspector should collaborate in conducting some form of test at this stage.

The South African Teachers' Associations should define their aims in the matter by corporate action.

No certificate is needed in the elementary stage but certification is needed where pupils are to pass on to a higher stage or to employment. Examination should be on as few topics as possible. In language "prescribed books" serve no purpose; to speak and write a second language is sufficient.

A "school leaving" certificate should replace Matriculation.

Examinations should be on instrumental, not inspirational, subjects.

External tests will disappear when teachers grow in quality with better education and better training.

There should be no University control or University "Moderators" over the work of the secondary schools.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN TESTS AND EXAMINATIONS

DR. K. S. CUNNINGHAM

Criticism is due to a new outlook. Present educational thought emphasises growth rather than achievement. We realise that we have over-rated examinations as measures. Examination aims should be distinguished : (a) tests of scholastic attainment, (b) tests of readiness

to take a further step, (c) tests to give a student opportunity for gauging his own progress.

Class (a) might be sub-divided into tests of assessment : (i) of industry of the pupil, (ii) of ability of the pupil, (iii) of efficiency of the teacher.

As to (i), this does not take account of varying ability, and modern methods of teaching should guarantee interest and industry. As to (ii), our knowledge of the best method is still undeveloped. We should rather test abilities, muscular, artistic, etc. Intelligence tests should be applied at least twice in each pupil's school life. Intellectual and scholastic abilities (e.g. in arithmetic, ability to compute and ability to solve problems) should be tested separately. As to (iii), no simple test by an amateur can test any teacher's efficiency.

As to class (b) the tests might be of readiness (1) to pass from one topic in a subject to the next ; (2) to pass from one class to the next ; (3) to pass from a school to a higher school or to a University ; (4) to pass from school or University to the work of the world. There must be a mental possession of certain essentials in school subjects before a pupil is fit for promotion, and hence it is wise to have an instrument for measuring mental maturity.

Washburne's experiment in America to determine the " minimum " age and the " optimum " age for the introduction of certain mathematical topics proves that our present day syllabuses are mainly empiric on this point.

The determination of a pupil's readiness to go forward is so important that we must improve our methods. No single examination should decide this and we require examinations of a better type. Two scientifically constructed tests should show a high degree of correlation to eliminate the element of luck. This reliability is a feature of the standardised tests which require special training and plenty of time for the examiner. The Education Bureau in America is now prepared to use these tests for the guidance of pupils, and gives its services to schools for a small fee. Tests are issued to teachers who correct the pupils' work according to instructions, and the Bureau interprets the results and furnishes a private report which enables a comparison to be drawn with other schools, which are indicated only by numbers to avoid invidious distinctions. A pupil's individual record could be obtained covering several years, and his movement on the educational ladder could be determined by this rather than by a single examination. At Chicago University a special Staff listen to lectures and prepare examination tests in collaboration with the lecturers concerned. The essential reform is that preparation for examinations should not dominate the curriculum or methods of teaching. This is unlikely until the external examination disappears. In the future stress will be placed on guidance based on the scientific evidence of standardised tests.

DISCUSSION

Dr. Cunningham (*in reply to questions*):—

External tests used for administrative purposes tend to " coaching " or even to communication by teacher to teacher of Inspectors' tests. To avoid this, several tests of equal standard might be employed, but the teacher should be trained and trusted to use the tests for himself.

Standardisation is not universally applicable, e.g. only to factual knowledge in geography. It does not involve standardised teaching but deals with common elements of instruction. Tests can involve the use of diagrams but, so far as I know, not the manipulation of apparatus.

If town and country have differentiated curricula they should have differentiated tests.

While pupils have been tested as to how they would respond to certain given situations, I am doubtful of the value of a paper response in the matter of social attitudes.

Efforts are being made to construct an ascending scale of compositions in order of merit as a guide to assessment.

Satisfactory single-word tests of factual knowledge and even of relationships have been constructed. My preference is for single-word tests but I would not do away with the essay type of answer. . . .

In Australia the newer Inspectorate are guiding and supervising rather than examining.

We must be sure of their reliability before we accept teachers' certifications of pupils.

EXAMINATIONS : DIAGNOSTIC AND PROGNOSTIC

PROFESSOR F. CLARKE

Dislike of present-day examinations is really directed against certain phases of these and certain associated ideas of education. There is a distinction between examinations to test knowledge of fact and those in which one individual passes judgment on the mental processes and future possibilities of another. In the future they might assume greater importance. Rationalisation of social structures means that each individual must as far as possible be set to do the work for which he is best fitted, and some examination must determine his fitness.

The application of the scientific method to the conduct of examinations, which is making great strides in America, is mainly applicable in tests of matter of fact in which an answer is definitely true or false. But there is a difference between mental and physical life, and it is, for example, impossible to arrive at a proper estimation of such a mental product as an essay by adding up marks allotted for various details. An Oxford University examiner has stated that he could not say how he evaluates a first-class candidate but he knows him when he meets him, and I myself have felt that my own evaluation of student-teachers' lessons is unreliable.

A true democratic social order has now to be organised on a rational basis: failing some rational principle of test as a foundation, anarchy and the corruptions of patronage and privilege await us. The age of schooling must be raised, new lines drawn between primary and secondary education, and better methods devised of articulation between the various types of education, and all this involves rational testing and sifting. Examinations will be different and of longer duration—implying a wider diversity of processes: for instance a record of observations made over the period of his secondary course might determine a candidate's fitness for admission to a University.

From the point of view of purpose, examinations are either teaching or certifying instruments—diagnostic or prognostic. To the use of the former teachers are not sufficiently awake in their concentration on the latter whose certificates hold undue prestige. A University Degree may be the outcome of an accumulation of courses rather than of education proper. The matriculation examination should remain, but more weight should be attached to the school record to rectify accidental vagaries.

In prognostic examination three determining factors of suitability should be considered :

- (a) *General ability*: Professor Spearman's "g" factor, which is emphasised in the English system of a test which forces man to use to the last ounce his mental muscle. The high valuation of a First-class candidate in Oxford "Greats" in selections for important administrative posts is based on the severe intellectual discipline involved.
- (b) *Special efficiency*: emphasised in America specially by Thorndike, e.g. a test has been devised to determine a man likely to become a good lawyer.
- (c) *Culture*.

As to whether examinations are sufficiently used as teaching instruments, I would call attention to Professor Morrison's *The Practice of Instruction in the Secondary School*. I would not allow the use of books in every examination as there is a certain minimum—educationists have to determine this—of actual fact which everyone should possess without reference to books. These should be allowed in tests of understanding.

Defects in teaching lead to difficulties in examination. Prescribed text-books should be banned, though they meet a popular demand and also convenience in the testing of acquaintance with English Literature. Questions should be straightforward and admit of strict marking.

The South African Matriculation should stand until its alternative is determined. Its defects are largely due to the schools, which should carry pupils to a higher level. At present the University does much secondary school work. The student should be better prepared on entering the University to choose a suitable course. The secondary school should be extended at the lower end to include work now done in upper primary classes and at the upper end to include work now done in the lower University classes. If the combination of observation and record were carried on up to the age of 18 years, there should be no mistake as to who should go to the University. This might involve new institutions on the lines of the Junior Colleges of Canada and America, covering the work of upper secondary and lower University classes.

In the past the teachers have cried up their matriculation wares so much that an undue public importance has become attached to possessions of this certificate. Universities also readily respond to false notions of value entertained by public bodies and institutions—as witness the present spate of Ph.D's, and the grain of truth in the saying of the eminent educationist that "every child should as soon as possible after birth be vaccinated, have its appendix removed, and be granted the B.A. degree."!

DISCUSSION

In subsequent discussion Professor Clarke made further suggestions :—

There should be two distinct examinations at the end of the school course (a) Matriculation, only for University entrants (b) a Leaving Certificate examination for non-University candidates. This change would admit of a more free choice of subjects.

An internal examination with a good external check is desirable ; University professors should not examine school children.

In history and geography, "Ballard" questions might test knowledge of matters of fact but not understanding of the subject.

Some form of statistical control is necessary and the curve of normal frequency is used in this connection. Insistence on a definite percentage

of failures might lead to an unconscious rise in the standard of examination. Reference is recommended to the work of Croft and Jones on Secondary Examinations, also to Valentine's work on the Reliability of Examinations, which show that success in an entrance examination bears a low correlation to final success but the test at the end of the first University year bears a high correlation. I suggest collaboration between teachers and professors in an enquiry into the selective efficiency of the Matriculation examination.

The Junior College might check the influx of unsuitable pupils to the University. Adult education should be regarded as alternative to University education, but there is no reason why there should not be graduates in the lower walks of life. The award of weekly marks as a basis of a class order is a barbarity. An examination should be a clinical instrument, not a medium for securing lists of distinctions.

MEASUREMENT IN EDUCATION

PROFESSOR HAROLD RUGG

Education is directed to the all-round growth of the child and measurement of growth is necessary to measure (a) progress along a course of study and (b) mastery of essentials. As varying standards of physical measurement are ultimately replaced by "standard measures", so the modern educationist aims at designing objective tests to measure, with the least possible error, individual growth against the norm derived from their application to large groups, in place of the traditional haphazard test. One function of the measurement should be to afford a basis for guidance as to after-school careers.

In certain "skill" subjects, e.g. reading and arithmetic, valuable measurement tests have been devised, but "motor skills" are best measured by the observations of master-craftsmen. In "content" subjects (history, geography, etc.) objective measurements are not reliable, and they are impossible in the "creative arts", such as composition, art, or music, because society does not determine the manner of exercise of creative power. Thorndike's Drawing Scale and the Composition Scale of Hillegas have almost discredited their valuable tests in arithmetic and reading. An Art Gallery could not be arranged by any scale of measurement accepted by all individual judges. The new school makes a personal description rather than assigns marks. It measures performance, attitudes of people in social activity, history, etc., and the child as a creative being.

DISCUSSION

Professor Rugg (*in reply to questions*):—

As to the child's attitude towards examination knowing that the teacher's record will some day be used against him, written reports should be rarely issued; but the parent, who would be constantly informed as to the progress, should have access to the record at school.

Most schools in America use Semester examinations; many use various types of "Achievement Tests", but for administrative purposes rather than for individual analysis.

In the new schools there is no conventional promotion, moves are frequent according to mental and social traits and chronological age, the last being the usual basis of classification.

Professor Gates of the Teachers' College, New York City, is an authority to be consulted on "Reading Skills".

RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

DR. K. S. CUNNINGHAM

There are both limitations and importance in research in education. We cannot by research determine what the aims of education should be or, for example, decide by this means what kind of society ought to be the goal. At the same time even such goals must take into account the findings of science. If, for example, science demonstrates that there are fundamental differences in the capacities and tendencies of human individuals, we are foolish to attempt to build a society which assumes that all individuals are alike.

It is difficult at the present time to say just what the "measurement movement" will ultimately contribute to education. While we cannot adopt the simple faith of those who have held that "everything that exists exists in some amount and therefore can be measured", we cannot refuse to push to its furthest limit any legitimate attempt to obtain light on educational problems by measurement and by experiment. Indeed there are no greater needs in education than willingness to experiment and cultivation of the objectivity of the scientific method.

Two dangers must be constantly guarded against; one is that of the fictitious accuracy which figures so readily assume when, as in educational research, devices are adopted for expressing human behaviour in terms of numerical co-efficients; the other is that of forgetting that the measurable aspects or results may not be the only, or even the most important, aspects or results in the case of any given experiment.

In certain phases of education future progress depends on research more than on anything else, for instance in educational and vocational guidance, classification and promotion of school children, the relative effectiveness of various methods of teaching, the curriculum (e.g. the best age for introducing topics), the training of teachers. Though certain aspects of research call for special training and special facilities, there is quite an important part to be played by the ordinary class-room teacher. It would indeed be a desirable ideal for every class-room teacher to make it a practice to have some research "project" on hand. The benefits of the project method should not be limited to children.

The Australian Council for Educational Research was formed in 1930 as the result of an endowment from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. It consists of nine members, of whom six are representatives of the States in the Commonwealth. Each State has its own Institute of Educational Research. These Institutes act as a link between the central Council and the general body of teachers. The Council acts in full co-operation with the educational authorities but is an independent organisation, being essentially a society for the scientific study of educational problems.

Since its establishment the Council has received about 130 applications from teachers, inspectors of schools, Education Departments, and

University lecturers, for grants to enable investigations to be carried out. Between 90 and 100 of these have been approved. As a result of these and of enquiries initiated by the Council itself about 30 reports have so far been published. These reports range all the way from speech defects in school children to imagination in school children; from left-handedness to the psychology of literary appreciation; from occupational possibilities for children leaving school to methods in the Nursery School; from child management to the best methods of revising schoolwork.

The last ten years or so have seen a surprising growth of centres in various parts of the world for the study of educational problems, and it should not be very long before it is considered essential to have some organisation for the systematic carrying on of research in connection with all-important school systems.

CHAPTER XI.

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

THE PROBLEMS OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

MR. J. KILGOUR

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE, WHAT IS IT ?

It deals with choice of work obviously—but what is work ? Is it an unfortunate necessity ? Or is it a kind of hobby ? Whichever it is, it is surely possible for us to agree that the work we choose ought to be as tolerable as possible and as little of an evil as we can make it, and that it ought to use the capacities and aptitudes we have and not ask for abilities we have not.

At the pastoral level of human development there was any amount of vocational education before schools were thought of. The children saw everything being done, heard the plans that preceded it and the discussion that followed it, and probably played some part, however small, in the work itself. They knew a lot about every job in the place.

It was much the same in the villages. The children saw each man at his work and knew what it meant to be a smith, a mason, a miller, a ploughman, a stockman, or a carpenter. The village was an educational institute.

Boys became apprentices in the various trades, and the master was bound to discharge the duties of a father and a teacher to the apprentice who lived in his house and learned in his workshop.

Girls of course stayed at home and were trained by their mothers to do weaving and embroidery, to learn something of hygiene, nursing, the virtues of plants, of the skins and flesh of animals, of fuel and clothing. Essentially, this was training in home-work. That state of affairs lasted more or less till the Industrial Revolution. Industry wanted the service of children. The churches wanted everyone to be able to read the Scriptures. If children could be trained in this way, the schools would serve Mammon, whose work they would do cheaply, as well as God, whose Word they would be able to read.

When schools did come, with compulsory attendance for all, they inherited the literary tradition, and tools and ordinary materials were excluded. The work of the hands was considered inferior to that of the mind, and literacy was to be the solution of all problems under the sun, hence the recourse to clerical work as an essentially higher life.

One of the prominent movements in education within the last 25 years has been the increased interest taken in the inter-relation between education and industry. Educational development in the 19th century was largely the taking over by the State of what had formerly been done by the Church and private endowments. Education in the next 50 years may largely be devoted to the taking into the State system of what was formerly done by apprenticeship, which will become rather a general system of State control of juvenile employment in close relation to education for work and for leisure, with industry adequately represented.

We hope in England that ultimately there will be compulsory full-time education up to 15 or 16, and thereafter part-time day education up to 18. An essential part of the work of education will be vocational guidance.

The position to-day is that boys and girls pour out of the schools in from one to four bursts a year. If they are lucky, which usually means, that if they have been sufficiently good at school-work and sufficiently docile in ordinary conduct, the head teacher may be able to find a job for them, and the boy is then restricted in his chance to those employers who are in touch with the head teacher—a relationship that is usually based on personal friendship or social activities apart from school altogether, while the employer is restricting his recruitment to one school, which may not be the best method of selecting his staff.

It is in the larger towns and cities that young people are most in need of help, and we cannot blame young people of 14, 15, or 16, for not knowing what they want to do.

But what about out-of-school hours, during which young people get most of their education? Then influences are too often accidental. Boys wish to be engine-drivers, or girls to be nurses, parents wish their sons to come into their businesses or will exclude these only from the field of choice. We have this gap between school and work. The country boy probably knows enough about farming and the trades that touch the villages. Yet he may dream of a future in the town. The town boy knows little of the range of opportunity open to him. To bridge the gap the needs are threefold:—

- (a) knowledge of the boy or girl, his strong and weak points, his physique, special aptitudes, interests and hobbies;
- (b) knowledge of the occupations available, qualifications required, method of entry, prospects, and the mental and physical qualities which go to make for success in them;
- (c) a means of bringing these two spheres of knowledge together.

There are two questions which we may ask:—

1. At what stage are abilities sufficiently developed to justify an attempt to relate them to choice of occupation?
2. At what stage can psychological studies give data sufficiently reliable to be used for a forecast of the individual's progress in a given occupation?

(1) Considerable progress has so far been made in analysing and isolating special abilities, but we know little as yet about the age at which they first appear, and equally little about their growth.

(2) If we can show that a measure of a given ability obtained at one stage of a boy's development remains approximately constant throughout later stages, we can take the first step towards making a forecast. The difficulty here, of course, lies in the inconstancy of the individual and the resulting variations in his performance.

The advances made in the investigations of human abilities, and in the invention of objective methods of estimating the degrees of ability possessed by particular individuals, were first practised in bulk in the colossal and successful experiment of giving mental tests to nearly two million men in the American Army. Since the War, psychological tests, especially those of intelligence, began to be used widely in schools for the educational guidance of pupil and teacher. A natural development was the use of tests in vocational guidance, and many countries now use them in schools and Colleges, private institutes, public employment exchanges, or special vocational bureaux.

A parallel, though less extensive (and, it must be admitted, less successful), development has taken place in the investigation of the instinctive and emotional aspects of human personality. Research has given us new knowledge of temperamental conditions, both normal and abnormal, but the ordinary everyday behaviour-tendencies cannot yet be measured with any degree of precision.

Psychology, though still young as a science, already offers important contributions to the problem of diagnosing a person's ability and character, and its value is becoming increasingly recognised wherever a true understanding and an effective handling of human beings are important.

What about all these tests? This is a thorny subject, on which I hasten to take up the position—a middle one—that sound tests do exist and can give valuable evidence, not otherwise obtainable, for educational and vocational guidance, but these tests must be used with discrimination and on their proper scientific basis. Speaking generally, all study of an individual in order to get to know him better—(his intellectual capacity, his special aptitudes, his temperament, and his interests)—is psychological. The use of tests is a matter of degree of precision, not a different method or quality of practice. The degree of precision is by no means perfect yet, and tests cannot supplant other sources of information. This is an additional reason for making the most of a pupil's 'record card' throughout his or her school career. The record card, the questionnaire, the interview, the temperament rating are still necessary.

Intelligence tests satisfy our requirements better than any others. They are consistent from year to year and can be used as a basis for qualified prophecy. In one experiment the correlation between Binet tests given at age 11 and again at age 13 to the same group of children was .88 for boys and .87 for girls. The corresponding figures of correlation between the Binet scale at ages 11 and 12 were .91 for boys and .93 for girls.

Similar results have been obtained for group tests of intelligence.

Even if intelligence tests show the influence of schooling and introduce special abilities, and even if the result is an average or composite of a number of abilities, they are still the measures of ability that are most general in their application and most consistent in their results.

Intelligence Tests. Although the intelligence test is the most reliable measure at our disposal for vocational guidance, it is by no means automatically precise. Success in a given occupation may require a certain general level of ability, but it is doubtful whether one can ever draw a hard and fast line. Special abilities may compensate for slight deficiency of general intelligence, and the range of intelligence quotients of people in a given job is usually considerable. Yet a tentative classification of occupations, according to the degree of intelligence they require, is, obviously, essential. Burt has drawn up a provisional scheme of eight classifications:—

1. Higher professional and administrative work. (Mental ratio 150+)—lawyer, physician, architect, teacher (University and secondary).
2. Lower professional, technical and executive work. (Mental ratio 130—150)—accountant, dentist, surveyor, secretary, teacher (elementary).
3. Clerical and highly skilled work. (Mental ratio 115—130)—short-hand-typist, bank clerk, salesman, electrician, nurse.
4. Skilled work. (Mental ratio 100—115)—tailor, dressmaker, carpenter, cashier, printer.

5. Semi-skilled repetition work. (Mental ratio 85—100)—barber, welder, miner, painter, baker.
6. Unskilled repetition work. (Mental ratio 70—85)—manual labour, navvy, groom, slater, packer.
7. Casual labour. (Mental ratio 50—70). Simplest routine work.
8. Institutional. (Mental ratio 50—0). Unemployable.

Although there is considerable overlap between one group and the next, we take it as generally true that, for example, office work requires an intelligence quotient of at least 105 for girls. Work in shops would require a girl to have an intelligence quotient of at least 95.

Similar standards may be set for various school examinations. In a Scottish investigation it was found that pupils with intelligence quotients of 120 and over had a 62 per cent. chance of success in obtaining the Leaving Certificate in their fifth year in the secondary school, and a 96 per cent. chance in the sixth year, assuming, of course, normal work and normally efficient teaching. Pupils of intelligence quotient 112-119 have a 30 per cent. chance of success in the fifth year, and 83 per cent. chance in the sixth year. Pupils whose intelligence quotient is less than 112 have a 9 per cent. chance of success in the fifth, a 17 per cent. chance in the sixth year, and a 50 per cent. chance if they stay on for a seventh year in the secondary school.

Aptitude Tests. While vocational maladjustment is often due simply to an excess or to a deficiency of intelligence, the trouble may also be due to the lack of a special mental aptitude which the work demands, or to the possession of a specialised gift which the worker longs to use and for which the job offers no opportunity.

The testing of special abilities is still, for the most part, somewhat inexact, but the scientific methods which have established the validity of the intelligence test can be, and are now being, applied in this field also. For a model investigation of a special ability Cox's work on *Mechanical Aptitude* may be taken as an example.

Among the tests used in recent experiments may be mentioned those for "practical ability"—(non-verbal problems calling for practical planning with concrete materials), for mechanical aptitude, for form-perception and visualisation, and those for speed, steadiness, and precision, in performing different manual movements.

The interpretation of the vocational significance of the results of tests of special abilities must be more tentative than that of intelligence tests.

Mechanical ability appears to be of relatively later development, and cannot be measured, by the Stenquist test, with high reliability before the age of 13 or 14. After this age the consistency of the tests is sufficiently high to warrant long-range forecasts.

Tests of manual dexterity must play a minor part in vocational guidance, since they are not very reliable measures over a long period. They are too apt to be upset by accidental factors (e.g. physiological), and increase in the number of trials requires extra time and causes fatigue and loss of interest. So far, these tests can be depended on only for short-range forecasts. Their chief value will be in vocational selection.

Performance tests are good measures of general ability with young children, but are not so reliable at the age of 13, probably owing to the intrusion of specific factors.

Scholastic tests are probably reliable only for a short period, and can only be depended on for clasifying for the immediate future. A simple test of arithmetic at age 11 probably is useful in grading for the next class. It bears little relation to position in the secondary school

two or three years later. A school record card with the results of standardised tests given once every year should represent the basic level of a boy's ability in a given subject and be more dependable.

The study of abilities required by occupations is a sphere in which comparatively little progress has yet been made. Take a sample description of the requirements of Kindergarten Teaching: "It opens up a field of living interest and offers a wide scope for the play of all the gifts and faculties of an intelligent and large-hearted woman." We get a little nearer in a description of this kind: "A cashier should be able to manipulate money quickly and must possess quickness, accuracy, patience, honesty, coolness, courtesy, and neatness in personal appearance." From occupational surveys of this kind, which are much more advanced in America than in England, there arose the profile. A diagram is constructed showing, as on a graph, the degree of the particular abilities required for a given job. Attempts have been made to construct a kind of silhouette or profile of the degrees of ability or skill required by a given occupation and to relate it to a similar graph of the aptitudes of the individual. But there are many difficulties in the way. Not the least of these is that boys and girls are not stereotyped patterns designed in relation to the needs of occupations. There is urgent need for research upon the analysis of the individual and of occupation to be carried on in the same terms. To know that an individual has certain ratings in abilities A, B, C, is of little help if we know that the job requires certain ratings in abilities D, E, and F.

I may sum up the lesson we have learned from all the experiments and the research so far. There is no short cut to vocational guidance. Tests have been proved to be helpful, but tests without all the other more intangible things are of little value in themselves. We still need the record of the previous history, personal and scholastic, the medical report, the temperament survey, the views of teacher and parent, and the interview with the boy himself.

What is our third question? What can we do? The position is so grave that we cannot wait till we get perfect measures of unitary abilities and perfect analysis of occupations in the same terms.

Education as Guidance: We are now beginning to realise that the ideal of guidance ought to be our object in all education. The first essential is to search out and meet the needs of children. Sound educational guidance is an essential preliminary to sound vocational guidance. Employment officers have, as one of their major troubles, the job of trying to set right young people who have been educationally misguided—by parent, teacher, or some false standard in their own minds. This searching out and meeting of the needs of each boy or girl is not a thing to start at school-leaving age. The statement of these needs as they arose and the measures taken to meet them should be on record. There is the danger that the two advisers concerned may become too absorbed—the teacher in bringing all the pupils to a certain level of attainment, and the employment officer in interviewing large numbers of young people and searching for jobs for them. Teachers often fail to recognise that they have unique opportunities to study young people, to learn their capacities, interests, and needs, and employment officers are compelled to recapture, on the basis of the imperfect cross-section given on the school-leaving card, a glimpse of the boy's past which ought to be available in detail. The attitude of teachers will thus be that of (a) learning the capacities and interests of individual children; (b) getting the children to consider certain appropriate goals, at first scholastic, but later academic, vocational, or professional—all educational

n the sense that they are lines of development; (c) helping to attain these goals by teaching, when necessary—(and refraining from teaching, when possible!); and (d) studying the progress made and modifying the methods—and even the objectives—if necessary.

For this purpose, the Training Colleges should give a lead, and administrators have equally a duty. The result should be a further freeing from mass teaching, but it should not decrease the control of the child by the school, but should rather make that control more intelligent and more effective.

The instrument here is the *pupil's cumulative record card*. A cumulative record card is primarily of use for the school itself, in that it centres round a measure of the pupil's inborn general intelligence and the use to which that intelligence is put in school work.

The intelligence of children is measured by the Binet scale of mental tests before they leave the infant room. From the junior stage onwards, the children's accomplishments in English and arithmetic are ascertained annually by means of standardised tests. These measurements are expressed in terms of mental years and are recorded on the card in the form of graphs. The intelligence is measured again in the junior and central schools by means of written group tests. The educational and mental measurements are compared.

For example, a teacher after a period of conscientious instruction of a child of 9 finds that he or she is backward by about a year according to the standards of the test. A reference to the intelligence shows that the intelligence quotient is 80 and her mental age is about seven and a half. The pupil may thus be expected to be about a year and a half behind, and the fact that he or she is only a year behind is a cause for congratulation rather than anxiety.

Similarly average children, so-called happy and good-naturedly mischievous, are sometimes found to be doing a level of work much below their capacity.

The section of the card dealing with the standardised tests will be of great use in diagnosis of causes of retardation (absences, migration, health, home conditions, specific disability, etc.) and its usefulness is obvious when a pupil comes to one school from another—to the teacher taking over a new class, and to Heads receiving new pupils into their school.

At a later stage, the card will be of service in helping to decide the type of school, and the course of post-primary education, most suited to the individual needs. It should form, ultimately, the basis on which school conferences try to guide boys and girls into the employment best suited to their capacities. The section of the card dealing with personal history, notes on home and out-of-school environment, interests and hobbies, and notes on temperamental characteristics, will be of great assistance to the vocational adviser, especially when during the last year or two at school tests more specifically vocational may be incorporated in the record.

Boys and girls often reach school-leaving age without having any idea of what they would like to do afterwards. Some name an occupation without knowing anything of what it involves. Usually no alternative has been considered. The 'school conference', valuable as it is when there is nothing else, has its dangers. The boy may be looked on rather as a case to be dealt with by outside influences, to be given a little good advice which may act as an internal medicine to inspire too lowly or subdue too high an ambition.

Before reaching school-leaving age boys and girls may have chosen a certain kind of school, may have chosen one educational course in preference to another, or may have been compelled to accept both a school and a course.

It is suggested that the first step in vocational guidance should be taken at an interview with the parents when the boy takes a senior course. The Head Teacher will give details of the courses available, will discuss the strong and weak points on the cumulative record card, and will consider hopes and intentions about the length of school life and the subsequent career.

A similar interview may be called for at the end of the first year to discuss any changes in the situation in the light of the year's record at the school and progress in new subjects.

The work of the school, meantime, is to encourage its pupils to think out their own problems by giving information, arranging talks, lectures, and educational visits (to works, laundries, dairies, farms, etc.) The industries of the district may be taken as an educational project round which much of the work might centre.

At the beginning of the last year at school a comprehensive survey of local opportunities should be given, to be followed, in areas where there is considerable migration, by a survey of openings in the neighbourhood, with emphasis on what would be involved in hours, cost of travelling, etc.

Visits of the local employment officer may be arranged twice or there times during the last two terms of the final school year.

Vocational guidance does not begin at school-leaving age, nor should it end there. In secondary schools, from 16 onwards and often earlier, education and career are one single problem. Should we not do something to help in every school those who leave at the age of 15 or so?

After the first job is found, help and guidance may still be needed and got at the school by means of Old Scholars' Associations and the teachers interested. Alternatively, the Juvenile Affairs Board may help through its officer or a duly qualified voluntary worker.

I have put the school and the Juvenile Affairs Board's work side by side. Both are needed. We have had rivalry and friction in the past in England. There still is good-humoured teasing, but we have generally now an atmosphere of co-operation and good-will. This has come from the realisation that the boy or girl who needs to be helped is not a bone of contention but a future citizen who is in need of help now. We cannot wait till we get perfect instruments—we shall never have them with human beings in a society that is changing so rapidly in its industry. We must all do our best with the instruments we have, however imperfect they may be. The imperfections and difficulties are no excuse for our neglect to do our duty to help boys and girls to find their best place in the work of the community.

DISCUSSION

MR. KILGOUR (*in reply to questions*):—

"There is only one centre in England in which teachers receive such training and that is Birmingham. All teachers are, however, trained to make Binet tests and to make use of the record card, especially in the rural areas."

"I would not advise any direct vocational guidance in the elementary school—I would postpone it as long as possible, say till 12+. The curriculum of the central school is so devised that the child is made to think about his future."

The juvenile's desire must certainly be taken into consideration, especially in cases where that juvenile has the necessary aptitudes for the desired occupation. It has been found that the expressed desire or interest is in many cases a very true index of the abilities—no hard and fast rule can be laid down—the adviser should use his own common sense, to ensure that some reasonable standard is maintained in the completion of the record card. The only remedy is to know the person who completes the record card.

DR. E. EYBERS : The problem of vocational guidance is a very complicated one. There are thousands of occupations and many thousands of children, each one with his or her special abilities or disabilities. It is impossible for any adviser to test and advise all children or to know all about all the occupations. We have seen that there is a very high correlation between interest or desire and success. Thorndike has made extensive investigation and has come to the conclusion that there is a very high correlation between a person's genuine interest and his abilities, and it would seem, therefore, that, for all the advice and assistance we may be able to give, the final choice of an occupation must be left to the youth himself.

DR. E. G. MALHERBE (*Chairman*) suggested that the three aspects of the problem, viz. (a) the diagnostic, (b) the informational, (c) the administrative be kept separate in the discussion.

In South Africa the problem is complicated by the presence of an overwhelming black population who also have to work. Certain types of work are being regarded as "Kaffir work" and therefore *infra dig* for a white boy to follow. This attitude is fortunately wearing off, chiefly under economic pressure.

Further, vocational training, being in the past associated with the industrial schools under the Department of Prisons and with charitable institutions, still carries the stigma with it of destitution, delinquency, and inferiority in general. Since vocational and industrial schools have been taken over by the Union Education Department this stigma is gradually being removed. Still, there remains the feeling that "white collar" and clerical occupations are far superior to occupations involving manual skill. These are factors which limit the market for jobs and make vocational guidance particularly difficult in South Africa.

From the Native's point of view his occupational chances are definitely limited by "colour bars." It is a problem with which educators of White and Black will be faced as a matter of increasing urgency in the future.

A speaker referred "with envy" to the apparent ease with which boys were placed in England. In South Africa, too many were "over-age" before absorption and record cards were not full enough to be really useful. In reply to his questions as to the percentage which actually found the work recommended, Mr. Kilgour replied that most could and failure was mainly due to parental impatience.

EXPERIMENTS IN VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

MR. J. KILGOUR

The advance made in measuring human abilities by means of objective methods has led to a widespread use of tests, especially tests of intelligence,

not only for educational purposes but also for purposes of vocational guidance. A parallel though less extensive development has taken place in devising methods for measuring personality traits and for assessing the emotional and temperamental qualities of the individual. All these tests supply us with information which is not otherwise obtainable but they must be used with caution and discrimination. Tests by themselves cannot supplant other sources of information; the record card, the questionnaire, the interview, temperamental ratings, are still indispensable. The tests most widely used are those which measure intelligence or "inborn native ability."

No other method exists which can give us such reliable information since subjective estimates of intelligence are notoriously unreliable. For purposes of vocational guidance the intelligence test must be qualified by other considerations. Thus, special abilities may compensate for a slight deficiency of general intelligence, while the range of intelligence quotients of people in a given job is usually considerable. But a tentative classification of occupations, according to the degree of intelligence they require, remains an essential condition for vocational guidance. One such scheme, proposed by Burt, has been widely made use of for this purpose. Similar schemes may also be drawn for the various school examinations. In a Scottish investigation (as was indicated above) it was found that pupils with an I.Q. of 120 and over had a 62% chance of success in obtaining the Leaving Certificate in their fifth year in the secondary school, and a 96% chance in the sixth year, while pupils with an I.Q. of less than 112 have a 9% chance in the fifth year, a 17% chance in the sixth, and a 50% chance in a seventh year.

While vocational mal-adjustment is often due simply to an excess or to a defect of intelligence, the trouble may also be due to the lack of a special mental aptitude which the work demands. The valuation of results of the testing of special abilities for vocational guidance is still admittedly tentative. Mechanical ability appears to be a comparatively late development and cannot be measured with high reliability by the Stenquist test before the age of 13 or 14. Tests of manual dexterity must play a minor part in vocational guidance, since they are not very reliable measures over a long period. Performance tests are good measures of general ability with young children, but are not so reliable at the age of 13. Scholastic tests are probably reliable only for a short period, and can only be depended on for classifying for the immediate future. A school record based on standardised tests should represent the child's ability over an extended period, and should be more reliable than a single attainment test.

Although attempts to make the choice of an occupation rest upon a less haphazard basis have been made in many countries since the War, steps are rarely taken to evaluate the new methods of guidance. The growth of bureaux in German-speaking countries brought no investigation of the extent to which the new methods are better than the old. The first experiment to throw light on this problem was directed by Professor Cyril Burt. First, a careful statistical analysis was made of the jobs actually obtained in two thousand consecutive cases by 2000 children who had recently left eighteen representative schools in a London borough. No exhaustive analysis of the occupations was attempted. Then an intensive individual study was made of all the children due to leave three elementary schools in a given area—52 boys and 42 girls. Four investigators gave tests of intelligence, school attainment, constructive ability, creative imagination; estimates of temperamental traits were made, homes were visited, and records of school progress and

medical history were obtained. Two years later the homes were visited, and information was obtained about the occupations entered, wages and prospects, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the job. Of the children in recommended occupations 83.6 per cent. found their work satisfactory, 14.3 per cent. were satisfied with their work but not their pay or prospects, 2.1 per cent. found the work distasteful. The corresponding figures for children in work different from that recommended were 39.4 per cent., 18.2 per cent., and 42.4 per cent. The numbers were too small for the results to be given great weight; there was no control group and more detailed job-analysis was required.

The second London experiment was conducted by F. M. Earle in 1926. 1,200 London elementary school children were divided by chance into (a) a control group of 600 who received the usual advice at the school conference and (b) an experimental group of 600 who were given special psychological tests and a special medical examination. Regular enquiries were made into the progress of both groups of children till the middle of 1929. Studies were made of the length of tenure of posts and rate of change of occupation, since stability must be considered one of the best criteria of success. It was found, for example, that of the tested children who were recommended for clerical work 75 per cent. retained their first posts. The corresponding figure for those who took up this work when it was not recommended was only 35 per cent. The reports from employers were placed in four categories according to the degree of satisfaction with the child's work. In the tested group, as the posts became more and more unlike those recommended, the percentages of good reports tended to decrease regularly while the percentages of bad reports showed a progressive increase. In the control group these tendencies were less well defined. Other criteria gave similar results.

More striking results of the value of psychological methods were obtained by the Birmingham Education Committee. The experiment was conducted in three carefully selected elementary schools and there were, again, experimental and control groups—a total of 328. Of the tested children 61 per cent., and of the control children, who were advised in the ordinary way by the Juvenile Employment Officers, 49 per cent., obtained first posts of the kind advised. After following the industrial progress of all the children for two years it was found possible to classify all the posts held into two categories—"accordance" posts and "non-accordance" posts—according to whether or not the work conformed broadly to the advice given. Here are some samples of the results:—

1. In the tested group—21 per cent. of the boys who started in "accordance" posts, and only 1 per cent. of those who started in "non-accordance" posts, had held their first job throughout the two years. The corresponding figures for girls were 35 per cent. and 4 per cent. respectively. For the control group—the percentages of boys holding first "accordance" and then "non-accordance" posts were 7 and 15, and in the case of girls 20 and 15 respectively.

2. Of the whole group of tested children—42 per cent occupied one and the same "accordance" post during the two years of the enquiry, and only 9 per cent. kept a "non-accordance" post. Of the control group 27 per cent. kept a single "accordance" post and 30 per cent. a single "non-accordance" post.

The Birmingham Education Committee is now conducting tests in certain elementary schools by selected teachers with a special training in test technique. These teachers are not to give vocational guidance, but merely to furnish for use in vocational guidance more exact reports and certain results as to aptitude which have not hitherto been available.

An experiment in Fife included children from rural as well as from urban areas, but there was no control group. In the rural areas it was necessary to consider not merely the suitability of the boy or girl for any kind of work but also the suitability for the kind of work available. In practice the second consideration nearly always outweighed the first and the recommendations were often of the second-best variety. In the urban areas the conditions of employment were so bad owing to the depression that 'school leavers' were willing to take any kind of work, suitable or unsuitable, and tried to keep it as long as possible. It was found that, on the whole, the children attending the rural schools were rather less proficient in abstract school subjects than the children in the town schools but that they were rather more competent in dealing with practical problems.

The relation between research into vocational guidance and economic factors is strikingly shown in an experiment begun at Willesden. The experiment concerned elementary, selective central, and secondary schools in a relatively prosperous area—a centre of the new industries that have grown up round London. The inhabitants were the factory-workers and engineering operatives who had little reserves of income. Children in the secondary and selective central schools were aiming at a "black-coated" occupation, an essential step to which was the School Certificate or Matriculation. So urgent was the preparation for these examinations that the pressure from parents and teachers became too great and the experiment had to be abandoned.

In 1930 an investigation of peculiar interest was started in Wormwood Scrubs Prison. A group of lads sentenced to detention in Borstal Institutions were examined. In one half of these cases suggestions were made as to which of the trades available at the particular institution would prove most suitable; the other half of the cases constituted a control group. The tests used were Form Relations and Memory for Designs as well as a short Intelligence Test. These were taken in group form and took up the first hour. In the second part a revised form of the Stenquist group-test was given, followed by the Cox test of manual dexterity. The Healy A test, the Cube-construction test, and the Dearborn Form-board were also included. Then came the usual assessment of temperamental traits based on observations made during a carefully organised interview. The boy gave his own life story, talked about his friends, leisure, home, his previous jobs. Part of the interview consisted in the discussion of the working party activities. The recommendations were made after a careful study of all the facts, and the boys went off to the working parties recommended in the six Borstal Institutions in England.

Out of the 400 boys 80 dropped out owing to early discharge. Finally 160 were left in the experimental and in the control group. Six-monthly reports were obtained from the Borstal Housemasters and all the boys were graded as "A" or "B" workers on the basis of these reports. 69.5 per cent. of the boys in the recommended group became grade "A" workers; 45.6 per cent. of the boys in the control group became grade "A" workers. The difference is statistically significant. The failures in the recommended group were mainly due to temperamental reasons—depression, lack of co-operativeness. The Departmental Committee on Employment of Prisoners has recommended that representative Borstal Housemasters should be trained in the technique of testing.

DISCUSSION

In reply to questions, MR. KILGOUR stated that there was no general test nor were there specific tests for a given occupation. A batch of tests was necessary as a single test was of little value.

The tendency was to give tests before leaving school, and the responsibility therefore rested on the school, which should provide the child with vocational guidance. About 50 per cent. of interest in a job ought to be taken into account. Interests only became stable at a late age and there was no rule as to when or to what degree interest should be taken into account.

A *speaker* said that in his opinion the artisan was the expert in matters affecting a trade and not the teacher. It became therefore a matter of co-operation between teachers who could supply school tests, parents who could supply information concerning home influences, and employers who could give expert advice on trades. He quoted the working of the Apprenticeship Act which allowed a probationary period of four months to see how a boy "sized up" to a job.

DR. BOYD said that he regarded vocational guidance as a teachers' job as teachers were in closer touch with the child than anyone else. There were teachers who were prepared to obtain the necessary experience and become vocational guidance experts just as there were teachers who specialised in many other branches of education. He considered that guidance should be universal and not confined to certain large centres, and urged that the vocational guidance experts should be experts in the teaching profession.

DR. SKAWRAN pointed out that facilities were available in South Africa for providing vocational guidance. He did not agree that because there were more boys than jobs that vocational guidance was unnecessary. It was not part of the teacher's work to find a job for a child nor was the common-sense point of view adequate. He wished to have facts and figures showing the results of scientific guidance, and said that the figures given by Mr. Kilgour showed conclusively that vocational guidance by means of scientific methods gave the best results.

DR. I. D. MACCRONE, (*Chairman*), said that Dr. Boyd's statement that teachers should be guidance experts was open to question, and he suggested that, though the teacher was important in these enquiries, there should also be the co-operation of the employment officer who knew employment conditions at first-hand.

Further statements by MR. KILGOUR were as follows:—

In the matter of training of Testing Officers, in Scotland they usually have a Degree, a Teacher's Training Course, and a year of special training. In an urban area probably no more than the 300 pupils can be tested and advised by one officer because the work can only be done at three periods of the year.

(In reply to a query as to identity of characteristics in the adolescent and post-adolescent stages and a suggestion that tests of mechanical ability were of little value until the age of thirteen, also that Principals' remarks were an unreliable factor). Knowledge of previous history is very important. Interests are rather an additional factor than a major determinant of aptitudes and abilities. Strong considers that interests do not adequately reflect capabilities before the age of 25.

In the case of "unsuitables" who are not mentally defective, it seemed that there were many of no ascertainable definite ability. Vocational training seems the only treatment.

Scientific research in vocational guidance originated owing to the number of tramcar accidents involving payment of compensation. This investigation led to the discovery that 25 per cent. of the drivers were unfitted for the occupation.

Binet's tests of 1898 were continued by Terman and Spearman, and the two threads of the studies of accidents and of individuals, together with the Great War, speeded up the work, which in the case of air-pilots has reduced accidents by 50 per cent. In America its application to recruits speeded up training, and after the War vocational guidance became very necessary for returned soldiers.

In England in its application to choice of careers there is found to be less difficulty in the selection of a man for a job than of a career for a boy, in whose case the whole of his own world and the whole of his group-world have to be surveyed.

"Follow up" work is difficult but social gatherings giving opportunity for personal enquiry are very helpful.

In the Kent schools a special record card gives school record on one side and personal information on the other.

In agriculture only periodical employment is available.

In co-operation with other bodies a full-time officer might in Birmingham handle 1,000 school-leavers.

As to the suggestion that a teacher should be able to assess 90 per of his pupils and that the specialist's only work should be to assist and guide the teacher, it is hoped that eventually the record card will be of more value while each town might have a clinic for especially difficult cases.

Though tact is always necessary, there must be frankness towards parents.

The advent of the Careers' Master was due to the depression. It is debatable whether it is for the school to find jobs, and the system may not last.

Unemployed boys are mostly unskilled and likely to remain so. They must attend certain classes, and in Junior Instruction Benefits Centres class instruction is given in various subjects.

DR. VAN RENSBURG stated that a Vocational Guidance officer was attached to the Juvenile Affairs Board at Capetown. At Stellenbosch they had devised vocational tests for particular jobs, and they proceeded to guidance after selection. Tests were being worked out for suitability for specific occupations, and after these were standardised they would turn attention to tests of vocations suited to individuals.

THE GUIDANCE CLINIC

DR. WILLIAM BOYD

The New Education has taken practical shape in the Twentieth Century in the idea of child guidance. In principle there has been a general acceptance of the value of fitting education to the individual on the part of progressive educators for the last two centuries, but it is only within our own times that the principle has made much impression on the practice of home and school. With the best will in the world the people who realised the need for a change in educational attitude failed to bring it about, partly because they did not appreciate the fact that the change

must come first in themselves, partly because they did not know how to individualise learning as well as direct it.

Many things have conspired to introduce the idea of guidance into education. Most important has been the development of the "urge" psychologies like those of MacDougall and Freud, which have made human behaviours and misbehaviours better understood, and the new invention of means of mental measurement like the intelligence test. These have made possible a better comprehension of the child and given the Guide something sure to work on.

The first applications were made to abnormal children like defectives and delinquents. Then gradually the technique evolved got broadened out and applied to problem children of all sorts. These are still the main persons for whom Psychological and Educational Clinics make provision. But the transfer of the idea to all children is already under way. The good teacher has always been a guide rather than a "master", and parents and teachers have always tried to give their charges the best guidance they can. What we are trying now is to do scientifically and systematically what has hitherto been attempted without science or system.

The ultimate goal is to make everyone who is responsible for young people capable of guiding them. That is what is implied in the efforts of Parent-Teacher Associations. Meantime the best way to make it effective is to encourage teachers with the aptitude for it to become masters of the art of guidance, so that they can help the young people over the snags of learning and behaviour and even direct them into the career for which they are best suited. At present guidance is largely in the hands of external experts like psychologists and doctors who are brought in from the outside on special occasions. If teachers are wise they will develop from their own ranks the educational experts able to minister help from within; and these experts must have behind them a teaching profession able to give at the least a measure of first aid.

What has to be said now is mainly directed to parents and teachers anxious to help in elementary guidance; and I propose to make what I have to say definite and concrete by taking for examples—in learning the child who counts badly, and in behaviour the child who pilfers.

The first guiding principle to be stressed is that *the child is always more important than the problem*. It is not a problem that is being dealt with but a human personality. So we must always start with the human facts behind the problem. Here is a "bad" child, so called. (There are no bad children: only children made bad!) Let us make a general survey of his life conditions. What is his school standing? How does he compare in age with his classmates? Is he making normal progress? Is he often absent—perhaps missing tuition at essential points and falling into arrears? Is he specially bad or good at any special studies—English, arithmetic, manual activities? Does he behave differently in class-room and playground?

Any or all these school facts may affect him and produce the problem situation. But there are facts more basic than these at which we have usually to guess, the facts of the home life. Actually the home is much more important than the school in determining behaviour, and when difficulties arise there is usually something of strain and upset in the home. Are both parents alive? What are their relations to each other and to their children? Where does the child come in the family? Judging by age relations are there likely to be any *sib** jealousies? Are feeding and bedding arrangements sensible? Can the obvious temperamental qualities of the child be connected with special family situations?

* = Blood relation (Gaelic—O.E.).

Then the physical factors have to be taken into account. Is the child left-handed or squinting? Are eyesight and hearing normal? Have there been any serious illnesses, infantile or recent? Is the child behaving like a healthy child—eating well and sleeping well and free from fidgetiness? Has the school doctor anything to say about his condition? Out of this all-round scrutiny emerges a picture of the whole child, which can receive further definition by means of intelligence tests and achievement tests.

And now for his *particular problem*. He counts badly. By way of diagnosis let us try him with some simple addition and subtraction first of all, worked out aloud; then, have a look at his exercises to find where he usually goes wrong. He steals. Well, without any more emotion than when he contracts measles, let us find out just when, and how, and how long he steals, as well as how his grown-ups react. We must get the facts of the case.

Next comes the question of cause. The main point here is that there is no single cause for any problem condition. Children blunder in counting because they have a poor intelligence and find abstractions difficult, or because they were off from school through illness at the time when their contemporaries were being taught some simple operation and having the number combinations fixed by practice, or because the teacher at some critical stage was a bad teacher, or because there was some emotional disturbance (due, for example, to quarrelsome parents) which made the child mentally jumpy and unable to concentrate, or because the association of learning with punishment has linked disturbing emotions with the school task. Every case is an individual case.

Stealing has the same diversity of causation. There is simple straightforward stealing, because the child wants something badly. There is stealing of things that are of no use whatever. There is stealing in the home and stealing outside. Accident of circumstances, companionships, excess of parental authority, defect of maternal affection, sex upsets, may all play their part in leading to any particular case of stealing.

The treatment will of course vary with the causation. Always, if the difficulty is serious, there is need for a general straightening out of life for the child. That needs co-operation with the home and cannot be got without it. But parents happily are willing to co-operate, even when it means that they have to learn to behave differently to the child. Thrashing has to stop, of course, and so has nagging. If there are favouritisms in the family they have to stop. And in the background is the Guide, communicating something of his own steadiness to child and parents, exercising a silent therapy by interesting himself in the child's hobbies and lessons, and suggesting by his attitude that the badness is in the past.

Besides this general treatment the particular troubles must also be dealt with. If there has been failure and blundering (as in the case of the counting) there has to be new assurance given, preferably by letting the child discover that he can do the work he thought he could not do. "YOU CAN" must be in the very air, and necessarily that means the re-creation of habits. The bad counter must re-learn to count by new methods that do not stir up past discouragements, and one success leads on to many. In misbehaviours the task of keeping right must be made definite by prescribing right ways for a manageable period of time and marking achievement with a star or some such token of approval.

The work, it will be seen, is from beginning to end educational. In the past some fine medical people have taken it on because there was no other professional body with the necessary knowledge and skill, and

there are still many cases where a medical overhaul is required. But essentially this job is a teacher's job. He is in touch with children daily and able to check evil tendencies in their beginnings before they harden into the chronic conditions which make a high degree of expertness necessary for their treatment. More readily than anybody other than the parent he can control the life of the child in an atmosphere of normality. The defects that call for special concern are in the main defects of training and environing influence, and the cure is always to be found in some form of re-education. Who has such an opportunity to play Guide through the difficulties of childhood as the teacher?

The question is: Can he? And will he? Certainly he is willing. The teacher with all his past limitations has always put the well-being of his pupils in the forefront, and the professional spirit grows ever better. But even if he will, can he? As yet, most teachers are not well-equipped for the work of guidance. A good many of them need (like other people) to re-educate themselves, to clear out the emotionally wrong attitudes which make them want to compel when they should seek to guide. All of them need more of the new knowledge of child nature and disabilities than is generally imparted in Universities and Training Colleges.

In the meantime, the prime need is for the establishment of Guidance Clinics in connection with the educational system, preferably under the auspices of the Colleges. These will always be required to deal with the hard cases, and they will encourage the guidance approach on the part of the new generation of teachers, on whom will rest the responsibility for catching these hard cases while they are still easy, and of diffusing the principles of the guidance-training of children through the community at large.

ILLUSTRATIVE CASES

Here by way of illustration are some actual cases of the problem met in an Educational Clinic:—

(1) Mary, aged 11, I.Q. 92, "could not count". Reported healthy and industrious: doing all the school work quite well except the Arithmetic. On being tested proved to be able to add but to find difficulty with subtraction. There had been two changes of school at the age when the number combinations are being mastered. The I.Q., coupled with the fact that she did a "numbers backward" test badly, suggested that the difficulty might be in her inability to deal with the complications of the "carry" process. She was given drill in subtracting by the additive method (x and what makes y ?) and proved quite a good pupil. The teacher was informed that Mary could count all right but needed more time than the average pupil. The outcome was satisfactory.

(2) John Smith, aged 17, obviously highly intelligent, had failed persistently in mathematics, in which he must pass to enter the University. Everybody said: "John cannot do mathematics". Some of his teachers said: "John lacks mathematical ability". An emotional reaction test showed John in the main emotionally stable: no reason there for any special shortcoming. Inquiry brought out that John had spent the first years of school life in a nice polite girls' school where arithmetic was explained but no proper drill given. On changing over to an ordinary school at the age of eight he proved quite unable to keep up with the class, and from that point on his reputation was that he could not count. It stuck to him when he passed on to algebra and got generalised into the opinion that he could not do mathematics. The first thing to do was to prove to him that he could do mathematics, and graphs

provided the medium of assurance. His tutor was instructed to remark at intervals—without overdoing it—"You can manage your mathematics all right" and to justify the remark by letting him work at first simple but essential calculations. But, besides the gradual removal of the depressing thought of incapacity engendered by nine years' reputation, there had to be a training in the fundamental arithmetic which had been the original cause of the trouble and which still was weak. This was done by means of the Courtis Practice Cards, whereby learning lost any sense of humiliation in going back to the beginnings. With good tuition he passed his examination a year later.

(3) Susan, aged 12, I.Q. 95, was brought up by a Probation Officer. She had stolen a child's bicycle, which she had sold for sixpence, and had come into the hands of the police. There had been some previous pilfering in the home but no reason for the case coming to the police authorities at all. There was some suggestion of undue severity in the school discipline. This was changed at once by the teacher when the need for consideration in Susan's case was pointed out. Home life was tolerably normal apart from some conflict with a brother two years younger. The father was asked to give the girl some special attention to remove the feeling that more was made of the brother than herself. To satisfy the conditions of her probation she reported at the Clinic nearly every week for nine months and grew steadier month by month. Everybody forgot about the stealing and admired Susan's fancy-work. Some behaviour difficulties in the home midway on led to a conference with her mother and the imparting of the sex instruction appropriate to her age by one of the women members of the Clinic staff.

(4) Jimmy aged 10, I.Q. 132, was brought by his mother because he had begun to extend the pilfering which had gone on at home since he was six to neighbouring shops. Family well-to-do: father had deserted family five years before: mother not very affectionate and obviously more concerned about the disgrace the boy might bring on her than about his well-being. School reports showed conduct good but passive and school work very bad. Jimmy responded at once to the attention given him in the Clinic: the star given at the end of a week free from misbehaviour was a valuable incentive. The Headmaster of the school was recommended to push the boy on a class instead of demoting him as he had intended to do. The high I.Q. which was the ground of this recommendation did not appeal to him as sufficient reason, but to oblige the Clinic he agreed to try the experiment, with the happiest results both for conduct and lessons. The connection between school standing and behaviour was shown six months later when for the first time the stealing broke out again simultaneously with his being kept back (on age grounds) when the rest of the class was promoted. Jimmy's Clinic Guide found him interested in books and cultivated the interest. As an ostensible reason for his coming to the Clinic he was given special tuition in arithmetic. His attendance went on for over a year, by the end of which he was a different boy. A year ago he returned of his own volition to tell how well he was getting on. With the improvement in behaviour the maternal affection had obviously warmed up, and Jimmy and his mother were on good terms, to the advantage of both.

DISCUSSION

DR. BOYD (*in reply to questions*):—

Children are usually placed in orphanages as the result of some domestic tragedy; hence it is safe to say that they are a class of child that needs special treatment.

Adopted children should be informed of their position at an early age—the earlier the better. The same principle also applies with regard to sex information, since the child at an early age can accept such information as a matter of fact.

Bad spelling in some cases is due to defective sight and the first step is to have the child's sight tested. A child is required to learn to spell many words that are unnecessary. Only those words should be taught that are in common use, and lists of such words are available.

Lying in children usually has its origin in the child's imagination. Such romancing should be treated sympathetically, and many of the later evils of this habit would be avoided if this fact were appreciated. In other cases, the tendency can be traced to various repressions, or to a parent or teacher of whom the child is afraid.

With regard to the problem of thieving and whether the parent ought to be informed of a child's theft, in many cases the parents should be kept out of the affair but, generally speaking, wise parents should be informed and their co-operation sought.

Left-handedness is a common effect of a repression and a left-handed child should be encouraged to write with both hands.

The Glasgow Clinic starts with the normal child. It is staffed by skilled teachers with a sound knowledge of psychology, one of whom is medically trained. Defectives are at once handed over to the psychiatrist. Children are usually brought to the clinic by teachers or parents when problems of education or behaviour are to be solved. Treatment is both general and specific, the former being the more important. The endeavour is to set up right attitudes, prove to the child what he can do and not what he can not do, and give him self-confidence, e.g. in a case of a thief to forget the stealing and build up a sense of love and thoughtfulness and a belief that someone is interested in him.

Home conditions are mainly the prime cause of the trouble in most children. "Dull" children find arithmetic a stumbling block, but if taught the right methods of subtraction will find this easier, and in reading the synthetic rather than the analytic method is helpful.

Diseases, particularly those producing strong toxins in the body, are at the back of many abnormalities and school difficulties may often be due to absence through illness at the very time when mental habits are being fixed.

Intelligence tests are almost essential in any treatment.

Stammering is infectious and more readily cured before the age of 12 than after. Incorrect breathing is an important cause. The complaint is due to emotional causes. The emotions should not be intensified, the defect should be avoided and the patient should not be hurried but accorded patience and sympathy.

Psycho-analysis is not used in the Glasgow clinic; it takes too long and is not scientific but a matter of faith.

DR. E. EYBERS :

Drew attention to the existence of a psycho-educational clinic at Bloemfontein which appeared to be carrying on work very similar to the educational clinic to which Dr. Boyd had referred in his address, and from very much the same point of view.

GUIDANCE AND SELECTION

PROFESSOR PIERRE BOVET

The problem confronting the vocational adviser is two-fold: there is first the problem of determining the abilities required for a particular vocation, and secondly the problem of determining the abilities present in the child. Parsons who gave the first impulse to vocational guidance regarded it as an educational problem, and other early workers in the same field looked at it from the same point of view.

Vocational guidance, as we know it to-day, is derived from three different sources, namely the school, industry and the trade union, and the physiological and psychological laboratory. On the side of method there has been a great advance in dealing with the two main problems of vocational guidance. Parsons, for example, used the questionnaire method in trying to discover what abilities were required for a particular vocation, while to-day use is made of careful observation, experiment, and photographic and cinematographic records. There has been a similar advance on the side of determining the abilities of the child. In addition to the questionnaire and the reports of parents and teachers tests of various kinds are used since their results are more reliable. The observations of the teacher can be controlled and recorded in a systematic way by specially prepared record cards, which provide for observations of the behaviour of the child not merely in the classroom but in the playground and in the laboratory or workshop as well. Character and temperamental tests along the lines of Dr. Boyd's association test could also yield valuable results. At Geneva the Rohrschach test is used for this purpose.

The tests might reveal cases of children with a high intelligence quotient and a low school performance. Where such a discrepancy exists between the two, there is some unconscious inhibition which prevents the child from using his powers. We must try to discover and remove the difficulty, and the problem then becomes one of educational guidance. When we have measured the abilities of the child we can never rely completely on the results, since the existence of conflict in the child's personality may make it impossible for him to make full use of his abilities as revealed by the tests.

In vocational guidance those who give advice are often faced with questions of professional ethics. For example, there may be a wide divergence between the child's ambitions or tastes and its actual abilities. In such a case we are faced with the question of deciding whether we should advise the child to abandon the occupation for which it has not sufficient ability, however strong its interest may be. The question is not always easy to decide, since allowance must be made for what Adler has called the "mechanism of compensation". If the inward urge is strong enough, the child may ultimately reach a high level, and his very inferiority may lead to the development of superior powers. Again, the question may arise of deciding between the wishes of the child's parents and the abilities of the child. The parent may be over-ambitious for the sake of the child and anxious that it should enter an occupation for which it has not sufficient ability. On the other hand, the parents may try to prevent the child from flying too high and wish it to enter an occupation, such as its father's trade, when it may have sufficient ability for a much higher occupation. But in all such questions

the vocational adviser should take the educational point of view: that is the child as a whole must be the first consideration.

DISCUSSION

PROFESSOR BOVET (*in reply to a question*):—

Stated that an enquiry was now proceeding in Switzerland under the direction of the Ministry of Labour to find an answer to the question of age. He would say that the age for vocational guidance is the age when the child has settled down emotionally, probably around 16.

MR. KILGOUR made the point that the validity and reliability of tests of special ability were probably not very great until the ages of 14 or 15.

PROF. BOVET stated that the quality or intensity was not enough, for the origin of the interest should be investigated, and the interest evaluated in the light of its origin. Aptitude and attitude and personality were decisive in professions. In trades physical abilities played a great part. But interest, also, should always be taken into account.

MR. LOWE said that in South Africa the position was that there were not enough jobs to go round, and that the first problem under the circumstances was to get a job irrespective of ability. In that country emphasis was being laid on the trade and not on education to provide vocational guidance. Under the Apprenticeship Act the testing out of a lad was done under trade conditions by the employer to see how the lad faced up to the job.

PROF. BOVET replied that it was necessary to make a distinction between vocational guidance and vocational selection. In selection—the employer's requirements were known and the object was to get the best boy for the job: in guidance—the boy was guided to the job for which he was best suited. The Railways were in a favourable position to select their employees, for like other big businesses they could make use of both selection and guidance. If a boy were unsuited for one job, he could be fitted into some other job for which he was more suited. He personally believed in consulting experts, and results of testing in Germany had shown conclusively that the best results had been obtained by the use of scientific methods of guidance and selection. In one investigation, for example, 95% of boys tested and given advice in one group were successful, in another group 85% of those not tested had been successful, while in a third group, namely of those who had disregarded advice, only 77% had been successful. The only standard was whether the boys had remained in the jobs in which they were placed, whether they were satisfied, and whether the employers were satisfied. There was no special test or standard, and these criteria were the best that could be employed under the circumstances.

DR. I. D. MACCRONE, (*Chairman*), in bringing the discussion to a close, stated that it was clear that there were certain points on which there appeared to be general agreement. In the first place, vocational guidance should be approached from the educational point of view. In a boy's career the choice of an occupation was a crucial step, and it was for the school or the educational system to make some provision for assisting the boy at this stage. In the second place, vocational guidance was not to be conducted in a watertight compartment. It was not a job merely for the expert, nor was the mechanical application of tests equivalent to vocational guidance. It was a co-operative enterprise in which the parent, the teacher, the Juvenile Affairs Board, and the boy himself should all take part under the supervision of the expert. It was only by combining the contributions of all possible sources that vocational guidance could be made a success.

CHAPTER XII.

TEACHER TRAINING

PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

SIR JOHN ADAMSON

The training of the teacher will depend on the view we take of his function, and this in turn on what we take to be the essence of education. To deal with these three topics in the reverse order :—

I. THE ESSENCE OF EDUCATION.

This has been stated in various ways, but the Fellowship has adopted as basic the biological conception of the adaptation of individual and environment. This I believe to be fundamental and, if we add to the scientific idea of adaptation the philosophical idea of value, comprehensive and final. For the teacher—it puts him on a really professional footing, gives him a unifying principle, which can link together and pervade all the details of the day's work, and enables him to look beyond means and machinery, such as syllabuses and examinations, to the ultimate end they serve. We can call this end, which is of course also a criterion, *The Idealisation of Life*.

(1) *The Elements of Adaptation*. At first sight it seems as if two separate discontinuous things or factors, the individual and the environment, were involved, but the two are in continuity with each other, inter-dependent, complementary. I am thinking of mental unity, and the bond may be compared for closeness with that existing between physical life and the atmosphere. Just as we breathe in air, so we take in current ideas. When we talk of a boy living in a mechanical age, we mean that his mental outfit will be affected. He will come to think of road locomotion for example in terms of petrol and a steering wheel, whereas his predecessor by two generations thought in terms of horses and reins. "I am a part of all that I have met" sang Tennyson. The scientist says, more prosily but more explicitly, "The individual and the environment are complementary ideas."

(2) *The Individual*. Individuality implies or connotes at least three things ; uniqueness, radiation, and the power to discern values. Uniqueness comes by three avenues :—heredity, the selective property of attention, and relativity. By relativity I mean merely that each of us has, potentially at all events, his own peculiar perspective of his environment just as each of us makes his own rainbow. By radiation, I mean that just as a star is self-radiant physical energy, so a human being is self-radiant spiritual energy. This statement might be challenged. John Dewey reduced the individual to a "channel" for universal mind, and obviously a channel is not self-radiant, but perhaps he would reconsider that word now in the light of the hormic radiant view of mind which modern psychology has given us. The third quality is the most significant, being perhaps the final differentiation of man. As the creator and critic of values he is *sui generis*. The individual man turns out to be not merely the last word in evolution but the first word in evaluation.

(3) *Environment.* These three qualities of individuality tell us what we can count on when our pupil sets out on the task of adaptation or education. His environment will reveal what the field of adaptation or education is. It is wide and he can only develop contacts with bits of it. It embraces our spiritual inheritance, the mental world or atmosphere into which we are born—no less indeed than the content of western civilisation. For our educational guidance we can single out three aspects of it; first—achievement in art, literature, and science, secondly—political institutions, and thirdly—the economic order. Adaptation to the first points to the cultural aim of education, to the second to the civic aim, and to the third to the vocational aim. It will be partial adaptation only of course, the extent and depth of it depending on native ability and opportunity. But we can safely go so far as to say that every grade and form of education should strive to make the individual a sharer of and a contributor to the cultural, civic, and economic life which the environment presents. So that the teacher must be alert to three sides or aspects of life as well as to three facets of individuality.

(4) *The Process of Adaptation.* In this there must first be for the pupil a real issue. He must face what is for him a fact, not a shadow, not just words on the page of a book for example. As your own eyes wander over the columns of the morning paper, it may be the share-market, or Fusion, or the Test Match, which arrests them, but it will hardly be all three. So with the pupil. There won't be a real process of adaptation if the objective fact leaves him cold. There must be interest, a real urge from within.

Secondly there must be a struggle. Marcus Aurelius said that life was wrestling not dancing, and we may for our purpose borrow and re-shape his dictum. Adaptation or education is wrestling not listening: that is what is behind such reforms as the Project Method and the Dalton Plan. Ultimately all education is self-education through the agency of the pupil's own radio-activity and with the result that his own unique brand is put on the fact or process. It need not be only an individual struggle; indeed corporate or teamwork is vital; but the individual must pull his weight. It may be mainly with manual tools in the manual-training room or the school garden, mainly with imaginative tools in the library, or with all three in the science laboratory. But there must be a constructive effort.

Thirdly, value must have been deposited like gold from the cyanide tanks. It need not be overt and explicit, it will indeed remain for the most part latent and implicit. But it must be there, emerging from objective fact and becoming part of subjective tissue.

There are different kinds of value and it is deposited from many kinds of wrestling. I remember once noticing the obviously aesthetic delight of six-year-olds dancing to Mendelssohn's Spring Song. There is moral as well as physical value emergent from a rugby scrum or a cadet movement. There is moral and intellectual value in a bit of corporate research. There is negative moral value in the stroke of Brutus' dagger. And there are differences of grade of value. The significance of a date in history is a good illustration. Thus 1652 might have the halo of Jan van Riebeck's romance for a ten-year-old South African and arouse a glow of patriotic pride in a twelve-year-old. It might bring an intellectual thrill to the matriculation student, realising for the first time the spread of European civilisation, and to a University student it might be the point of departure for reflection on the vast problem of the contact of White and Coloured races. We must realise that

until a glow of value has been kindled we have not got the whole essence of education ; and I hope even this very summary account justifies my description of it as the Idealisation of Life.

II. THE FUNCTION OF THE TEACHER may be considered from four angles :—

(1) *The Guardian of Individuality.* The centre of gravity has shifted from the teacher's desk to the pupil's. That is one of the basic principles of the Fellowship. It is a great revolution, Copernican in magnitude. It means substituting, within the limits of what is practicable and sane, radiation for mere reflection, initiative for mere response, freedom for mere acceptance of dogmatism. The limitations are as important as the principle, but they can be observed and yet leave a wide field for individuality. The teacher should be its guardian.

There is a real danger in the world outside the school. News is, in the words of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, drenched with views, and, we may add, coloured by head-lines. Many films and modern novels reduce thousands to a common denominator of instincts and crude emotions, democracy is in danger, and industry often reduces men from ends to means. There is a real and widespread danger of the swamping of individuality. Yet it is man's birthright and the only guarantee of a healthy and progressive environment. A free translation of the words of a great German educationist, Eduard Spranger, puts the last point explicitly :—

“The spiritual environment has its roots in the experience and contributions of individuals, has sprung from them, and through them must be for ever renewing its vitality.”

Leaving on one side the question of divine origin or inspiration, which is a matter for each person to decide for himself, we have to reject then the idea of a super-individual or super-human origin for, say, Plato's Ideas, or Hegel's *Weltgeist* or World-spirit.

So that we must nail down individuality and make it at once our point of departure and our terminus. That is not a-social. Individuality gladly and naturally expresses itself in contribution and service. “Self for Service”, the moral caption which I heard an Admiral apply to the epic of Zeebrugge, is inspiring but only a half-truth ; the other half is “Service for Self”. The teacher is then the Guardian of Individuality.

(2) *The Student of environmental and, particularly, Social and Economic conditions.* The teacher must be keenly alert to the social milieu and to the probable or known economic future of his pupils, who are, however, under his direct care for but some five hours a day. The extra-mural influences are likely to be more powerful than the intra-mural. Home conditions, parents, food, clothing, housing, street or field companionships, facilities for locomotion, facilities for creation, all the factors of social hygiene, are relative and complementary to the intra-mural work. Then we have in South Africa the profoundly important and difficult problem of race contacts of European races with one another and with non-Europeans. It will be well if the teacher can envisage these questions with the trained eye and intellect of one who has taken a course in social science.

The economic environment raises the question of the vocational aspect of education. I hold strongly that all education should be deliberately vocational at long or short range. In urban districts the short-range work is done in special technical institutions. At a longer range the primary schools should develop the use of manual and

intellectual tools, and the cultural secondary school will be all the better for impinging at as many points as possible on future vocations. In rural districts, where such differentiation is not possible, the first objective of all schools should be to focus and shape adaptation so that pupils may become efficient, constructive, and happy, under the conditions of rural life.

(3) *The Guide to Culture.* In the third place the teacher should be an expert guide to some cultural aspects of the environment. In ordinary educational terms he should be a capable exponent of certain subjects of the curriculum; I prefer adaptation terms, because the ultimate object is to get beyond subjects to the realities they mediate, in a word, to life itself. Subjects may well be thought of as avenues, or windows, or, in the metaphor of this sub-head, as guide books.

But we should be disappointed in a tourist-guide who remained in the motor bus, talked architecture, and exhibited photographs, and never conducted his patrons over the cathedral. So the teacher's function, from the angle we are now considering, is to invade reality. If history is his subject, for example, he should be an exponent of the Croce dictum that all history is contemporary history, which I take to mean that its present relevance, at long or short range, is what makes a topic worth while. So the teacher of science should get beyond the text-book and the laboratory to nature. In a word, all teaching should impinge on what Spranger called "objective mind". I agree with Professor Boyd that the teacher should look outwards, should be extravert rather than introvert. I would add that he should look forward rather than backward, should have an eye to betterment rather than tradition, be progressive rather than conservative, be, in Sir Percy Nunn's words, *hormic* rather than *mnemic*.

(4) *Prospector, Organiser, and Expert Valuer.* The guide function must be developed in a definite way, especially as it has to fuse with the individuality function. Clearly it is not leading by the hand. Rather is it prospecting for likely plots which the individual can explore. There is one difficulty arising from the fact that the field has often been fenced by departmental syllabuses or examination requirements. It is easy to overrate it. Education authorities draw on a wide experience. The teacher should be content if he has free prospecting rights within the given field. What is essential is that he should be expert at organising details of research. That is necessary for any plan, Dalton or other, which starts from the individual and ends with individuality.

Another difficulty is more serious. In the urban primary schools generally, and in the secondary schools to some extent, the class form or set, and not the individual, is the unit of organisation. Well, the individual will always be a member of a group when he faces life. That need not nullify individuality of contribution. Individuality behind, but constitutive of, a group is not unlike electrons behind the atom. Daily routine is with the group and the atom, but the essential forces are respectively individuality and the electrons. Moreover it is quite a simple bit of organisation to get behind the class to sections and so nearer to the individual. In our country schools indeed the unit of organisation must for many purposes, as a matter of fact and very fortunate fact, be a small group or a single individual.

The culminating quality, however, is the assaying and midwifery of values. In section I (4) above I suggested that not till there had been a deposition of value had the essence of education been reached. There it was objective value which I had in mind. But adaptation or education means the transformation of this into subjective value. Here the teacher

like the prospector must be a thoroughgoing optimist. He must believe that this transformation can take place in material apparently the most refractory. I suggest as a working conception of the individual a two-storey structure, with a basement of biological forces—instincts and emotions, urges and aversions—and an upper storey ready for values to be furnished by sublimation from the contents of the basement below. Psychological study will elaborate it, but it is a useful basic conception. If, and in proportion as, the furnishing proceeds, the individual will move towards that relatively stable equilibrium of values which constitutes character.

III. THE TRAINING OF THE TEACHER.

(1) *A University function.* I have outlined a responsible office immediately related to individual and community welfare. Nor do I think I have taken too lofty a view, not at all events for this country in which the white man's civilisation, on the one hand, must be kept at a high level and, on the other, must develop a spirit of magnanimity, sympathy, and active help in regard to the struggle of the Native and the Coloured for enlightenment and progress. Add now the complicated nature of the essence of education—a blend of biological and value factors—as outlined above, and it seems to me impossible to avoid the conclusion that *there is no institution which can adequately train men and women for this profession save one of University rank.* The momentous task should be transferred in its entirety to a Faculty of Education equal in status to, say, the Faculties of Medicine and Agriculture. Indeed, looked at squarely, it seems absurd to have to argue that mind—a spirit—should receive the same expert attention as the body and organic life of the veld.

A word of two of elaboration may be added. The University is the only place where the treatment of cultural subjects, such as literature, history, and science, is carried to a high level in an atmosphere of academic freedom, where hypotheses are severely scrutinised and tried out, and where value and significance are diagnosed and weighed. There too the essential studies of psychology and sociology have their home. There again—and this is, in my view, decisive—the future teacher as a student, which he must be and must remain to the end of his career, can jostle with his peers.

Here I wish to express strong dissent from the view put forward by Principal John Murray in Lord Eustace Percy's 1932 Yearbook (pages 415, 416.) He wrote: "It is better for these teachers to be taught for three or four years in the Universities than for two years in the Training Colleges. But both courses ought to be viewed in effect as two species of the same genus, and they might be brought with advantage under one control. . . . The withdrawal of a certain deadweight of teachers would rehabilitate the Arts Faculty in a measure, and their transfer to the professional Faculty of Education, and a *special Degree* (*italics mine*), would have the merits at least of realism". If this means the kraaling of future teachers, it would have the demerits of narrowness. Nor are they a deadweight but a living inspiration, and they require no special Degree. For their cultural studies they need the free academic atmosphere of the arts and sciences. Nor do I think the University course and the Training-College courses ought to be regarded as two species of the same genus. They are, in my view, essential and complementary elements of the whole training. The Training-College element ought to be elevated to the rank of a Demonstration and Research

Department in the Faculty of Education, directly parallel with hospital work for medical students and farm experimental-station work for agricultural students.

With its renaissance might go a re-baptism. The term "Normal College" belongs to an age we have left behind. There are no longer fixed and rigid norms, either for instruction or discipline. And *Training College* has but use and wont behind it. I suggest "Institute of Education", which has dignity and would suit the wider function proposed. Besides being the home of research and demonstration it should be a liaison institution between the faculties of arts, science, commerce, and agriculture, and the schools, and a rendezvous for refresher courses. Medicine and Education are alike in that the practitioner must be constantly in contact with new ideas and developments.

(2) *Academic Training.* This should comprise a complete Degree course up to the B.A. or B.Sc. level for the ordinary teacher, and up to the M.A. or M.Sc. level for the specialist in the subject he proposes to be responsible for. The ordinary teacher should be given a choice of subjects within the four corners of the primary and secondary curriculum in accordance with his bent and interests. At least a two-year course in psychology and a two-year course in sociology should be compulsory for all.

(3) *Professional training.* This should comprise at least :—

(a) the ideals and principles of adaptation. (I have suggested some of the implications in sections I and II, but the professional staff would of course choose their own line of approach);

(b) Applied, i.e. Educational, Psychology;

(c) the home system of educational organisation in comparison with some other contemporary system;

(d) an outline of the History of Education with the contributions of some two or three outstanding educational reformers, e.g. Plato, Rousseau, and Froebel;

(e) speech training in both official languages;

(f) training in the art of pictorial illustration;

(g) participation in demonstration and research work;

(h) visits to schools.

(4) *Distribution of Time.* The ordinary academic course would extend over three years. As to the vexed question whether any professional work is to be included in these years, I have come to the following conclusions :—

(a) That during each of these three years in the University vacations the students should be attached to selected schools and selected teachers for not less than six weeks. This, with the six weeks which I should propose for the professional year, would mean more than half a school-year's experience;

(b) That during each week of the three years he should attend one demonstration at the Institute;

(c) The second year's course in psychology and the second year's course in sociology should include as compulsory the taking part in a survey which has a direct educational bearing.

If this part of the training were done during the three academic years—and I think it would be a stimulus, not a hindrance—the strictly professional work could be got over in a year.

The total time spent in training would thus be four years as against the three-year course proposed for Transvaal students.

The student who only decides on teaching as a profession after his Degree course is completed should be discouraged. He should only be

admitted if his Degree course has included subjects of the primary and secondary curriculum together with psychology and sociology. He should be required to give eighteen months instead of twelve to the professional course in order to accumulate six months' school experience and to satisfy requirement (a) above.

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE TRAINING (NORMAL) COLLEGE

PROFESSOR JOHN MURRAY

A school stands or falls by its Staff. It is all-important, therefore, to ensure a supply of teachers who shall be adequate in academic attainments, in teaching technique, and in personality. The true teacher, moreover, will not lose sight of his own sociological value. The school is a powerful focus: it is a gathering-ground of families, it reflects the economic background and, while it imparts a tradition, it also trains innovative forces in the imagination and the intelligence of pupils. And, up to a point of course, it holds the future of these pupils in its hands. The teacher, plainly, must be informed, alert, and versatile. If education is in essence the task of stirring and practising the imaginative powers of children, the educator must himself have a high degree of humane insight and imaginative sympathy.

The preparation of this paragon can hardly be but arduous and lengthy, and the cost will be considerable, whether it falls on the aspirant or on the State. Teaching being a mission as well as a livelihood, the first requisite is to sift the aspirants. Personal suitability is the crux rather than the motive for entry: the work makes or re-makes the worker, provided he has the key potentialities. The present system neglects the sieve. It insists on early choice of the teaching profession, and it offers a heavy bribe. To be accepted for training, with immediate prospects of post, salary, and early pension, is to be given more security than any young person has a right to. Under such treatment enterprise and adventure languish, and even more the missionary spirit.

In England the teachers come largely from seminaries, the two-year Training Colleges. The very circumstances of these institutions enforce on them somewhat severe methods of *ad hoc* teaching and, in bad cases, a hardened drill that is contrary to the ideals of teaching. Within the appointed period of two years the academic and the professional work can hardly be carried through in other or better ways than are now in use. The drill of the Training College repeats itself in the drilled class-room. So long as drill rather than imagination rules in the Training College, so long will it rule in the school.

The Training Colleges, moreover, segregate the teachers from the other professions and from the other grades of their own profession. Segregate any class in the impressionable years under a strict programme of *ad hoc* training done against time, and they are likely to remain isolated for life from other classes. Segregation disqualifies the teacher for the rôle of intermediary and reconciler in the community which his work imposes on him. Those intense and searching influences working in a narrow and undiversified milieu handicap him heavily. The closely controlled and programmed social life of English Training Colleges might suit youthful inmates of boarding-schools, but hardly young men and women who have passed beyond that stage. I do not say that under this pressure they repine or revolt. I wish they did. But the system is blame-worthy.

The social and economic inbreeding of this training, with its attendant prejudices, has cost England dear. Primary education, for example, has had a steady urban bias. The interests, the crafts, the culture, the lore, of the countryside have had too little attention. The country schools have been full of treason, of teachers who are townees by birth or taste or training or all three, who have neither the sympathy nor the knowledge for the countryside, who are waiting for a move to a town. And yet the country schools, if they had the right Staffs, the right schemes of teaching, the right equipment for counteracting distance and isolation, might help powerfully in the rehabilitation of rural life.

The other avenue to teaching—the Universities—has telling advantages of various sorts. The period of Degree study is longer than the combined academic and professional programme of the Training Colleges, and is followed by the professional year. In spirit and method University study is considerably in advance, as a rule, of the secondary schools. The work gains, too, in momentum by the greater numbers: and the diversity of types, studies, and objectives is an all-round stimulus. On the other hand the Universities may fairly be accused of a too loose control. The future teachers, provided they conform to curriculum regulations which were not framed with a view to teaching, may choose subjects as they please—I am speaking of England—and in whatever combination or order. Most of the Universities, again, make little or no provision for residence and take no responsibility of a personal sort for students. Many graduates pass out as raw as they entered and totally unfitted to face the critical eyes and ears of the average class-room. It may be answered that the Universities do not profess to produce teachers, and in general are concerned solely with higher instruction. There are Universities so favoured by their conditions, i.e., by the sources from which they draw their students, that they may be dispensed from concerning themselves with the social graces and the minor morals. But most Universities are less happily circumstanced and might well adopt the motto of an ancient Oxford College "*Manners makyth Man*".

The lines on which the training of teachers ought to advance are clear. The University has the advantage in the longer period, in the freer range of interest, in study methods and in social variety, while the Training College has it in definiteness of aim, in social and personal influence by virtue of the residential system, and, generally speaking, in "control", i.e. in consciousness of the profession and its responsibilities. Both groups of institutions have so much to contribute in raising the standards of the profession, that neither need hesitate to co-operate with the other or to face co-operation of a very intimate kind. The paramount interest, after all, is that of the children in the schools. Their need is for well-instructed teachers whose personalities in the broadest sense made them worth the instruction. It will take the fullest efforts of the two groups, working closely together, to supply this need.

THE FOUR-YEAR INTEGRATED COURSE OF UNIVERSITY TRAINING

DR. WILLIAM BOYD

Now that the educational changes set in train by the War are slowing down, it is becoming evident that not since the Reformation has there been such a large measure of agreement on the fundamental principles of education as there is now. In spite of national differences we are

all of us in some degree "new" educators, and the dominant outlook is what may be called democratic, in that most of us wish to extend adequate scholastic privileges to every section of the community, and to connect up primary, secondary, and University education in an integral system.

This change in view has only partially affected the practice of education. Apart from anything else the economic plight of the nations of the world has stood in the way of progress in the conversion of ideals into realities. But the difficulties in the way, we may hope, are not eternal, and forward-looking educators of all lands may profitably engage in a comprehensive interchange of opinions in the faith that one day not too remote the check on progress will be removed. The subsequent reconstruction will be all the easier to effect if, in the meantime, we have worked out our programmes in view of the world's experience and needs.

One of the larger educational questions likely to be illuminated by international discussion is the education and training of teachers in democratic countries. In the present address I wish to approach this question from the side of curriculum. It is a frankly idealistic approach, in that in the first instance it is not greatly concerned with present practice or with present obstacles in the path of reform. Ignoring the existing situation in some countries, it takes for granted that there will ultimately in all countries be forthcoming a sufficient number of candidates for training as teachers who have had a full secondary education and are able to spend *at least four years on a joint course of cultural and professional training*. For this kind of discussion it is better to forget that there are countries which can only get enough teachers to man their schools by limiting training to a year beyond the secondary school. It is no more possible to provide adequate training for teaching on a professional level under these conditions than to cram the medical training of a modern physician into a single year.

It is idealistic, again, in making the assumption that all grades and kinds of teachers in a democratic school system should form a single body with a groundwork of common training as teachers. Not infrequently in the past an undue emphasis has been laid on the training of a supervisory group of teachers by way of compensation for the defective equipment of the ordinary teachers controlled by this supervisory group. The guiding idea being followed here is that, with a worthy basic education and training for all teachers, the extra training required for supervisory duties by those who have justified their promotion by their conduct in the ranks will be easily provided. With regard to the difference between primary and secondary teachers, which has often in the past prevented the unification of the teaching profession, a similar principle applies. There are bound to be such differences, not only because the practice of teaching varies with the pupil's stage of development, but because differences of subject matter at any stage call for different content studies and different techniques. That, however, should not involve the segregation of teachers into groups on the basis of specialised interests. Not only have all teachers an interest in the whole business of education, but they have in the common principles and techniques of their craft a broad meeting ground in the midst of their diversities. Any proper scheme of teacher training must take account of this duty in diversity in the organisation of the curricula of the different groups of teachers.

Actually the basis of this unity is to be found in the demands of the common life of men and women. When the students in training become

teachers, their task, in spite of time-table arrangements, *will not really be the teaching of particular subjects but the helping of boys and girls to fit themselves into the scheme of social life* as distinctive worth-while persons who share the common life at the same time as they make the special contributions to it for which they have fitted themselves. The teachers give this help, because they themselves are the persons they are, with their own kind of personality and character (the outcome of their cultural experiences), with their own kind of knowledges and skills (the outcome of their special studies), and with their own teaching powers and abilities (the outcome of their training and experience as teachers). Whether we think of the teacher's function as the direction of developing personalities or as the forming of members of the community, we have to think of these three aspects of his own personality as coming together in the performance of his task.

It follows from this view of the teacher's work that his own training, culture, specialised abilities, and professional techniques must form a unity if he is to become the kind of person who can help young folks to become integrated persons. Teaching is not the application of certain general devices to the imparting of instruction in any kind of subject matter. Matter and method of instruction act and interact on each other. Nor should the teacher's personality be an atmosphere of unvarying composition in which his professional tasks are carried through. Rather it should be undergoing constant modifications as it influences, and is influenced by, what he teaches, how he teaches, and most important of all, the pupils he teaches.

There should not, therefore, be three separate trainings for the young teacher—one to give him culture, another to provide him with the content for the lessons he is to teach, and another bearing on the job of teaching. There will be subjects of study during the period of his apprenticeship with the emphasis on one or another of these aspects, but always *the sense of a living whole* must be present to integrate the various contributory studies. That implies a single institution in which most of the teacher's preparation is made with a vitalising purpose and tradition and an ordered programme of studies.

The ideal training suggested by these considerations, it will be seen, is not unlike what is actually realised in present-day medical training, and it may help to clarify thought on the subject of pedagogical education to attempt the construction of a scheme of teacher training on the analogy of the medical scheme.

We may begin by considering the grouping and sequence of studies in the *basic medical curriculum* as it has been worked out in Great Britain.

- A. *Studies providing a General Groundwork* : Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology.
- B. *Studies providing a special groundwork* : Anatomy, Physiology.
- C. *Instrumental studies* : Pathology, Materia Medica.
- D. *Practical studies* : Medicine, Surgery, Midwifery.

Concurrent with these studies throughout the course, and to some extent linked up with them, are hospital practice and special courses in this, that, or the other branch of medicine.

Suppose now we attempt to construct a *pedagogical curriculum* on parallel lines, we get a scheme somewhat as follows :

- A. *General Groundwork* : Biology, Psychology, Ethics, Sociology.
- B. *Special Groundwork* : The Hygiene, Psychology, and Sociology, of childhood and youth ; the Psychology of the Learning Process ; the Principles of Education, considered comparatively, historically, and philosophically.

- C. *Instrumental Studies*: The Psychology of the School Subjects in relation to the work of school and college; Educational Measurements (including mental and scholastic tests).
- D. *Practical Studies*: Educational Administration; Educational Methods. And concurrent with these studies throughout the course will be a sustained experience of practice teaching and of measurement work.

Having found a logically linked curriculum for the training of teachers similar to the medical curriculum, it is time to call a halt and ask if this is really what we want. The answer, I think, must register doubt. The plan has some obvious advantages over most existing plans, in so far as it brings together in a comprehensive orderly scheme both principles and practical applications. It assumes a co-ordination of general studies and of studies bearing on the work of the school in a way that is impossible when the cultural and the professional preparations of the teacher are separated; and that is as it should be. Whatever else we have or do not have in our training scheme, we want just such studies as these which have been listed, and we want this co-ordination. But considered as a complete curriculum for students in training for teaching with no more than a secondary education it certainly seems to fall short. Where, it will be asked, are the studies which enrich the student with a general culture: language, literature, philosophy, the sciences, and all the other subjects pursued in the liberal arts college? And where are the content studies—studies like history, mathematics, gymnastics, music, which the teacher who is to teach them must have carried to a much higher level than that reached in the secondary school? Plainly a teacher training curriculum limited to the educational sciences and techniques is insufficient.

What is the alternative? Must we fall back on a general course like that qualifying for the Bachelor's Degree in Arts or Science, and follow that with a professional source in pedagogy, even if that means an imperfect co-ordination of the general and the particular interests? That was a possible plan when we only trained the upper ranks of the teaching profession; but if every teacher is to receive an adequate practical training, philosophically and scientifically grounded, the years at our disposal are definitely limited, and the attempt to put every teacher through a preliminary cultural course on the traditional lines would mean the sacrifice of urgently needed professional training. And, as the precedent of the medical course suggests, it is not necessary.

We want our teachers to be cultured people, but culture is not a product of any particular studies. If the general studies relating to the teaching business, and the content studies for which room must be found inside or alongside the pedagogical studies, are treated in a big and generous way, they cannot but bring culture with them. *The essence of culture on the intellectual side is the power to see life connectedly and whole.* The study of educational practice by scientific procedures, with the principles of biology, psychology, and sociology for background, should surely give this synoptic view, not only for education but for life. But what about the development of the power to appreciate fine things which the literary and artistic studies are commonly assumed to give? Will this not be wanting in the case of teachers whose special vocation is not with the literary and artistic studies, but (say) with the scientific branches? Admittedly there is risk of defect here, and yet there need not be. Craftsmanship enters into all school work in some measure for both teacher and pupil, and where there is a craft there is an opportunity for the cultivation of fineness. If more than that be necessary,

the lack of training in appreciations might be met by stressing the vernacular language and literature as fundamental concerns to be included in all courses because they underlie all teaching.

It is perhaps more difficult to fit the content studies into an integrated scheme. It is not usually desirable that what the teacher-to-be learns of a subject French or mathematics should be narrowed down to the standards of class-room requirements. To see the materials of instruction in their wider relations he is better not to concern himself much, if at all, with school needs when he is engaged in his own study of them. A time will come when he must bring his special knowledge into pedagogical perspective and re-orientate it with a view to teaching method and the organisation of studies, but that should come late rather than soon. This is perhaps an argument for the more important of the content studies not being included in the work of a training institution but being pursued elsewhere either before or contemporaneously with the pedagogical disciplines. Even so, they must in the end be brought into the complete scheme and seen as parts in the whole task of making fine, well-adjusted, developing personality.

The relative emphasis on the different elements in the studies of the teacher in training will vary from student to student, and from teaching situation to teaching situation, and they will link up with each other in ways that may at times make it impossible to say into which particular division this or that activity is to be regarded as falling. Premising this variation and this overlapping, the following diagram may be submitted as suggesting broadly the proper incidence of these elements in an ordered scheme.

SCHEME FOR AN INTEGRATED CURRICULUM IN A FOUR YEARS' COURSE OF
TEACHER-TRAINING UNDER UNIVERSITY AUSPICES (SUBMITTED BY
DR. BOYD.)

Orientation Courses in				
First Year	Social Studies, and { Language and Literature. Science and Mathematics. Arts and Crafts.			
Second Year	School Practice	Theory of Curriculum. Principles of Methods.	History of Education. Sociology.	Specialisation in one of the four First Year Groups of Studies.
Third Year	Testing and Guidance.	Child Study. Mental Hygiene.	Physiology. Psychology.	
Fourth Year		Comparative Education Administration.	Educational Psychology. Philosophy of Education.	Philosophy.
Fifth Year	Super-Specialisation in one group of studies for Secondary Teaching.			

DISCUSSION

Supplementary points by the speaker (DR. BOYD): In the matter of selection of candidates for the teaching profession, most students from High Schools could be made successful teachers by careful training, but introverted persons who are always thinking about themselves, and those who have no love for children, should be excluded.

The essential consideration is possibility as a sound class-room teacher. Inspectors and supervisors should be chosen from those who have worked their way through from the bottom of the ladder.

Other guides will be (a) previous academic record as an indication of ability and industry, (b) an intelligence test, (c) personality (the most difficult in the absence of reliable tests or reliability of school reports).

The old training was too narrow and tended to keep the teacher in a groove. The minimum course should be of four, or better five, years' duration. This could be done in three years spent at a University, and at least one in an educational faculty or professional institution to obtain the technique of class management. This is, however, not an ideal arrangement. The four-year integrated course is better. The main point is, however, that it takes long to train a teacher adequately. If it takes 5-8 years to train a doctor, why should it take less in the case of a teacher? The University course should awaken the mind and give breadth of vision and wealth of interest to keep it awake. The real mental stimulus does not come from lectures but from contact with fellow-students and discussions of aspects of life and knowledge. . . .

For equipment there must be (a) craftsmanship in techniques of class management, and ability to make educational measurements and conduct vocational guidance tests, which should not be left to specialists. (b) Special knowledge—the minimum being the amount enabling one to teach every subject in the primary curriculum, as a guarantee of fitness to associate with children. The learning a week ahead of the class might have the advantage of a greater appreciation of the difficulties of the pupil. (c) A knowledge of the theoretical background of the craft—of the big principles, the ideals, and the science of education. (d) Personal culture—a wealth of interests of a jack-of-all-trades yet a master not only of one but of two or three—a knowledge of the part the teacher plays in the wider scheme of life—a good knowledge of physiology, psychology, and above all sociology. Secondary schools must have specialists, but these in their first year of training should not specialise but be grounded in many subjects. . . .

In America the men at the top are considered most important and it is assumed that as a result subordinates would be satisfactory. In Scotland the system is reversed. . . .

The drill-sergeant is not wanted but a very human teacher, who should do his work efficiently without stressing results. . . .

There should be as many men as women in the profession, and the dual control by father and mother which we have in the home should extend to the school under male and female teachers. . . .

The pupil-teacher system, though narrowing, is technically efficient. Neither the two-year course at the Training College nor the University post-graduate one-year course is right. . . .

The University Arts course is too narrow in its neglect of the great social sciences. Freedom and discipline are both good. The latter saves much time—but the Scotch use of the strap is deplorable. Large classes are better than small, and even in these individual guidance is possible. . . .

Idealism in education pays in the long run. Philosophy should come after, not before experience.

The State should leave the work to the University, which would treat all faculties on equal terms. The distinctive State subsidy, (as suggested in a question) is derogatory to the status of the profession. . . .

It is desirable, and certainly not harmful, to appoint graduates to primary posts, but the degree should not be essential.

The serial course is a good one, but there should be a better one. It is not a case of taking two things at one time, but the two should become one, and the saturation in teaching should be for a longer period than one year. The future teacher for whatever type of school should during his training be exposed to the school situation for $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 years at least.

PROFESSOR A. C. S. SCRIMGEOUR said that it was easier to make points of method clear to the academically trained student. Excellent primary teachers had come from the Universities where Faculties were equipped also to give training on the primary level.

MR. A. L. CHARLES was opposed to the integrated four-year course. He was sceptical also as to handing over special method training to University professors whose methods offered an excellent field for enquiry by trained secondary teachers. He would like to see all secondary teachers possess the M.A. (or M.Sc.) degrees. In an integrated course students would tend to concentrate on the degree rather than on the professional side. Unsuitability of degree or personality should debar a candidate from secondary teacher training.

PROFESSOR W. F. GRANT favoured the serial course under which student-teachers first completed their degree work and then took the professional training, provided that during the latter period they should spend a complete term as full-time members of school Staffs. They would miss too much were this attempted in an integrated course.

With reference to the University system it was urged by a speaker that compulsory city environment detached the student from the country. Moreover, teaching could not rank with other professions involving compulsory University courses, under a permissive system.

Another speaker argued that teacher-training being post-matriculation work should be classified as "higher education" and fall under the Union Education Department in South Africa. The training given in the Provincial training schools could not help being incomplete in many ways. The University alone could give organic unity combined with breadth of outlook and purposiveness. There might be distinct Primary and Secondary Teachers' Diplomas for specialists in Primary or Secondary subjects.

TEACHER TRAINING IN THE TRANSVAAL

MR. H. R. RAIKES

Principal Raikes stated that the Witwatersrand University authorities took the standpoint that no amount of training could do away with the necessity for first learning the subject to be taught. At one time in

Johannesburg the University (under the Union Government Department of Education) and the Teacher Training College (under the Provincial Department of Education) had co-operated in a scheme whereby the Training College student could obtain a University Degree and a Teaching Diploma in a four-year course, but the Provincial authorities now allowed teachers in training to spend only their first year as full-time students at the University. This did not form a sufficient basis, as in the absence of any considerable amount of "sixth-form", as known in England, or the post-matriculation education of South African schools the corresponding ground had to be covered in the first year at the University.

The University felt that every aspirant teacher, who was fitted to do so, should have the opportunity of first taking a degree. A first-year University Course followed by a two-years Training College Course would still, should the student return to the University, leave him at the beginning of his Degree Course. The interruption would mean that his first-year Course had been largely wasted, and if a young teacher tried to combine his professional duties with part-time University work one or other must suffer.

Hence the University recommended a Degree Course, occupying three years, followed by a one-year or two-year course of professional training. As the student would be attuned to and fully conversant with his subject, the one-year training course should suffice, while during his Degree Course some time would be allowed for certain practical Teacher Training subjects. If possible an extra year would be well worth-while.

The University of the Witwatersrand did not at present train teachers, as it was felt that there was no room for two training institutions in Johannesburg and that there should only be one such institution, providing a joint course as before. This should be controlled by a joint Faculty of Education in which the University for its part would endeavour to ensure representation on the Board not only of University representatives but of teachers of every type, the Inspectorate, and the Provincial Departments.

TEACHER TRAINING IN GERMANY

PROFESSOR GRAF K. VON DÜRKHEIM-MONTMARTIN

In German education there are two classes of schools, the *Volksschule* offering a uniform, and compulsory for all, four-year primary course in preparation for a Certificate Examination at a stage equivalent to Standard VI, or a secondary course, in specialised "Hohere Schule", ending after nine years in the Matriculation, which is the University admission qualification.

High School Teachers are trained solely by the University in a 4.5 years' + 1 year's practice course, while *Volksschule* Teachers used to be trained in the Seminaries—small Teacher Training Colleges of lower than University status.

After the War, to give effect to an old aspiration and give all teachers a higher education of University standard, two choices were open—to connect the training closely with the University, or to institute independent Colleges of equal status. Prussia, adopting the latter, instituted the *Pädagogische Akademien*, a system which will probably become universal.

Under this system a College will have 400 students with 24 teachers. The course will be for two years + one year of practice and, while there are to-day new aims and attitudes, the new College links the training of to-day organically to the experiences and forms of the past.

In the past, on leaving the primary school at the age of 14 years, the would-be teachers spent 3 years in a preparatory school and then entered the Seminary, which had an average roll of 90 in three courses of 30 pupils. The weaknesses lay in the low age of admission and standard of preparation. It was essentially a case of schoolmasters teaching pupils in a continuation of "school work", not of adults co-operating with adults, with the result that knowledge tended to be intellectual—a matter of memory without productive life, and the practical training was external and mechanical.

In this there was little chance to develop the real educator. Instead of being able and ready to make a daily advance both in content and practice he became self-confident and inflexible. In practice the real educator, while keeping a steady aim, should have inventive elasticity in procedure, and in the matter of "contents" he must ever be causing, seeking, asking, ever finding increasing wonders in the world.

With its aim no longer the handing down of set knowledge and abilities with a formal discipline the old system of training had to change, and with the new conception of the development of the child as a whole the scientific attitude of the University standard is necessary. There must be concentration of the best men with practical and scientific experience to conduct a common work of training in well-equipped and favourably situated institutions.

Prussia, however, rejected the University as a place for training. Its education was too academic and individual; its scientific research led to specialisation, whereas the teacher needs more stress on the connected whole; practical exercises and training in art and music have none or only a secondary place; while the scientific character of University investigation tends to independence and loses the link between man and soil so necessary in the teaching of the young.

The Pädagogische Akademien were the first attempts to realise a kind of University Training. They aimed at avoiding mere craftsmanship and claimed a free education of the whole personality, but they lacked the central conception of education and the uniform educational will. Teachers lacked unity and differed as to the primary aims of education, students were divided into parties of all kinds or were individualists. Some desired to educate militant members of classes, others national State citizens, others independent personality. Uniform work was impossible. There was an absence of honesty in defining aims, until the unity of the new faith came to the rescue with the conception of realisation of membership as the end of education, and gave education as its basis a philosophy of real membership in a higher whole.

Theory must be conditioned by practice, which, in turn, if lacking theories is blind. Both must grow together and be really adapted to life. A defect of the Seminary was the contrast between the general knowledge and methodical training, and a wrong scientific attitude in the Akademien treated subjects too much as scientific subjects. Biology left students unmoved by the wonder and richness of life, geography gave them no sense of the geographical reality of their own country. The teacher must himself be moved by the things which he tries to make real in his pupils, and he can only be educated by contents which move himself. Hence to become a good teacher a great faith, an aim which entirely possesses him, is more important than great knowledge

or skilled methods. Without this faith all contents, as being of the brain—not of the heart, are dead and method is barren, whatever the excellence of performances achieved as tested by examinations. And a will to realise the values of the faith leads to invention in method. Hence the change in the initial spirit is reflected in the change in name, the Training Colleges now having become “Hochschulen für Lehrerbildung”.

The student at entrance must have the matriculation certificate with evidence of physical and musical training, and must have served for some time in the “Labour Service Camp”. During the first term he hears a lesson given once a week, and then goes for three or four weeks to help in a country school, where he also learns the place of the teacher as a leader of his community. More lessons follow in the second term, but the third term gives more practical work. For three or four weeks two or three students give the complete lessons in various subjects, and then the student must teach his subject of special study. During this third term, or in the vacation prior to the fourth term, there is practice under the supervision of the Headmaster in country schools and still closer association with rural life. Meanwhile theoretical study consists of lectures, exercises, and addresses from visitors, and excursions and long tours are undertaken for study of the tasks and conditions of education in various spheres of the national life.

Studies are classified into : (a) gymnastics, (b) arts and crafts, with housekeeping for girls, (c) the theoretical subjects dealt with separately in the primary school, (d) the science of education—folklore, pedagogics, psychology, and science of the origin and development of race and personality.

To leave time for private work and reading the student's time is occupied for thirty hours only in each week. In his first term he has weekly lectures for two hours in psychology and two hours in pedagogics, and is placed under a general tutor of his own choice. He also attends lectures on the sciences of the development of races, folklore, and scripture, and throughout his course he takes part in gymnastics, while in his first few terms his artistic craftsmanship and music are improved. He must finally select one chief subject and, after the third term, one subsidiary subject, in each of which he has weekly exercises to give him depth of knowledge and a free judgment in a limited number of subjects. There is no impression of a school-room and no marking of studies. It is the duty of his teacher to try to come to some judgment of his qualities based on his whole personality, and his longer written treatises of each term are judged on the same principle.

DISCUSSION

In the course of discussion the speaker added:—Stress on the study of the people themselves, not only on their language, discourages the old intellectualism.

Only primary teachers are being trained at the Pädagogische Akademien. The Universities must change themselves before they can train primary teachers.

The present state of Germany is so firmly established that the question of change of loyalty under a further revolution need not be considered. . .

Intensive study of one subject makes private study of another subject easier. Actual teaching of the special subject would only operate maybe if the teacher passed on to a High School and become a subject-teacher.

Failing knowledge of, and ability to teach, music, a marked proficiency in some other subject would be demanded.

Payment for work in the "Labour Service Camp" consists of free meals.

Participation in games and sports is part of the training.

Good citizenship in Germany commences where personality becomes real membership of the greater whole, i.e. the nation. Knowledge of national problems is not enough. There must be practical service. Girls also must give proof of social service, though they are not yet organised for this as are the boys.

University students are demanding a change, and work in "work-communities" is replacing formal lectures and exercises.

Real freedom of personalities may differ in different countries, but true development of personality must entail sacrifice of the individual values.

Two separate commissions select some 100-150 candidates for the profession, and personal interviews carry great weight.

Student-Teachers pay only for board and lodging.

Provision is made for weaker or handicapped pupils, but their convenience cannot be considered in the system as a whole.

There is and will be a substratum of discontent, but no attention can be paid to the discontent of those who will not sacrifice their individuality for the service of the whole.

THE NAZI IDEAL IN TEACHER TRAINING

PROF. GRAF VON DÜRKHEIM-MONTMARTIN

At the concluding session Professor Graf von Dürkheim-Montmartin commented upon the unanimity of the Conference as to the essentials of the trained educator: there must be practical training not merely scientific education, broadly-founded personality not merely craftsmanship; he must train attitudes to form character, root the child in values on the principle of wholeness, and prepare him for life—not for examination. He feared, however, that the harmony was theoretical rather than practical, since concrete realisation was very different from the abstraction of thought and there were many possibilities of the contents whereby the same principles might be realised.

"The reality is an order and a disorder of unique situations and wholes, which are embedded in wholes of greater extension or in contrast with each other. One man will keep principles and sacrifice wholes—sacrifice maybe the living whole of a community and its expression out of fidelity to some abstract principle of individualistic justice or truth: another man will abandon abstract principle if its use endangers a living whole of values.

We must face the relation between our principles and the most important real wholes touched by them, and in discussing Teacher Training we must look at the concrete whole in which this is to be applied. Principles are formal; in real life there are contents, hence the question of values must be faced—What are they? Abstractions, such as love, justice, truth, or concrete, parents, community, nation? Is abstract justice in respect to some individual of more value than the whole which is endangered by that individual and which must be delivered from him even though the deliverance may be "unjust" to him? Teachers

have to face conflicts of this kind and must be educated to make clear decisions.

Again, are values to be enjoyed or are they strong masters making life uncomfortable because the criterion of their reality is sacrifice ?

Finally, are the values of the individual or those of the nation to be realised ?

So too, what is a whole ? Yet we should know from what whole we are to set out and at what whole we are to aim. What belongs to the wholeness of the child ? Body, mind, intellect, character, and family ? Family involves another start and method, as does daily home life if taken within the wholeness of the child and not merely as a background. He is not, as it were, a hat-stand on which memory hangs dead skills and school recollections. Is the wholeness to which his education is to be related some intellectual order, or personal individuality, or a clear order of abstract values with a distinct place for each instinct and content, or is it a concrete community living as a connecting and creative will, or a kind of universal attitude which reconciles all real contrasts in the soul or in the world from within and without ?

All these would find support from one man or another, but all men would hold the content, by which the principle is to be carried out, to be more important than the principle of wholeness itself. The reality of mind is thus reality of contents not of formal principles. Too much of the peace in the spiritual world is purchased at the price of remaining in formalities and evading clear decisions, and the barren struggles of the real world are largely due to the fact that teachers are not trained to face real issues and acknowledge natural bonds. Hence there should be realisation that all teaching and Teacher Training depends upon contents which are alive in each one and include a decision as to values rooted in faith. And a living content gives life to words when it is spoken about ; it moves one from within, is creative, and not only is but wants both to be and to be realised at every opportunity.

The grasp of this significance of the living content gives a new aspect to theory and practice ; it bans the handing down of traditional knowledge by inflexible method, or the exaggerated scientific attitude. Geography and biology are not conceptions of theoretic problems but indicate living contents related to personal experiences of the child, for whom it is a barren burden to *know* the latter without being moved by the wonder of life, or to *know* the former without being moved by the reality and beauty of his own and other countries. So too with reading, writing, and the child itself. Each has its wonder, and child and teacher alike can only be educated by living contents within and without the school. Those with the most life will be those of personal value which you wish to develop in your sphere of the world, and a faith of values which you try to live and realise is the power behind your teaching.

I cannot agree with the opinion that teachers and parents have no right to impose their ideas and faith on children. To allow freedom is unwise and shows weakness in our faith, degrading it to the level of some private opinion ; it is as wrong as the theory which would put a number of differing world views before students and leave them a free choice. We must decide and stand by decisions, and fight for our faith ; the greater its value to us, the more earnestly will we fight for it.

Conference has left a feeling of a danger of weakness, seemingly in a world free from war, struggle, compulsion, or bonds, lacking bad faults but also lacking strong characteristics. But, where life is sound and strong and young, it is and will remain a struggle, and the question is—for what ? and by what means ?

I prefer an honest struggle to a dishonest peace, and the friendship of the man who confesses and fights for his faith to that of the man who holds several opinions and stands firm for none. There must be tolerance as to another man's purely private affairs, or the ways and ideals of another country, but within the sphere of one's personal faith and responsibility there is to be no tolerance and if men harm your wife, soil, tradition, or homeland, you should fight for these. Fight against wrong in your community or country; fight against corruption when you know it exists. The man who fights for integrity in public life, and dares to state facts without regard for personal safety, is ten times more valuable as a teacher than the man who knows every method but lacks personal courage. No psychological reasoning should extenuate a condemnation based on clear understanding. The philosophical attitude rooted in decisions about values, and the political attitude which reveals the will to realise these values in living wholes, must be supreme. Children are educated to be tolerant of private, religious, or other opinions, or of the ways and customs of other nations, but we need an education which breeds hardness and firmness, readiness to fight against imposition of a burden or deprivation of something holy or cherished. We need *creative obstacles* for each age, and opportunities to test character or fidelity in values. The heroic sense of *religion*, which means *binding*, is readiness to fight for a faith, and abolition of this is to keep back everything worth being. Thus the world would become a world of weaklings to be swept away by young living powers with uncompromising belief in themselves. The endangering of Germany by Bolshevism shows where tolerance and irresponsible consideration for all may lead to. It is better to die in battle for an ideal than by a normal death.

We must co-operate to prevent international wars, but we must preserve heroic readiness of mind and body to fight for all that is worthy and against all that is unworthy, and youth and teacher must be educated in the attitude that the death of any man is of no account if something of greater account than his private individuality is at stake."

DISCUSSION

PROFESSOR JOHN MURRAY, referring to Professor von Dürkheim-Montmartin's plea for greater hardiness, agreed that there was too much talk of "playing" in education. There was more hardihood and determination about the Scottish student. Combat, courage, action, and perservice are the basis of life, and so of education, which means living and struggling. Weak sentimentality produces a weak generation. To-day there was too much false education in the world, in which idleness, drift, and the debauch of sensation were due to the release of energy and the removal of discipline.

TRAINING SECONDARY TEACHERS *

PROFESSOR F. CLARKE

All teaching is the same operation—of the trained mind working on the untrained, and the situation is the same whether primary or secondary teachers are being trained.

The distinctive training of secondary teachers may be summed up in the word adolescence. They must above all be trained to deal with adolescent needs.

* Account based on rough notes taken during the lecture.—ED.

Secondary Teacher Training must keep close to the University, because the secondary teacher needs a higher level of knowledge so as to have ease of mental movement. Also he must be trained to become critical in his attitude—for many students are prone to run away with one idea to the exclusion of other things.

The secondary teacher needs specialised knowledge. He must be trained in secondary school organisation and in psychology, and should make a study of comparative education in the sense of studying lines of development in different countries. If these studies are not included, there is a danger of his becoming narrow.

The special techniques of teaching are much easier in the secondary than in the primary area. In the primary school the teacher needs to know how to teach, and in the secondary he must preside over learning, which is much easier. The reasons for this are: (a) the span of interest is longer in the secondary school, and (b) there is greater opportunity for stirring up zest and enthusiasm.

The secondary teacher has an increasing responsibility. The period of secondary education should commence at 11 (or less than the standard VI age), and be lengthened at the top end to include studies usually included in the early University work. In addition he must be a social philosopher and hold the key to the situation of his time. For this reason he should be trained in (a) history of education—not a study of the life of the reformer, but the story of the changing adaptation of education to suit the changing aspects of social life—and (b) the economic and social forces in society. The atmosphere of ideas of people of his day must be known so as to give a proper background, e.g. the ideas underlying communism, democracy, etc.

The variety of forms Secondary Teacher Training can assume depends on the character of social tradition. It was long an accepted idea that the secondary teacher did not need training—as a matter of fact that it was rather ungentlemanly!

It depends on the attitude towards State control, in that the secondary school is the one way through to higher social and educated levels and in this way society is controlled.

It also depends on the purpose of the secondary school. In the U.S.A. the whole population is put through the secondary school. This is a wrong adaptation of its use. In France it is the instrument of selection and only the "élite" are given secondary education.

The Anglo-Scottish view of Secondary Teacher Training is to give the highest possible level of general culture, with some specialisation—for which a man is all the better.

With regard to the connection between professional and cultural training, the serial arrangement, in which the cultural course is finished first and then the profession is tackled, seems wrong as also does training in the cultural side by the professional trainer. A kind of integration is preferable whereby five years would be necessary to take a degree plus professional training, with no sharp line of demarcation between the two. This five years' course should include the Arts Degree, the study of education and definite contact with the professional side, e.g. voice-training, practice in drawing as well as in music, modelling, etc.

The professional emphasis should increase as time goes on. The teacher should know throughout that he is going to be a teacher. In Scotland all men teachers in secondary schools must hold the Honours Degree. This is too narrow. The General Degree is preferable. Professors in various departments are going to be teachers, and methods

of teaching their subjects should be known and touched upon. The University method of handling a subject is not always the right kind of model for the person who is going to become a secondary teacher.

TRAINING RURAL TEACHERS IN U.S.A.

PROFESSOR MABEL CARNEY

In America the admission standard for training is the High School Matriculation. Elementary teachers have 2-3 years, in some States 4 years, of training, the latter usually for secondary school purposes. The best Training Colleges are held in greater popular esteem than the State University. Many of them are large and well staffed—larger than your Universities here in South Africa. Some are too large; 500 students should be a maximum. Teachers should be “hand-picked and hand-trained”. In selection only the upper half of the high school class are considered, and candidates have to pass a physical examination and hold special recommendations as to personality and character. Sometimes mental or other tests are applied, and all who accepted are on probation for six months. The Universities train no primary teachers, only secondary, but some train primary supervisors and inspectors; some Training Colleges grant degrees. There must be specialisation, but this should not lead to invidious distinction in favour of the secondary teacher.

Specific training of rural teachers started in 1904. The rural school's enrolment is usually 20-25. In rural areas salaries are usually less than in urban schools, though in New York State they are higher. About 90 per cent. of rural teachers are women. Loan funds and scholarships for training do not come from the State. As a rule, teachers come from farms or the smaller towns, unless depression forces city teachers into the country.

Teacher Training in America dates back 100 years; in the early days there were 10-12 students in a Training Academy, but to-day the smallest enrolment would be 150 and the average 750. There are 175 Colleges in all, 60 of these for negroes. South Africa, it would appear, gives on the whole more time than America to academic work; America gives special training for rural work. About 85 per cent. of the teachers attend summer schools during the long vacation of two and a half months about June or July. There is special training in community service and in supervision—to assist and encourage rather than to inspect, to examine and criticise. Lecturers from Training Colleges travel as much as 100-500 miles to give lessons to teachers. In a typical Training College (e.g. Michigan, with 2,500 students) there would be different departments for secondary and elementary teachers. The latter are graded as primary (infant)—to teach for 1st, 2nd and 3rd school years, intermediate—for 4th, 5th and 6th years, and junior high school—for 7th, 8th and 9th years; there are also rural school, kindergarten, and nursery teachers, and teachers of defectives.

In the U.S.A. there are 143,000 one-teacher and 24,000 two-teacher farm schools with 200,000 teachers or one-third of the total roll of elementary teachers, and they teach 4,500,000 children. Rural teachers are trained to teach the modified rural-school curriculum and in appreciation of agriculture or other rural interests.

In answer to questions:

Student teachers work in rural schools for several successive days.

Training Colleges should be Faculties of the Universities in order to get the best results for a small population like that of South Africa.

CHAPTER XIII.

RURAL EDUCATION

PROBLEMS OF RURAL EDUCATION

DR. WM. MCKINLEY ROBINSON

Our subject, "Problems of Rural Education", suggests that rural education has problems separate and distinct from other fields of education. To many the phrase connotes under-privilege, which is natural when the conditions of traditional schooling are compared with the handicaps of the country child. But when we change our conception of education from that of the traditional schooling and think of education as "learning through and for living" we see the rural school in its own environment in a new light.

One of our educational philosophers, O. G. Brim, has stated aptly and forcefully the relation of the rural child to the New Education. "The rural child's experiences have a vividness, a reality, a dynamic that is basic to the type of education we seek. They possess the vitality, the germinating quality, so necessary if growth from them is to be abundant and fruitful. In fact the very process of living in rural life challenges initiative, demands resourcefulness and creative living". And again, "They—the alert teachers—are using child experience, home, farm, and community resources and problems, in a new way to the end that child life and community life is enriched both immediately and permanently. This is the rural education frontier, the area of fascinating adventure. In my judgment it offers not only the most promising but the sanest solution of our problem. It is a great challenge. To be unaware of it is to be professionally dead. To neglect its realisation is to betray a trust."

In America, as well as in Europe, to-day rural children are not transported to city centres but urban children are transported to country schools, which have fully appreciated the possibilities of the rural environment. Hence we may forget our complexes of inferiority and under-privilege and face a few of the many real problems still with us.

In my lecture I will endeavour to adhere to my text but avoid problems covered elsewhere in our programme.

Agricultural Education. To some people rural education and agricultural education are synonymous. The children of the doctor, the merchant, the machinist, or the taxi-driver, have educational rights guaranteed by the State and in no-wise circumscribed by the occupation of the parent, but it is not so easy to think of the rural child as an individual apart from his environment.

The years of the elementary school are hardly long enough for the mastery of that common body of knowledge, skills, and ideals, necessary

to meet the complexity of life in this modern age. In America we have come to accept the thesis that the primary school should afford to all children within the limits of their abilities that common fund—a knowledge of the fundamental processes (reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, etc.) plus the common culture which makes of us a nation (history, literature, music, art, etc.): and in its programme we admit neither the desirability nor the feasibility of vocational education. Yet in our national culture we do recognise agriculture as a fundamental factor, and so we would include in all primary schools, both urban and rural, cultural agriculture in the forms of nature-study, elementary science, and gardening.

Why then in primary education should there be any rural differentiation? A child's learning begins with the familiar and, if properly directed, grows from there in ever-widening circles. The rural child's environment has not included fire departments, traffic regulations, supervised playgrounds, certified milk, and the infinite number of other environmental factors familiar to the urban child and therefore usually found in school text-books, which have usually been written by urban teachers or college professors with the urban child in mind. The rural child does not need to have a mouse or squirrel, brought in a cage from the zoo, nor an ear of corn, obtained with great difficulty, brought to the schoolroom to enrich his observations and experiences. The environmental differences are obvious and yet how often is it forgotten that, though rural and urban primary schools are both travelling toward the same goals, they are moving along quite different paths because of wide differences in their starting points.

Vocational agricultural education has its place in the secondary school, but vocational agriculture should not be looked upon as merely education for agricultural production,—nor even for production plus marketing, but rather for production plus marketing plus consumption. Agricultural production may be taught very effectively—our over-production suggests too effectively—marketing may also be taught effectively, and we are placing great emphasis on the encouragement of co-operative marketing. Now we are hoping that consumption may be taught equally as well. We have learned that increasing the farm income rather than making for a richer life is more likely to make for a greater investment in farming land and machinery. One of our rural sociologists wrote recently: "Making two blades of grass grow where but one previously grew has undoubtedly raised the standard of living for society as a whole; for farm families, however, the rise has not been commensurate with that of other strata of society and the result has been to leave some classes of our farm population with almost static standards." Even from an economic standpoint we cannot afford to lose sight of human values. The educational, recreational, social, and cultural phases of rural life are tremendously important to our rural, and therefore our national, welfare. Home economics, a subject of practical value to every boy and girl, assumes even greater vocational importance than agriculture when we think in terms of a richer rural life.

In limiting cultural agriculture to the primary school, and as a vocational agriculture to the secondary school, an exception should be made in the case of the over-age pupil who with great difficulty completes the primary school course, the secondary school being entirely out of the question. If at all possible these pupils should be given practical training in their obvious vocations or, at least in their advanced

years, much freedom from the usual syllabuses in their choice of class activities and readings. Theories must not obscure any national problem such as that of the Poor Whites.

Certain guiding principles seem fundamental. Education should help one to do better those things which he will have to do ; it should help to break down faulty habits of thought and action and substitute desirable habits ; and it should lift one to a higher plane of thinking and living.

The Teacher. Even in the child in the social-centred school the tremendous influence of the teacher may not be overlooked. In the new education he may not lean so heavily on syllabuses, text-books, and other standard material aids ; far more initiative and resourcefulness must be shown. In the rural school it is more essential than formerly that he be familiar and sympathetic with rural life. Only the most alert, indefatigable, conscientious, and best trained can meet Dr. Brim's challenge. There will be no marking time until he may be " promoted " to a principalship, inspectorship, or some city position. Each in his own sphere has a man-size job, requiring all that one has to give ; each job when well done carries with it satisfactions and prestige ; but any educational system which rewards a teacher by making it necessary for him to forsake the field of his experience and joy in order to secure advancement has been a deadly influence upon rural education. One's contribution to society is more dependent upon one's peculiar aptitudes than upon the relative superiority of one's position.

Techniques. No doubt in South Africa as in America the first reaction of the rural teachers to the ideas of progressive education is that their daily schedule is already so crowded that there is no time left for new-fangled notions. But some few have ventured out on their own account, and others have dared to do so under the guidance and supervision of their Inspectors or College Professors of Education, and some few of the techniques which I have observed as successful in rural schools may be mentioned here.

For a long time we have advocated the combination and alternation of subjects by years in order that the daily time-table of the one-man school might be reasonably possible. Those teachers interested in activity programmes and project methods have found this absolutely necessary, and I have seen some very excellent work done in schools in which there was also a combination of standards into two, three, or four groups of children as contrasted with the usual eight standards—particularly for projects and activities. Each child contributes to and takes from the group whatever is within the limit of his capacity. In the two or three years of each group-course he will have covered the essentials for two or three standards under the more conventional organisation. Only a very capable teacher may succeed without guidance. Personally I think we should venture out upon any new programmes very cautiously and slowly, not recommending them for the mass of schools until they have demonstrated their worth and feasibility in various schools and under varying circumstances. All changes in education do however come slowly, for combined with the conservatism of the teachers we have the conservatism of the parents.

Our more progressive schools are characterised by the great amount of pupils' participation and responsibility for more than the mere acquisition of facts ; for instance, in the organisation, planning, and discipline

of the schoolroom and playground, for the caring for the daily routine, the school equipment, the bringing of illustrative material from home and countryside, for the securing of pamphlets and exhibits and the like. If pupils are to gain experiences in helping themselves they must have greater resources than are usually available. First and foremost is the urgent need for more adequate libraries. But the problem of rural libraries will be discussed later.

The radio has endless possibilities for the enrichment of the rural school curriculum. A number of very interesting experiments are being carried out in various parts of the world which are leading to a knowledge of the possibilities and limitations of the radio, also of the most effective techniques of listening—and they do differ considerably from those of regular class-work—as well as of broadcasting. Programmes designed for all grades of the primary and secondary school are now on the air in America, not to supplant the class-room teacher but to supplement his work. The rural school in which the need for enrichment is greatest is unfortunately slower than the urban school in turning this to account.

Field-trips are another favoured means of supplementing the rural school programme. For many years parents seemed inclined to think that when the teacher took the children outside the schoolroom he was merely shirking his duties, and not without some reason if there were not thoughtful preparation, capable direction, and subsequent discussion of observations. Nowadays, however, field-trips are an accepted part of the school programme. Among the possibilities are observations of occupations related to farming, such as the blacksmith-shop, creamery, or mill; manufacturing-plants serving the rural community, such as the court-house, library, hospital, newspaper, bank; nearby points of historical interest; geographical formations; bird-walks; art museum, theatre, orchestra, gardens, parks or zoo or a nearby city, etc., etc.

And what of examinations? Experiments in various parts of the country in schools of widely differing types and with pupils of varying abilities have shown that the children in the newer types of schools do pass their examinations no less effectively. The teachers of course have seen to it that the fundamentals have been covered; the “new education” does not imply a hit-and-miss programme guided by the whims of the children. Immediate goals and aims are kept in mind. The reliance upon interest and motivated effort has justified itself in the actual learning, which may be measured by examinations and in addition has engendered ideals, attitudes, and other intangible evidences of learning—frequently lacking in the “old education”—which may not be measured by such mechanical means.

Inspectors. Inspectors too are often held responsible for the conservatism of education, though from my own observations of inspectors it appears that such an argument when used by teachers is more often than not merely a ruse to conceal their own lack of initiative and resourcefulness. In my own country I know both teachers and inspectors both in Conference and on the job, and I have found that the inspectors are eager for their teachers to be more self-reliant and take great pride in discussing among themselves those of their teachers who have shown originality. My impression is that the same is true in South Africa. Neither I, nor they, I should add, place a premium upon the mere being different or original, unless this is based upon sound principles and produces results.

Parents. If we find the parents a conservative force, it is unwise to simply ignore their convictions, for their understanding and sympathy may do much to insure the effectiveness of the school, and their antipathy or indifference is sure to be reflected in the attitude of the children. We should enlist their wholehearted support, for they after all have more than even ourselves at stake in the school, and they can be reached through publicity campaigns carried on through the press, radio, and similar channels. The effectiveness of such campaigns has been interestingly demonstrated in our American campaign on diet. In one decade our people have changed their eating habits to the extent that we now consume 50% more milk, 60% more butter, 100% more lettuce, and 150% more oranges. The same instruments which brought about these changes are at the service of the schools.

Such efforts would, I suppose, have to come under the heading of propaganda. We have at hand also to my mind one of the most powerful agencies in existence for the welfare of the children, the "Parent-Teacher Association". Some few teachers and administrators have looked upon this as their tool for "educating" the parents and enlisting their endorsement of the school programme, an attitude that has been as harmful as that of some few parents who have looked upon the Association as their means of controlling the school; but the great majority of Associations afford an opportunity for parents and teachers to come together and discuss and carry through programmes—home, school, and community—which bear upon the welfare of childhood, in any phase not cared for by some existing agency. In the discussions teachers are frequently amazed to learn the knowledge of and interest in the new education shown by the parents. It is far easier to carry the parents with the school programme than to work against either their apathy or their opposition.

Another strength in the Parent-Teacher Association is that in addition to its possibilities as a local organisation, it has also the weight of collective action. We have more than twenty thousand local units with a combined membership of over one and a half million, and an organisation of that size commands attention. Within the past year the motion picture industry, the radio interests, and one of our largest daily newspapers have had to give heed to resolutions passed, and plans of action resulting there-from, by the State and national organisations. It is not merely a national movement but an international. It operates in South Africa, and I commend it to you most highly.

Out-of-School Youth. My last topic covers a field which, because it seems so unrelated in our thinking, has been greatly neglected. For many years we looked upon the schools as confining their responsibilities to the children in school. In the last few years we have faced the fact that as a community institution we had some responsibility for the adults, maybe by the sight of other agencies stepping into the field. Adult education is to-day recognised as one of the greatest challenges before the public schools, but we are finding that on the whole its organisation and greatest appeal are for the older adult. What of the out-of-school youths not as yet established in homes of their own which lend stability to their lives, and particularly those in the rural communities where there are so few agencies concerned with educational, recreational, and cultural interests? The fact that they do not fit into the traditional school organisation does not relieve us of our obligations. Possibly, if our schools had been less unyielding in their organisation, many of

them would still be in school. Here we find a tremendous social challenge, an obligation upon which we may not turn our backs. And should this Conference of the New Education Fellowship be fruitful in raising but this one important problem high enough for inspection, thought, and resulting action, we shall be amply repaid for the two weeks spent upon it.

EDUCATION IN SPARSELY POPULATED AREAS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO AUSTRALIA

DR. K. S. CUNNINGHAM

Favourable circumstances combined with foresight and planning have contributed to the considerable success of Australia in the matter of rural education. A country of 3,000,000 square miles of territory, she has a population of 6,500,000 people, 2,000,000 in Melbourne and Sydney and 1,000,000 in her other cities, the density varying from 20 per square mile in Victoria to 5 per square mile in Western Australia. Some 95 per cent. of the people are of British stock and there are no language or dialect variations.

Politically there are six federated States, each controlling from a headquarters in its capital city all phases of its own educational system—curriculum, appointments and promotions of teachers, opening and closing of schools, etc. Each State provides from 50 to 90 per cent. of the funds of its University, which is however entirely free from State control. Private and denominational schools, which are particularly influential in secondary education, enrol some 25 per cent. of the school-going population but are subject to inspection or “approval” (e.g. in the entrance of pupils as candidates for State scholarships) involving inspection.

New South Wales, the fourth largest State though less than one-third of the size of Western Australia, has an area equivalent to the combined areas of the Cape Province and Natal and a population of 8 persons to the square mile. At the end of 1932 this State had 2,723 controlled schools (excluding 618 subsidised schools) half of which had attendances of less than 40, and 73 of more than 1,000, pupils all controlled from Sydney, from which the most distant schools would be 1,000 miles away and involve maybe a month's delay in reply to an official communication. All costs are met from Provincial revenue and teachers are Public Servants with security of tenure and superannuation benefits.

In favour of this centralised control, it should be urged that local control in a pioneer country with very great regional variations in actual or potential wealth tends to very unequal educational facilities, and in time of depression in America has even led to closings of schools, shortening of the school year, and defaults in payment of teachers, while Australia under similar circumstances, though reducing expenditure by 25 to 35 per cent., was able to maintain her full services and treat her teachers equally in such salary reductions as were involved.

The U.S.A. are perhaps now viewing more favourably the idea of pooling the funds for central distribution. Dr. Paul Mort in his “State Control in Education” offers as methods of distribution supplementary payments, or “payment for effort”, for districts providing facilities of defined standards, or impartial distribution to all alike to provide for a minimum standard, which local effort may supplement. “Equalisation” is the fundamental principle as “payment for effort” tends to

give most where least is needed, and Australia aims at this by equipping every district with good facilities, the more prosperous areas through their greater contributions to revenue easing the burden for the less prosperous, though local effort is by no means lacking.

Under local control in some parts of the world the small rural school has an inferior type of education, but in Australia the fundamental courses are the same for all, and official research shows that attainment is generally equal in arithmetic while in silent reading the city children are somewhat superior. Some hold that the pupil in the rural one-teacher school is the better-off, and in the model one-teacher schools in which teachers are trained no pressure is required to secure pupils but rather the reverse. Several reasons account for the difference in the attitude of Australia to the one-teacher school. All primary teachers are first appointed to one-teacher schools, and success in these means promotion, while the more remote schools are provided with young and enthusiastic teachers. Again thorough-going inspection soon discovers weakness and enables this to be remedied—it may be by a temporary transfer of a teacher to more suitable environment, while regular Conferences are held and teaching demonstrations given in each inspectorate. The remote teacher too is not overlooked but may receive a special allowance in view of the isolation.

In the training of teachers special attention is directed to, and practice given in, the work of the one-teacher school, features of which are the extent to which children work on their own initiative, the care shown by the teacher in planning work and grouping classes, and the systematised helping of the weaker pupils by the more capable. Personal experience under the most favourable conditions in a remote pioneer district confirms the possibilities of securing parental co-operation and its value.

Many thousands of pupils from outside the three-mile radius are enabled to attend school by grants of transport allowance, but the efficiency of the one-teacher schools, difficulties of roads, and cost have so far told against concentration of schools, as to which central control avoids the difficulty of local persuasion in the matter of the closing down of any school affected.

Given a minimum of 10 or 12 pupils, a school will be provided; failing this, one teacher may visit alternately two schools, or a parent may employ a teacher for his own and a neighbour's children with a State subsidy of £50 to £150 a year. In other cases itinerant teachers visit isolated homes, and in Queensland these have travelled 60,000 miles in a year to pay 2 or 3 visits of instruction to children in 15 or 20 homes.

Of late years correspondence instruction, initiated in New South Wales and in 1914 in Victoria, has been so successful that to-day 15,000 children are taught daily by mail. Each capital city has a "school" with only phantom pupils for a staff of 80 or 90 teachers, and yet there is often a closer personal sympathy and relationship between teacher and taught than in the closer contact of city schools. The essentials of the success of the system are this friendly personal relationship to replace the stimulus of personal contact, an efficient supervisor—usually the mother—of work in the home, care and skill in the planning and issue of the instructions by the teacher, and systematic performance by the pupil. Correspondence teachers exercise great care in the correction of work and promptness in its return, in fact some arrange for pupils to use three books in rotation to avoid loss of time. Although correspondence pupils lose personal contact with teachers and fellow-pupils, they are well trained in independence and self-reliance,

acquire knowledge from books rather than from people, work at their own natural rate, and are neither kept back by others nor are a drag on them. In one subject a child may be two grades ahead of its work in another.

Some 60,000 children in Australia have received all or part of their education in this way and some have made good later on at the University. The success of the system is largely due to the enthusiasm of the teachers, the best in whom is evoked by the devotion of the supervisors and the zeal of their pupils. Social and cultural conditions as a whole are favourable, and the growth of the system proves a general desire that all children shall have the benefits of education. It should be remembered that enrolment is entirely voluntary as all pupils live beyond the statutory radius for compulsory attendance. The system is now being carried into post-primary education, and in Victoria 1500 pupils are taking the secondary course which goes as far as the University entrance qualification.

In Victoria there are actually more secondary than primary correspondence pupils. This is partly due to density of population, but recalls the difficulty of providing higher rural education. Only about 6 per cent. of the school population passes on to the secondary school and only a fairly populous district can support any post-primary institution. Secondary correspondence helps to fill the gap, but its disadvantages especially on the practical side are obvious. As a remedy, grants based in some cases on parental income, in others on success in scholarship examinations, are made for travelling or living expenses. On the whole the rural child of ambition and ability does not lack opportunity even for a University career.

Each State has an educational broadcasting system, still admittedly in the experimental stage, and rural and correspondence pupils are being specially considered.

Apart from the usual academic secondary course, post-primary education is not yet entirely satisfactory. The Agricultural High Schools and Colleges incline to be too specialised for pupils in general, and in some cases have neglected their special courses in an attempt to produce academic examination results in view of their popular prestige. New South Wales and Queensland have recently developed district rural schools with a practical post-primary "top", and the correspondence post-primary leaflets have been found so useful that they are issued to children in the upper primary grades.

The most promising development, however, is the "Young Farmers' Club" system which originated in the U.S.A. some ten years ago. Under this with the guidance of the teacher children undertake projects of stock-rearing, bee-culture, agriculture, and so forth, which encourage a scientific attitude towards farm problems, make a link between the school and the community, give a new life to the last few years of schooling for the child with no academic prospects or interests, and through the "Club" element give children valuable experience in organising and conducting meetings, taking part in these, and keeping records. This is an entirely voluntary movement but has every encouragement from the Education, Agricultural, and other Departments, which send supervisors to the schools and arrange instructional vacation courses for teachers, which are well attended. Beyond this, members after leaving school often maintain their active interest as "senior" members, and in one instance senior members of two clubs organised an attendance of some 300 representative people to hear a visiting lecturer's address on "Rural Co-operation in Denmark".

A further illustration of the benefits of centralised control may be quoted from Birdsville, a pioneering community 1,000 miles away from the Queensland capital, Brisbane. Here a dozen children are educated jointly by Queensland and South Australia at a cost of £40 per head and enjoy medical and dental inspection and treatment and, in cases of infection by a local serious disease of the eyes, are sent free of charge to Brisbane for treatment, all of which privileges would have been impossible under local control.

Centralisation has not killed local interest which contributes thousands of pounds annually for extra-mural or other equipment in every State. Local interest in control is not necessarily vital or expert, and in this respect will not further the professional or personal freedom of the teacher.

Other forms of local aid are found in "Mothers' Clubs", combined school functions for groups of inspectorial districts, and most notably the School Forestry Scheme, under which local effort provides the ground and the fencing, the children do all the practical work, and a school plantation is formed as a sacred trust, passed on to succeeding years of pupils, all collectively and each individually swearing and signing a bond of faith to the trust,—an excellent training in unselfish work of public value which also builds up a much-needed national forest-conscience. More than 200 schools now have plantations varying in size from 5 to 50 acres.

In many centres local effort is busied in vocational guidance, the placement of pupils, and employment bureaux, all without cost to the State, and in Bendigo a committee, representing the local Rotary Club and other organisations, has secured 50 acres of suitable Crown land on which it houses, and offers skilled farming instruction to, unemployed local youths. There is of course plenty of room for improvement. When the Government pays the bill the citizen is apt to forget the cost and to be apathetic towards the school, yet on the whole the degree of local interest does not compare unfavourably with that in evidence under the more localised control of other countries.

Possibly a greater risk is that of over-mechanisation and over-stress on uniformity, which tends to discourage initiative and adventure and to hamper the more enterprising and original teacher by the demands of regulations which may be needed to guide the weaker brethren. This mechanisation is probably only harmful as affecting the curriculum and methods of teaching by the exclusion of adequate use of topics of local interest and importance more particularly in rural areas. Recent progress however indicates a definite improvement in relaxation of rigidity to provide scope for topics of local interest and for experimentation by schools or teachers. In South Australia approved teachers are exempted from following the set curriculum, which in Victoria has been made suggestive rather than prescriptive. In Victoria too the State-wide entrance examination for High Schools has been abolished in favour of certification of fitness by the head-teacher of the elementary school, while in South Australia many schools are undertaking studies of their own locality on the lines of those reported by the British Board of Education in its pamphlet "Village Survey-making". In general, personal experience leads to a conclusion in favour of central control, provided that the chief administrators are carefully chosen, e.g. on merit rather than seniority. The Australian system is essentially democratic in origin and has not arisen out of any compulsion. As the population increases there will come a measure of decentralisation, not probably

in the matter of financial control or the appointments of teachers, but rather in the matter of curriculum and the professional freedom of the teacher.

Personal experience is insufficient to justify any direct reference to the problem of rural South Africa, with which Australia has a definite link through the successful initiation in Rhodesia of the correspondence system by a Victorian lady-teacher loaned by her Department for the purpose as a sequel to the inclusion of a former Director of Education in Victoria in a Rhodesian Education Commission.

In South Africa the school-leaving age of 16 years is a great advance on the Australian maximum of 14 years, and she has a greater percentage of the white population enrolled in her secondary schools, though in this respect the absence of a coloured population in Australia makes an important difference. Australia is all-white, so to speak, while in South Africa the whites are the upper stratum of the population. It is to be hoped that greater opportunities for interchange of educational thought between the two great democracies of the Southern Hemisphere may become possible in the future.

TRENDS IN AMERICAN RURAL EDUCATION

PROFESSOR MABEL CARNEY

The United States of America and the Union of South Africa bear striking resemblance. Discovered about the same date, both were colonised in part by the Dutch and later by the English with a sprinkling of Huguenot. Both have known the hardships of pioneer life and warfare with savages, and both have been torn with the bitter dissension of Civil War. Geographically the backgrounds are also similar, if fruit-laden Natal and the great Karroo are compared with California and the vast plains and deserts of the American South-west.

But it is in the social and economic issues of to-day that our national characteristics run most parallel. Here both countries have the task of blending divergent rationalities into a happy whole. We both face the Black and White race problem. You have Poor Whites; we our Southern mountaineers. Both our lands are still largely rural with vast areas of sparse population. And finally we have both experienced the great Economic Depression still gripping the whole modern world.

To-night, however, I have only to consider our great mutual problem of rural welfare, with special reference to recent developments in American rural education which may prove suggestive, but, before I do this, a little historical perspective is necessary.

In 1790 the population of the United States was over 90 per cent. agricultural, a preponderance which continued down to the Civil War. During this time the people were spreading ever westward, in one of the greatest epic movements and across the richest Garden of Eden ever known in history. With them, as part of the New England tradition, went ever the idea of universal education, exemplified in every local community by the prompt establishment of one-teacher or common rural schools. Two hundred and fifteen thousand of these came finally to characterise the American educational scheme, 143,000 being still in active service and providing elementary education for four million children.

Immediately after the Civil War came the second great movement of American population, the much-lamented but persistently continued migration from farm to city, due primarily to the rapid industrialisation of our life. Practically every farm home was affected and in 1893 a life-size painting, entitled "Breaking Home Ties", which depicted the common rural experience of bidding farewell to a city-bound son, had to be removed from the Chicago World Fair because of the distress occasioned to parents who saw in its rather crude sentiment the chief tragedy of their own lives. Notwithstanding this general emotion and the consequent back-to-the-farm propaganda, the migration went steadily forward until by 1920 slightly more than half of our total population was urban, that is, lived in places of above 2,500 inhabitants.

During all these years the general trend of American farming was forward and upward into steadily increasing prosperity, largely owing to the open frontier with its abundant free land and to the feverish industrialisation of the period.

Then in 1914 came the unprecedented European markets of the World War period and American agriculture entered upon a *Golden Age*, in which many of our farmers lost all perspective and sense of values. New furniture, new houses, finer motor cars, and above all—tractors, farm machinery, and yet more land, became the great ends of life, and the orgy of spending was carried over also into fields of social service. Billions were expended on highways and millions more on school buildings, many of these—both roads and schools—necessitating bonds which were later to be paid with depreciated dollars.

Suddenly the Armistice was signed. Europe with all her markets disappeared over-night. But the American farmer,—misguided man—unfamiliar with the laws of distribution, continued to farm too well, thus creating the troublesome *surpluses* of wheat, cotton, and livestock, which have proved his undoing. So in part originated the great Agricultural Depression which began in 1919, long before the Stock Exchange crash of 1929 which involved our cities and from which we date our General Economic Depression of the last five years.

A first feature of the American school system is its strong local control, in marked contrast to most of the older civilisations of Europe and, somewhat, to educational tradition in South Africa. For while your State or Province is the dominating factor, we in America have magnified the local community and placed our faith in the direction of schools by laymen. Dean W. F. Russell, of Cleveland Teachers' College, has expressed this influence thus :—

"The public schools are dear to the hearts of the American people. We love them because they belong to us. No national government forces them upon us. No Minister of Education prescribes their operations. We take educational orders from no higher power. The public schools are our own. We created them. We, the people, determine who shall learn, who shall teach, what shall be taught and by what methods, and we reach down in our pockets and pay the bill. American schools are folk-made, and they are folk-controlled and folk-directed as well. This system is America's pride and joy. In it we all take great delight." This attitude is now seriously challenged by our present financial distress, but meanwhile Americans, our farmers especially, cling tenaciously to the principle of local control and view with distrust every movement designed to centralise authority and remove the local administration of schools. Hence, whereas progress here in South Africa seems to lie in the direction of getting the local community to manage its school,

with us it is a case of getting local residents to relinquish to the State certain of their traditional functions. For both countries the real problem is that of defining and allocating functions between the State and the local community, a task in which our differing approach should prove mutually helpful.

But to return to the trends of rural education. The first and most evident of these has been the growth toward larger educational units. As the rural community expanded, a larger unit of school administration became imperative, not only to supply the increasing services but particularly to ensure larger enrolment and financial support. The most common agency has been the consolidation of small farm-schools with the transportation of children to new centres. We now have 18,000 schools of this type, some of them beautiful and elaborate structures, and more than a million children are transported daily. Another significant step has been the adoption of the County or Magisterial unit, which is employed in some form in about half our States. But, as Counties differ in wealth quite as much as districts, the County alone is no longer considered a satisfactory area for equalisation purposes.

To meet this financial problem the American people have come gradually to accept the idea of State participation, though never for control, merely for aid, a principle which, whatever its limitations, has been of inestimable value to rural education and is indirectly responsible for most of the improvement in rural schools.

Closely related to questions of larger unit and financial support is the problem of rural secondary education. Our farmers show the greatest determination in their persistent attempts to secure High School privileges for their children, and the progress has been outstanding. In this matter consolidation of schools and the payment of tuition and transportation costs for farm children residing outside High School districts have been important factors.

Quite as important as the extension of rural education has been the improvement of its quality. At one period many rural teachers, as in South Africa, were little more than roaming mendicants. But the recent National Survey of the Education of Teachers showed that 65 per cent. of our 200,000 teachers in one- and two-teacher rural schools were four-year High School graduates with from one to two years of professional training. Several States now demand two years of preparation beyond the High School for rural teaching, and California requires three years. Moreover, the National Survey showed that 60 per cent. of all rural teachers had taken specialised courses in rural school management and rural sociology designed to fit them more definitely for their task, whereas in 1912 fewer than 3 per cent. of our rural teachers were Normal School graduates.

Comparable gains have been realised in rural school supervision. Initiated in the South, in both its White and Negro aspects, by two philanthropic funds, the "General Education Board" and the "Anna T. Jeannes Foundation", this movement in 1928 employed about 1,300 such specialists chiefly in the Eastern States. School assistance of this type, fixing attention upon the constructive improvement of classroom teachers, not the traditional inspection, is one of America's most distinctive contributions to the practice of education.

No provision of the last twenty years has meant so much to our farm children as the increasing emphasis on health education, which received immeasurable stimulation from the revelations of the World War and has become one of the most absorbing interests of American life. We

now have over 3,000 Rural School Nurses in some 1,000 Counties, though not a single specialist of this type was known twenty years ago.

Of vast significance too has been the growth of public interest in school affairs, the most important single agency being the Parent-Teacher Association of one-and-a-half million members. Functioning locally through its rural units the Parent-Teacher movement interests farmers and their wives in school work, provides programmes on child care, assists in the equipment and beautifying of the school, supplies school lunches, and promotes the whole cause of child welfare and community improvement. We regard it as perhaps our most valuable educational ally, and it must be equally helpful here in South Africa, particularly where educational control is highly centralised and parents have become somewhat indifferent to the conduct of their schools.

Our system of local control has always given the school an important place as a community centre, a position which has both advantages and dangers. Chief of such dangers is the tendency to assume responsibilities belonging more properly to other agencies, an excess of virtue stimulated both by the conditions of pioneer life and by the late World War when schools everywhere were called upon to render services of every type.

Nowadays the principle of co-ordinated effort has been brought into play, under which the social forces of the community, State, and nation are being federated into Community Councils. The function and programme of each agency are definitely defined and, when the school assumes additional obligations not its own, the assumed service will be restored to its proper agency at some future time. Thus the school feeding of children will be duly returned to the home as soon as the depression passes. But the confidence engendered by this attitude of co-operation has reacted favourably upon the school and made it, more than ever, the common meeting place or community centre for much of our social and educational life, both juvenile and adult.

During the period 1910 to 1930 Congress enacted two pieces of legislation destined to have far-reaching effects upon the daily life and education of farmers, the "Smith-Lever Act of 1914" and the "Smith-Hughes Act of 1917".

The Smith-Lever Act is the basis of our agricultural extension system, with its expenditure of 25,000,000 dollars annually, reaching all our States and three-fourths of our Counties. Under this organisation a so-called "County farm agent", a "home demonstration agent", and a "boys' and girls' club leader" are placed in the local County, their salaries being paid largely from State and Federal funds. The responsibility of each agent is to disseminate scientific information on agriculture and home economics and to get this information carried over into accepted practice and a higher standard of living. Demonstration methods of teaching are largely employed and the project method also; this system being the early promoter of the noted project idea. Of late years agricultural education and school education in the United States have clashed occasionally, especially over the matter of Federal aid and the contention and dangers of a dual system of education, but the Smith-Lever programme embodies a marvellous conception of service, and its achievement in having brought scientific research within the reach of 30,000,000 farm-dwelling people scattered over an area of 3 million square miles is something of which Americans can be justly proud.

The Smith-Hughes Act, has made possible the use of Federal aid in introducing agriculture, home-economics, and industrial education

into our High Schools, thereby relating secondary education more closely to life needs. Dual direction under State and Federal auspices of those High School departments has proved more difficult however, and problems of adjustment have characterised its whole programme, though most of these should now be eliminated through the merging of the Federal Board of Vocational Education with the United States Offices of Education and through the articulating of the vocational programme into the general High School 'set-up'—a decision which will be of interest to South Africans.

During the latter part of our period agriculture suffered serious financial depression owing to various causes—including the industrialisation of life, both urban and rural, the exploitation of new lands, the World War, high tariffs, and the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few rich men, but the urban population of the nation gave little heed. Farmers might complain, but what was this to the urbanite, while his broker declared the market good, or imposing Commissions could—(under the direction of the chosen few of Big Business and the Grand Old Party)—prove the country safe? But the buying power of farmers was constantly diminishing, technological processes were constantly improving, and cities also soon found themselves beset with great surpluses of unsaleable factory goods. This led to unemployment, unemployment to a general paralysis of trade, and lack of trade to shattered incomes—a shock involving the very existence of millions of people. Then came bread-lines, fear, panic, bank failures, Stock Exchange crashes, and still more bread-lines, until America, the once proud rich man of the world, suddenly found himself prostrate.

Provisionally at this juncture the regular time approached for a change of Government, since, lacking this outlet for pent-up emotion, the people of the United States might easily have followed the lead of European countries and wrecked every semblance of established government. As it was, they went peacefully to the polls and staked their faith on a single personality, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, now hopefully watched throughout the whole world, whom they elected by the greatest majority in the history of the country and then awaited with patience his inauguration on the 4th March. Speaking of this historic inauguration, Professor Rexford G. Tugwell of Columbia University, has written as follows:—

"March 4 last may be taken, I think, as the low point in our history. Borne down by one disaster after another, overcome by an almost complete paralysis of will, we stood bowed, a nation without a leader, lost! Business crept to a standstill. Millions of blameless people shuffled in bread-lines. Every bank in the land was closed. Groups of farmers in open revolt defied their creditors and the law. We hardly knew whether we had a government any longer. None of us who lived through the tension and hysteria of that gray inauguration day will ever forget it."

It is sufficient here to say that Mr. Roosevelt, now regarded literally as the saviour of the nation, is gradually re-establishing faith in democratic government and leading us forward, a greatly chastened people, into new paths of hope and achievement, by routes and methods very different to our old procedures—and charged with the deepest possible significance to education.

In this new awakening the most significant change, as elsewhere, has been the re-dedication of both government and education to the welfare of the common citizen. James Truslow Adams, one of our

best living historians, credits us with harbouring this ideal from the very beginning of our history and of crystallising it finally into "the Great American Dream". If so, there have been times of bad nightmare through this dream, one of the worst being the period of wild speculation and corruption immediately following the World War.

The first evidence of this revived "dream" in rural education is the widespread general interest now manifested in the welfare of country children, no longer regarded as a thing apart and as important to farmers and to members of the teaching profession but of little concern to urban dwellers. Now Americans in all walks of life realise the necessity of a prosperous and successful farm population, capable of consuming its share of manufactured goods and thus helping to sustain the great domestic market (90 per cent.) upon which American prosperity basically rests, and also that our farmers and their children must have educational opportunities as good as the best provided for our urban population.

A second general change relates to the philosophy of education as applied to rural life. When the migration from country to city first attracted serious attention, there was great alarm that the countryside might become so depleted as to endanger the food supply of cities. As a result a back-to-the-land movement swept the nation, which found expression to a considerable extent in specialised schools, restricted curricula, and a general theory of education designed to keep children on the farm by limiting their contact with and knowledge of everything urban. The farmers, however, have always desired unrestricted opportunity for their children, and fortunately their opposition and the later influence of Professor Dewey's broader philosophy for education combined in time to counteract so false a conception of rural education.

In the revised philosophy now controlling rural life the fundamental aims of all instruction are held to be the same for all American children. Rural application and experience is then regarded as the *means*, not the *end* of education for country children. But both arrive at the same goal, namely the adequate understanding and appreciation of all American life, rural and urban, including its world relationship. This shift of position has done much to clarify the thinking of our people on rural affairs and to insure the preservation of our great rural heritage.

Amongst others of the more tangible evidences of change in American education as affecting its rural aspects may be noted firstly the tremendous increase of enrolment in all types of schools but especially in our secondary schools and colleges, due not only to unemployment but also to an increasing faith in education and to the consuming desire to understand the happenings of the last few years. In rural districts schools are overcrowded for the reasons given, and also owing to the presence of many urban children whose parents, the unemployed of the cities, have come to the country to live with relatives or to seek lower rentals and subsistence on the farms.

Because of this great influx of children of all types and ages there has had to follow extensive adaptation in curriculum. In the first place there has been the marked increase of courses in the social studies designed to help understanding of the present world situation. Character training too and educational guidance are being stressed under the assumption that schools must not only educate the young but also help them to fit more happily into society. These several adjustments have further called for modifications and improvements in the technique of teaching, which may be seen in the adaptation of instruction to group and individual differences and in a wider application of activity teaching. In this the rural school with its distinctive advantages for life-centred teaching,

and under the experimentation and leadership of rural specialists, has made some notable contributions which are now very widely applied in one-teacher schools.

The most striking change in American education during the late depression has been the amazing development of education for adults. Americans to be sure had done something in this field prior to the depression, by the agricultural education under the Smith-Lever Act, the Chautauqua movement, lecture courses, and similar cultural developments, but generally speaking our adults had been too busy with the practical affairs of daily living to give much attention to continued education.

Unemployment has now changed all this. A restless people has *had* to find some outlet for its energy, and adult education has proved the safety-valve. As a result every type of instruction now flourishes, and thousands of people are enrolled in adult courses. More amazing still is the pronounced emphasis upon adult education of a *cultural* type. Economics, sociology, history, and political science, are especially popular; also music, art, literature, and handicrafts. In the country districts radio is playing a large part in this movement.

This cultural trend is not confined to adult education alone but is typical of all education, a singularly significant change for a people who are reputed throughout the world to be practical and hard-headed. Has America developed a new spirit and really found her soul through hardships? Or has the world misjudged us and have we always carried under our mercenary exterior a spark of idealism which we meant to develop and absorb into our "Great American Dream" as soon as we should find the time?

In any event a new type of cultural education is emerging, namely education which is cultural for the individual not just *traditionally cultural* in the spirit of academic circles. From this point of view, gardening, sports, community singing, and even crocheting or the making of patchwork quilts, may be more cultural for many individuals than history, literature, or modern languages.

But nothing in educational affairs pierces the consciousness of the American people to-day quite so sharply as the question of financial support. How to collect delinquent taxes and, failing this, how to pay teachers, meet interest on bonds, supply fuel, and keep schools open, these are the ever-recurring questions in practically every community of the land. A few sample news-captions may illustrate the crises:—

"One hundred thousand children are this year denied all educational opportunity because of closing schools."

"Twenty-five thousand teachers have been dropped, while a million more children have come into the schools."

"Chicago teachers without pay for 18 months and New York schools running on double sessions (that is, with two groups of children per teacher per day)."

"Eighty-four thousand teachers will this year receive less than 450 dollars (that is, less than £90) as their annual salary."

"50,000,000 dollars needed to keep schools open for the remainder of this year and 100,000,000 dollars needed for next year."

Suffice it to say that American education in all its history has never known days so dark as those of the last five years. The remedy, most people feel, is to be found largely in State and Federal aid, not however under Federal control, for Americans still cling tenaciously to the principle

of democratic control for schools. The chief argument for the change is that the old forms of property tax have broken down and that, since the Federal Government now controls most of the revenues most easily collected, it should share these with the States and localities. Furthermore, our States differ in their wealth and ability to support education just as do Counties and local communities, hence Federal aid is needed to equalise educational opportunity between the States, quite as much as State-aid has been needed to equalise costs between localities in the Southern States which, though the least wealthy, are still carrying the brunt of educating most of our three million Negro children.

With this principle of democratic control a new plan for Federal aid has just been developed which will increase the efficiency of local education by definitely stimulating initiative and diversification in school practice, and a further quotation from Dean Russell's address shows how basically important the plan is considered to be:—

"This plan has been carefully developed. It has been tested. It will leave the power in the States and localities where it should remain. Federal aid in any other form will tend to transfer the power away from the people. This will become repugnant to us. Mistakes made now take years to correct; and Federal aid of the wrong kind and the growth of the beginnings of educational despotism, however slight, will retard the development of American education for generations to come."

One last trend of special interest to South Africans is our rapidly expanding interest in the education and welfare of our 12,000,000 Negroes. Ours are the only two countries in the world trying to work out the problems of adjustment for Black and White races living side by side under a democratic form of government, although your situation is the more difficult as our proportion of population of African descent is only 1 in 10, as contrasted with your overwhelming majority of 4 to 1, and our Negroes are a civilised people maintaining much the same standards of living as the Whites. Statistics show that in agriculture, industry, and the professions, American Negroes hold their own, while in the arts, especially in music, poetry, and the drama, many think that they are relatively outstripping our White population.

In the education of Negroes the progress made during the last 15 years is truly amazing. Illiteracy stands now at only 16 per cent. Schools of all types, especially High Schools, have been widely established. Teachers are far more adequately trained. Buildings, equipment, and instruction have been greatly improved, and above all a new attitude of responsibility in White people makes them regard the Coloured child as entitled to the same identical rights and privileges as those enjoyed by the White child. Grave inequality and injustice remains, especially among rural Negroes, but much progress has been made and an entirely new spirit developed.

In conclusion the ever-enlarging efforts of American education to provide increased opportunity for all the childhood of the nation, rural as well as urban, may be indicated by a few quotations from "The Children's Charter" formulated by President Hoover's White House Conference on Child Health and Protection:—

"For every child spiritual and moral training to help him stand firm under the pressure of life.

For every child a home and that love and security which a home provides.

For every child health protection, pre-natal and from birth through adolescence.

For every child a dwelling-place, safe, sanitary and wholesome.

For every child a school, well taught, equipped, and supported.

For every child protection against labour that stunts growth and limits education.

For every child a community which recognises and plans for his needs.

For every rural child as satisfactory schooling and health services as for the city child, and an extension to rural families of all social, recreational, and cultural facilities.

For every child these rights regardless of race, colour, or situation, wherever he may live under the protection of the American Flag."

These statements represent the present day aspirations for children, not only in America, but throughout the world. And nowhere more so, to my certain knowledge, than here in South Africa where your notable achievements against great odds furnish so much inspiration and suggestion to your friends across the sea.

DISCUSSION.

In reply to questions: In America there are 143,000 one-teacher and 25,000 two-teacher schools, and of 25,000,000 children 7,000,000 live in farm homes and attend small rural schools. The pupils are not without benefits derived from the richness of local contacts, from the range of mixed ages, which lead to the learning of the younger from the older and the responsibility for their juniors thus gained by the seniors, and from the close touch maintained with the community. . . .

American rural teachers are the more specifically prepared for their work but the average academic attainment of the South African teacher is higher. . . .

In America there are separate officials for administration and for supervision and instruction. The former is called a City or County Superintendent, the latter a Supervisor. The South African Inspector combines the functions of both to the detriment of instruction.

THE RURAL CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL

DR. WM. MCKINLEY ROBINSON

As people in America became more concerned about secondary school opportunities for their children, rural communities became especially interested in the formation of school districts sufficiently large to support secondary schools, and this led largely to the consolidation of rural schools.

We have accepted the thesis that every child should have, if at all possible, within daily reach of his home both primary and secondary school opportunities. In rural communities we still think of the family and the home as the most fundamental institution in society. Whether the problems are of economical, social, or educational origin, we first look to the home for their solution. The average child in America, up to the age of eighteen years, spends 95 per cent. of his waking hours in his home and its environments and only 5 per cent. in the schoolroom. As a people we are averse to the hostel system, and the parents also want the school to be near the home in order that they may share in the educational, social, and community life of the school—their one institution, publicly supported and dedicated to the service of all.

Consolidation was primarily advocated probably because a larger enrolment made possible a more varied grading, but there may have been an underlying idea that the rural school became the more effective as it approached the organisation of the urban school which tends to represent the ultimate in education. On the other hand there are advantages inherent in the rural setting, also some disadvantages of the city in coping with which the urban school has been more or less driven to its present form. There are some unusually splendid educational opportunities in the one-man school for the recognition of and provision for individual differences,—activity programmes, ability groupings, natural social settings,—richly drawing upon and integrating the curriculum with the life of the community and the like, if the teacher is alert and well-trained and has a reasonably well-equipped building and does not have too many pupils. The products of the one-man school know full well the social discipline and actual schooling gained from being in the same room with pupils of varying ages and attainments. The “Little Red School” in my opinion affords educational opportunities unexcelled by the carefully graded primary school which is but patterning after the city school, but while the consolidated rural school may learn much from the practices of its urban counterpart, it need not be a mere cheap imitation of the latter.

During the period of intensive promotion of the consolidated school many of our educators stressed the thought of economy. It was argued that through the grouping of several small one-teacher schools fewer teachers could handle the pupils, but the fact was overlooked that the increased distances between the school and many homes would off-set this in cost of transportation, and it was not foreseen that, as the consolidated school with its larger numbers, richer programme of studies, and better trained leadership afforded greater educational opportunities, the community would demand still greater educational opportunities. With secondary school facilities near at hand more and more pupils with varying interests and abilities were enrolled and required more teachers. Subjects such as home economics, manual arts, and agriculture, with the necessary equipment, were more expensive than the traditional academic courses. The parents and other adults became keen about the school sports, art, bands, orchestras, and glee clubs, and in some cases adult evening classes have been instituted in social problems, economics, manual arts, agriculture, child training, and the like, all adding to the cost of the school, although we educators of course think the consolidation of rural schools is more economical in the sense that we are getting greater values in terms of the money spent.

The typical rural consolidated school in America has about 250 pupils, 100 of whom are distributed in the four years of the secondary school, the remainder in the eight years of the primary. With the Principal, who teaches approximately one-half of the time in addition to caring for his administrative and supervisory functions, there are seven teachers. Both the primary and secondary schools are houses in the same two-storied red brick building, located on a five-acre campus and usually one of the local show places. Some of our earliest consolidated schools were placed in the open country so as to keep rural youth undefiled by the evil influences of town life, but now the village or town which is the natural trading centre of the consolidated school area is generally favoured, if only to cut down transportation costs. One-half of the pupils will be transported in motor buses from the farms in the surrounding area of thirty-six square miles, the pupils averaging a thirty-minute trip each way. The most economical and satisfactory service is found

in school districts owning their own buses and employing as drivers adults, one of whom has the duty of keeping all the buses in good running condition.

There is now more or less insistence upon careful surveys made by educational and sociological experts within a given political unit or area before any school district or authority may take steps toward centralisation. Geographic, political, economic, and social factors are recognised. Some small districts set off by a river or chain of hills, or some communities having common religious convictions or peculiar political or economic theories, may be permitted to retain their own small primary school for the younger pupils in the first six standards. Other primary schools may be combined to justify the formation of the three-year "junior high school" consisting of Standards V, VI, and Form I, to meet the social and psychological needs of the early adolescent by a variety of courses, academic and manual, many of which are of an educational and vocational exploratory nature. To this "junior high school" may be transported children who have completed the first six years of their work in the smaller districts. Then, at one central point there could be placed the large school affording primary and "junior high school" opportunities for the local children, also "senior high school"—Forms II, III, and IV—opportunity for the entire territory. Such an arrangement permits the younger children to remain near home; it involves lesser transportation costs, and recognises peculiar geographic and social conditions. In general the typical consolidated school may be the most satisfactory, though larger territory may be recommended to make possible a four-year secondary school of at least 150 pupils.

In view of the depression since 1920 the rural consolidated school movement has been greatly slowed, and we have only eighteen thousand consolidated schools as against one hundred forty-three thousand one-man schools. Some of these are but two- or three-teacher schools formed from the union of a few one-man primary schools; others are consolidations for secondary school purposes only; another may be the consolidation of a political unit or natural community area for both primary and secondary school opportunities. At our peak rate of consolidation of five thousand one-man schools annually nearly thirty years would be required to complete the task provided such seemed both desirable and feasible. We are far below the peak rate now, but the lull has been more or less a gain. We needed to get our bearings if the rural consolidated school was to become a truly rural institution with an appeal for our rural people because of the greater mental, social, physical, and spiritual facilities which it could afford as compared with our traditional type of rural school.

CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOLS IN RHODESIA

MR. H. D. SUTHERNS

As Dr. Cunningham has indicated, Rhodesia adopted from Australia the idea of educating children in remote rural areas by means of correspondence.

Five hundred pupils, 5 per cent. of the total school population in Rhodesia, are enrolled, the Staff consisting of 8 teachers and a clerk. The minimum age is the sixth year, no fees are charged, books and postal facilities are free. All pupils must live beyond a three-mile radius from

the nearest school. Pupils from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are also enrolled, and the fortnightly assignments are also to some extent used by teachers in aided farm schools.

The results of the Bursary Examinations in Std. V show that the correspondence pupil holds his own. Post-primary courses are designed to assist the rural teacher with one or two post-primary pupils, and it is hoped that in the near future the Correspondence School Staff may handle work of this kind. If adequate supervision can be arranged, the law provides for compulsory enrolment of eligible pupils in the Correspondence School.

As to rural education in general, Southern Rhodesia has an area of 150,000 square miles, a population of 50,000 Europeans, and a school population of some 10,000, two-thirds of whom are enrolled in urban schools. For the children beyond the school radius transport is provided, and the one-teacher school is opened if formerly ten, now fifteen, pupils are available, or £1 per month per pupil is paid towards the salary of an approved governess for a smaller number.

Some farmers in isolated districts then commenced to board pupils on their farms to enable a Government school to be established, and the Government has now adopted this plan as a State system. The farmer gives the site, at least 2 morgen of ground, a local committee undertakes the management, the Government provides £1,200 for erection and equipment of school and boarding buildings, and also appoints and pays the teachers.

Pupils maintain close home contacts by going home as a rule for week-ends. Payment of fees of £4 10s. 0d. per quarter for weekly, and £6 for full-time, boarders is often made in kind, and the Government pays a boarding grant of £12 per annum for each child between the ages of 7 and 15, who is resident more than 3 miles from the nearest school to his home.

There are now 15 such schools in operation and the one-teacher schools are being gradually eliminated. The opportunity for public service and exercise in self-government afforded by membership of these Central School Committees has a valuable effect in the development of the social conscience amongst otherwise isolated parents.

RURAL LIBRARIES IN U.S.A.

DR. WM. MCKINLEY ROBINSON

We are proud that but 5 per cent. of our urban population in America is without local public library service ; but with that we must contrast the 80 per cent. of our rural population which is without a similar service.

Sociological-research students have studied the reading material available in the average rural home. They find that daily newspapers from cities, town weekly papers, filled for the most part with news and articles of local, personal, or political interest, and agricultural journals are read in most farm homes. The home library contains from 25 to 50 books which are chiefly fiction. A few books on agriculture, history, health, and religion are found. Unfortunately the choice has been indiscriminate and many books of no particular merit are found in almost every home. Even this very limited home-library is sometimes the accumulation of a long period of years, maybe even from past genera-

tions. About one-fourth of the home-libraries are supplemented by borrowings from a public or other private library.

Reading interests of rural people have been found very similar to those of urban people. Books on economic and political subjects seem most popular at present. Strictly vocational subjects are less popular, partly probably because the agricultural journals and bulletins cover most questions of agriculture and home economics.

In some communities the school library is open to every one, and in such cases greater consideration must be given to the interests of the out-of-school population in the selection of new books.

Occasionally a town or city library attempts to service the nearby rural area at a small annual fee of four or eight shillings and thereby fills a real need. Sometimes the teacher avails himself of this opportunity to provide a greater variety of reading material for his pupils.

In a few States encouragement has been given to the township library, the township being our smallest political unit of local rural government, but too small for adequate financial support. Library experts estimate that four shillings per caput, or eight hundred pounds per annum, is the minimum budget requirement for the purchase of new books, rental of space, and, most important of all, employment of a trained librarian.

Each of our States and the Federal Government maintain extensive libraries which make almost any book in print obtainable by anyone at little or no financial expense. These libraries are maintained for specialised rather than general reading purposes, and little or no attempt is made through them to make contact with the mass of people.

So far our most promising experiment has been with the library for the County or district which by law may levy a tax for the support of the County library. Of our 3,065 Counties 231 in 35 States have already availed themselves of the privilege. Forty per cent. of these co-operate with the city libraries within their area. The movement is being fostered by all organisations concerned with rural social and economic conditions, also by the American Library Association.*

The County library is chiefly supported by public monies, and its services are therefore free for all. Usually the books are housed and catalogued at one central point and may be distributed through bookshelves maintained in various stores, school buildings, churches, or other social centres, by mail, or from home to home by motor transport on a regular bi-weekly or monthly schedule. The most important feature of the County library is the trained librarian who has a sympathetic understanding and appreciation of rural people and their life, prepares exhibits, makes up book lists, and goes about to club meetings, fairs, other social gatherings, and even to private homes, and not only makes known, but also creates an interest in, the reading material most helpful and available. He or she, from a knowledge of rural needs and interests, wisely guides in the selection of books, pamphlets, magazines, and other reading matter.

We have much still to learn, but we have learned that to make books, magazines, and pamphlets accessible is but the first step. Any barrier such as an annual fee or an additional journey, however small it may be, proves insurmountable to most at the present time. Every encouragement must be given the creation of an interest in and realisation of the need for wider reading habits.

* Excellent bulletins on the promotion of and maintenance of County libraries may be obtained free or for a very small fee from the American Library Association, 520, North Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

RURAL SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE U.S.A.

DR. WM. MCKINLEY ROBINSON

In my remarks I am using the terms High School and secondary education interchangeably to cover the four year period which follows the eight years of primary school education.

Approximately 12,000 or over one-half of the secondary schools in the United States of America have fewer than one hundred pupils, a proportion which is increasing. A decade ago, but 25 per cent. of the rural—rural is defined as including those communities of 2,500 population or less—boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 17 were in High Schools as contrasted with 39 per cent. to-day. In spite of the depression we find among our rural people a faith in education and an increasing demand for greater educational advantages for their children, prompted possibly by a desire to safeguard their children from their own hardships. More and more rural people are sending their children to High Schools, and they wish the children to share in the home life while they as parents share in the social and community life of the school. Hence the increasing number of very small High Schools, even though a minimum of 150 High School pupils is more nearly adequate to justify the sufficiently large Staff, curricular offerings, buildings, and supply of equipment desirable.

Realising that our secondary schools were lagging behind the primary schools, a comprehensive survey was made of our High Schools covering the questions of faculty, buildings, equipment, curricula, extra-curricular activities, etc. Amongst the 28 bulletins was a monograph of great interest.*

The study of 500 average rural secondary schools is here contrasted with the findings from 100 selected schools recognised by experts as being outstanding. The differences in these 100 outstanding schools probably mark the trends in our rural secondary education for the next decade or so. I shall supplement an account of those trends by some personal observations.

Size and Location. Of the outstanding small High Schools a larger percentage than of the 500 had 150 or more pupils. They were usually found in small towns or villages rather than in the open country, since most of our rural education leaders advocate locating the small High School in the natural community centre at the cross-roads or the business and social centre of the village. They served areas somewhat larger than the usual thirty-six square miles. Hence their proportion of pupils transported daily was high.

Faculty. While some rural secondary schools have as few as three teachers, the average is from eight to ten. The Principals of the selected schools had received five or more years of training beyond the High School course, and the teachers had also received a longer training. The Principals of the selected schools received the larger salaries, while all the teachers received about the same average salary.

Buildings and Equipment. In almost every building of the selected schools there was found one room or special space set aside for a library

* The Smaller Secondary Schools Bulletin 1932, No. 17, Monograph No. 6. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C. Price 15 cents.

of a large number of books supplemented by current magazines and newspapers, and kept open throughout the day under the supervision usually of a teacher with special school library training.

Gymnasium and auditorium facilities were afforded, frequently in one large room convertible to either purpose. Provision of free textbooks by the school made possible greater freedom in selection, also greater variety of texts.

More visual educational material was found, pictures, lanterns, and lantern slides, etc. Larger school grounds were found, making possible adequate playgrounds and a landscaped setting which becomes the pride of the community. Some of the primary schools have school gardens, but the secondary schools seldom use their grounds for the agricultural classes. Most vocational agricultural projects are conducted on 'man-size' plots on the home farm.

Administration. In the selected schools the Principals taught from one-half to three-fourths of a full teaching load, devoting the remainder of their time to administration and supervision. As a rule the elementary and secondary schools are housed in the same building, one Principal being responsible for both. The trend of six years of primary school plus the six years of the re-organised secondary school as contrasted with the traditional 8-4 plan is noticeable. This makes it possible for each teacher to confine his teaching to a lesser variety of subjects, without need for an increased total Staff. The average secondary school has a forty-minute class period, but the selected schools tend toward a longer period of fifty or more minutes. This sometimes necessitates a certain amount of combination and alternation of subjects, much as has been recommended for the farm or one-man schools. One assembly period per week of fifty or more minutes has more than proved its value in building up school morale and developing spiritual values. Favour is shown toward giving the pupils entire responsibility in providing for the assembly hours.

Curriculum trends. Greater interest is being shown in subjects closely related to the conditions and problems of modern life, such as Economics, Problems of Democracy, Study of Occupations, etc. Practical subjects are offered more generally and are gaining in prestige. Home Economics and Agriculture are most frequently given. Here and there a school is introducing practical subjects, less vocational in kind but of a type to prove valuable in any occupation. Examples of such are: the rural school shop—consisting of units in cement work, leather work, electric wiring, rope tying, sheet metal work, auto-mechanics, carpentry, plumbing, glazing, finishing and painting,—such as any "handy man" would find helpful around the average home, and the Junior Business Practice—consisting of units in typewriting for personal use only, simple elements of law governing contracts and various obligations, business forms—such as deeds, wills, loans and mortgages; personal bookkeeping and accounting—including banking and business forms and procedure, budget making, etc. Music and Art are gaining slowly but steadily. Interest is being shown in educational and vocational guidance. Experiments tried thus far in guidance work do not yet justify the average school-man in approaching the subject with too great a degree of certainty.

Provision for Curriculum Enrichment. Excellent radio programmes are provided in some States for the schools, but comparatively few rural

schools have as yet made use of these, partly because of the initial cost and partly because few teachers are familiar with the best possibilities and the necessary technique.

A few schools have increased their offerings through the use of correspondence lessons from reliable commercial companies or educational institutions. Faculty members assume more or less responsibility for aiding and supervising the students in their use. The itinerant teacher provides another means of enriching the curricular offerings, especially in such subjects as Home Economics, Agriculture, and Rural School Shop. He spends forenoons in one school and afternoons in another, or part of each week in each of the two or three schools.

Extra-curricular Activities. In the selected schools both athletic and non-athletic extra-curricular activities were given a more prominent part in the programme. School Boards are beginning to set aside funds for this purpose instead of leaving their support to money raised by the students and their friends.

Of the non-athletic activities, choruses, orchestras, bands, drama clubs, and Agricultural Extension Clubs were most favoured. Provision for such activities has proved necessary during a regular period in the school day, because so many pupils are transported daily from their homes to the school.

In choice of a faculty, more and more attention is being given to the question of ability, training, and experience, in the direction of the various extra-curricular activities.

Teaching Techniques. The problem and project methods, long unit assignments, supervised study periods, and socialised class-room procedure are finding a place. Field-trips are gaining in favour as the parents are coming to realise that the teacher may still be on duty outside the school. These take varying forms such as trips to various farms or Agricultural Colleges by the agriculture classes; the study of plant life or mineral formations; observation of processes and discussions with employers and workers in various occupations, businesses, and professions, with the thought of adding to the pupils' general knowledge as well as for the vocational guidance possibilities; trips to places of historical interest, first-hand study of the functions of government—trips to the seats of State or Federal government being particularly popular. Frequently school buses are used for transporting the classes, whether during the school season or holiday periods. In addition to the trips, the study of text-books is being supplemented by much more extensive use of libraries and visual aids.

Provision for individual differences is made through the offering of more curricula, additional credit for additional or superior work, unit type of instruction, differentiation in assignments, the setting aside of certain periods in which pupils may be given individual attention, semi-annual promotions, special conference periods, special coaching of slow or failing pupils and the like. Pupil-participation in the government of the secondary school is encouraged through student-councils, monitors, building- and ground-officers, etc.

Permanent Records. In the selected schools records are kept in the permanent files of the intelligence tests, achievement tests, grades and promotions, health and medical reports, special abilities or disabilities, likes and dislikes, of the students throughout their entire school life. Note is also sometimes made of events or achievements in later school

life which are of unusual interest. These records may become of immeasurable value to the alert teacher, Principal, or research-student, particularly if he be interested in vocational guidance.

The School as a Community Centre. Although we recognise that the primary concern of the school is the child of school age, the obligation of giving more effective service to the community and to the child through his community may not be neglected. In the city, the school may more nearly confine its attention to the child himself, but the rural High School in America is becoming more and more the universal centre of the community.

In the selected schools there frequently were found the extension of the library service to the entire community ; evening classes in music, drama, shop work, agriculture, current social and economic problems, and the like ; organised sports for men and women, afternoon classes for mothers in child study, etc.

Too little thought and effort have been given to the needs of the out-of-school boy and girl of secondary school age found in most communities.

The Parent-Teacher Association, which is steadily gaining momentum in America, is in many rural areas the most vital force for community welfare to be found.

As stated earlier, the great variety of trends in rural secondary education upon which I have touched do not characterise the average High School. No one school embodies all of these in their most desirable form.

In some of these tendencies I trust you may find ideas which will prove suggestive for solving your own problems.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

DR. WM. MCKINLEY ROBINSON

In America vocational subjects have no place in the elementary school. Agriculture as a cultural subject, in the forms of nature-study and gardening, is given a place in the primary school ; but agriculture as a vocational subject is first offered in the secondary school. It is granted that there may be a place in the elementary school for vocational agriculture for over-age pupils or those who will choose farming as a vocation but have no opportunity to attend the secondary school. Still this would be but a makeshift or temporary expedient until the schools are in a position to make more adequate provision.

Although recently there has been a very definite trend toward introducing vocational curricula into our secondary schools, many have not as yet been able to fall into line. Naturally the small secondary school can only offer one or two curricula, usually the general and the academic. The general contains no classical or modern foreign languages but may have more science, both social and physical, and more practical subjects than the academic. It meets the entrance requirements of many of our recognised Colleges and Universities ; hence many rural secondary schools do not as yet offer agricultural and home economics curricula. Statistics of our one hundred "selected schools", chosen because of their outstanding work to check against the five hundred "unselected", show that deference is being clearly paid to the pupils preparing for higher education. This is due in a measure to limits imposed by the size of the student body and faculty.

An additional curriculum appears for each increment of approximately 75 pupils, which suggests that an enrolment of 150 is the minimum necessary for the maintenance of desirable secondary school standards, so that the interests and abilities of the individual pupils and, through them, the welfare of the social group may not be overlooked by limiting all to one curriculum.

In the comparative table of new subjects introduced in selected and non-selected schools it is interesting to note that agriculture was the only subject reported as dropped from the curriculum, and that from some 7 per cent. of the schools. This may indicate dissatisfaction with the subject matter, or the method, or both. Many agriculture teachers have been so highly specialised that they find it difficult to teach other subjects as is necessary. In small High Schools, however, a comparison of the numbers of schools dropping agriculture and of schools introducing it is encouraging.

The trends indicated by the selected schools being the more significant, we are pleased to find both in the curricular offerings and in the new courses added that home economics is being given a prominent place. We know that practically every girl will become a homemaker, and boys may also be expected to play a part in home life. We also realise the tremendous importance of a satisfying home life to the welfare of the nation. Not even agriculture is more important. The interest in both music and vocational guidance likewise tends towards a happier citizenry.

63 per cent. of the selected schools reported plans in operation for increasing the curricular offerings by extra-mural effort. Music, agriculture, and home economics, in the order mentioned, were the subjects most frequently mentioned as those in which credit was given for extra-mural work. The work in agriculture and home economics usually took the form of home projects in connection with other regular school subjects carried on under the direction of the regular teachers. In some cases an itinerant teacher was employed for the more highly specialised subjects. In a few instances, correspondence courses in subjects outside the curricula were being tried out under the guidance and supervision of the teachers.

In secondary schools, which meet the required standards, agriculture, manual arts, and home economics are provided for under a Federal Act known as the Smith-Hughes Law. Federal money, supplemented by State and local funds, bears the expense of the programme. In 1929, almost £1,700,000 was spent upon Smith-Hughes work, which includes not only its major programme in secondary schools but also part-time and night classes for employed youths and adults. In that same year there were 107,000 Smith-Hughes secondary school classes in agriculture and 30,000 in home economics.

The work is also partially controlled by the Federal and State governments. The teachers as a rule have been trained in a four-year technical curriculum above secondary level in the State Agricultural College; they are also expected to have met certain professional educational standards, and may teach only subjects in their speciality or very closely related fields—that is, the agriculture teacher may also teach manual arts or biology, the home economics teacher may teach hygiene. In their vocational classes they may have no fewer than ten pupils, none less than fourteen years of age. Double periods of 40-50 minutes each must be given to their classes. Each pupil must carry through a practical project. The teacher gives most of his time to school-room instruction, the remainder to the supervision of projects at the

homes of pupils, for which a travel allowance is usually given him. Smith-Hughes teachers are employed for the full twelve months of the year, the school vacation being devoted to the supervision of projects. As a rule a community fair or exhibition, consisting in part of exhibits of class projects, is favoured and encourages a very high standard of work. But the average small secondary school finds the meeting of the requirements difficult.

The courses offered in agriculture in the rural secondary school vary with the interests of areas, the size of the faculty, and the possibility of having Smith-Hughes work. Many schools offer but one year of general agriculture—open to boys and girls alike—which may be supplemented with stress on allied subjects such as biology, chemistry, economics, business practices, etc. The practice varies from this one-year course to a full three or four years of work in schools able to offer an agricultural curriculum of varied courses adapted to the needs peculiar to the local community. There are seldom enough pupils for the school to offer more than one or two courses at a time, hence they are rotated to give each pupil the opportunity to have the full offering in his four-years' course.

Through this promotion of scientific agriculture we are now worried about over-production and are finding it necessary to turn our attention to marketing, yet, though our farmers may to-day produce tremendously more than formerly, they actually are not expending less effort. Studies made in different States indicate that our farmers are working longer hours than ever before, and the emphasis upon production has been so great that we have almost lost sight of human considerations. In the schools we are facing the problem of how best to develop an appreciation of the beauties, joys, and satisfactions to be had by those who will take time to live as well as to produce. In rural America we have come to the time when cultural concern is both economically and socially necessary.

BOYS' AND GIRLS' CLUBS AND THEIR RELATION TO THE SCHOOLS

DR. WM. MCKINLEY ROBINSON

The extension programme of the United States Department of Agriculture as carried on through Boys' and Girls' Clubs has become a powerful force. Of the 6,000,000 farm youth between the ages of ten and twenty about 700,000 are members of clubs at any one time. The average member is between the ages of thirteen and fourteen and remains an active member a little less than two years.

The work is very practical, consisting for the most part of projects carried on under the direction of some adult leader. On the home farms or village plots boys carry out animal, poultry, gardening, carpentry, or other projects, according to the agricultural interests of their home communities. Girls for the most part confine their interests to cooking, canning, sewing, home planning and the like. As for organisation, the work is supported financially by the Federal, State, and County governments. Some few Counties, or local rural government units, have a paid club leader or agent whose work is confined to the clubs. For the most part, however, the work is under the supervision of the Home Demonstration Agent, or under the more common County Agricultural Agent, the membership and vitality being found to be greatest

under the leadership of the Club Agent, next greatest under the Home Demonstration Agent, and least effective under the Agricultural Agent.

Local clubs, usually with a membership of from twelve to fifteen, are under the direction of some adult. In some States preference is given to a parent as club-adviser, as he is in the community throughout the year and can supervise the projects during the teacher's vacation.

In other States preference is given to the teacher, on the ground that he already has the children together and may find a place for a meeting in the school time-table and school building. The type of activity involved in good club work is in keeping with the activity programme sponsored by Dr. John Dewey and other leaders in modern educational thought. Most teachers have felt that they are being hampered in their attempts to vitalise the school programme when a parent serves as the club-leader. Some of the extension agents who are anxious to keep their contacts with parents have admitted that teachers have the better educational and psychological background for directing and integrating the club programme but insist that they are likely to be too theoretical.

There would seem to be sufficient work for both the parents and teachers. In the hope that the teacher would be keenly alert to the possibilities of the projects as vital parts of the school curriculum, and would freely co-operate with and draw upon the extension agent for technical information and guidance, the club work might very well be left to him. To the extension agents and parent leaders would be left that great field of the out-of-school youth. Only 39 per cent. of our rural boys and girls of the secondary school age—fourteen to seventeen years—are in school. The other 61 per cent. are almost entirely neglected by all social and educational agencies.

Some educators have been critical of the Boys' and Girls' Clubs because of what they consider to be too great concern with money-making. The average club member, it will be recalled, is under fourteen years of age. Educational rather than vocational aims should activate his programme. Prizes have been awarded or particular mention given to the child whose project has paid best, which disposed some children to excessive hours of hard labour. In other cases it was thought that the children were being exploited in order to influence the agricultural practices of the parents. The extension leaders are now stressing more than ever the educational value to the child.

The change in emphasis from agricultural production to education is leading to greater interest in cultural values. Music and dramatics are finding a place in the club programme, also landscaping and interior decorating. Co-operation and team-play, parliamentary usage in conducting meetings, practice in carrying projects through to successful completion, preparation of exhibits and demonstrations, neat and accurate record-keeping of both club meetings and project-activities, are being more and more stressed because of their educational significance. Summer-camps or trips to the State Agricultural Colleges or national Capitol are being featured. These changes are but another evidence of our shift from thinking of agriculture as a way of making a living to thinking of agriculture as a way of life.

AGRICULTURAL CLUB WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA

(THE HOME PROJECT)

MR. G. H. COCK

Club work was first commenced in the Union of South Africa in 1914 without any very definite policy. The Maize Competition was inaugurated under the direction and control of the Department of Agriculture through its Division of Agricultural Education and Extension. The Transvaal Department of Education collaborated by permitting Principals of the country schools to act as enrolling officers, and by giving a certain amount of supervision, and, together with commercial firms, by donations of money and implements for prizes. The design of the competition was simple and merely gave rules and regulations for the cultivation and growing of maize and kaffir corn under technical direction. Later in 1926 project clubs were established on a similar basis. Still later, poultry clubs were added.

The first year commenced with the enrolment of 46 members, but now there is a yearly average of 600, confined to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, while the movement is being extended to the Cape Province and flung further afield.

Organisation is at present in a very simple form and is controlled by a specially appointed officer who does the demonstration work and, with the help of District Extension officers, makes the inspections, gives lectures, and makes the final awards. Each club member submits specimens of his products which are exhibited on the major shows of the Transvaal.

The objects of the "home project" plan may be summarised as follows:

(1) To create a spirit of independent endeavour and pride of achievement, and very often a desire for agriculture as a means of livelihood.

(2) To create a sense of enquiry as to reasons, recommended and adopted; this serves as a medium of educational instruction.

(3) To impart economic instruction, whether verbally, by use of the record book, or by practical demonstrations. This helps the member to envisage his knowledge in terms of £. s. d., while the member conducting his operations at the home serves as an experimenter or demonstrator, thereby directly influencing parents and neighbours.

(4) Through the use and propagation of good seeds and high-class stock, to benefit the local club area and, with the extension of clubs, the whole country.

(5) To encourage team-work, promote social contact and friendly competition, and yet preserve the individual identity and initiative which is often restricted, if not sometimes entirely lost, in the group plan. The object is to encourage the child to DO SOMETHING AND BE SOMEBODY.

Records during the past five years strongly justify the scheme. As an illustration, score-card averages awarded throughout the Maize and Kaffir corn competition show that the average marks gained per individual have risen from 30 to 42 out of a possible 50. Secondly, over 2,000 farmers have obtained pure seed from club members, and thirdly many parents have been influenced by the results obtained to the extent of changing their methods and plans, e.g. in reduction of cultivated acreage, in intensified methods, seed selection, and reduction of working costs per acre, while in the aggregate they have made larger profits.

Factors governing results are :—(1) climatic conditions (Field Husbandry Clubs); (2) the soil; (3) the school Principal and club leader; (4) the parent; (5) the member; (6) the State policy; (7) the public interest.

In South Africa the rain and its distribution of precipitation is the chief limiting factor. Precipitation of 10 inches during the season with an equable distribution yielded in the case of maize 10 bags to the acre on well-prepared and cultivated soil.

The soil, its natural productivity and synthetic fertility, need not be discussed here.

The school Principal plays a vital part in the organisation. The results obtained are largely dependent on his interest, attitude, and activity, towards not only the member but the parent as well. The club as a whole flourishes or declines according to the activity of the teacher. The Section Leader can help the teacher considerably by creating a spirit of *esprit de corps* among his fellows and by giving them a lead in the field work. It is, therefore, essential that the right member be selected as Section Leader.

The parent, if not interested in his child, or if conservative in his methods and slow to assimilate modern knowledge, hinders progress considerably. Unfortunately, many parents expect too much labour from their children as part of the farm business or as filial servitude.

The member himself is a limiting factor only when not an entirely free agent or when physically or psychologically handicapped.

It must be noted that the rapid extension of agricultural clubs under our peculiar conditions in South Africa is largely, if not entirely, dependent upon the policy of the Government, which provides the sinews of war. Local bodies and institutions are so handicapped as to be incapable of governing organisation and providing technical direction.

Finally, the public interest is largely of a charitable nature in South Africa and is more an indirect psychological factor in effecting the results of home projects. Public interest, however, through municipal councils and suchlike bodies, can play a large and important rôle.

Much still remains to be done. Where at present the movement is governed by one central body, the time is not far off for decentralisation. A scheme is afoot to-day to provide for this, making use of the central schools and settlements where educational officers with an agricultural training will help to establish and conduct the clubs. The provision of an agricultural bias in the primary schools or secondary schools will be a means of extending this great work and of producing a more efficient and virile farmer in the future.

THE AGRICULTURAL 'GROUP PROJECT' IN SOUTH AFRICA

MR. J. D. DE WET

One of South Africa's greatest needs is to encourage the rising generations in rural areas to learn to make farming a sound commercial proposition.

Agriculture is the basis of the life and work of the peoples of all countries, and the 'group project' or 'school farm' has as its main object to ensure contact for the learner with the farming vocation.

Vocational education by reason of its definite objectives and requirements should be particularly characterised. Apprenticeship has long

been used as a means of securing this first-hand specific knowledge and experience. However, the 'group project' or 'school farm' practised on land adjoining the school will give in a large measure the desirable results of apprenticeship, while providing larger opportunities for teaching and learning.

The slogan "earning while learning" has been an attraction for vocational education in agriculture and, according to Departmental records of the Individual Maize Club contests, the average production of maize per acre was 6.1 bags during 1920, with individuals producing up to 20 bags, but has now risen to an average of 9.4 bags, with a record of 27.4 bags per acre, the average nett profit also increasing to £2 4s. 5d. per member.

Several members have made £10 and more by the sale of their maize. During 1932, Club members of the Lydenburg School, with a membership of 8, achieved the records—average yield per acre 20.3 bags, the best yield 23 bags, and the poorest yield 17½ bags. The average nett profit was £3 7s. 6d., from sales at only 6s. a bag.

The 'group project' is a more recent and much bigger undertaking than the Individual Club but has no State assistance for the purchase of stock and the major enterprises, yet Dikepping, in the Kuruman district, made a nett profit of £235 in 1933, and the 'school farm' at Winton in the same district after only 18 months showed a profit of £105 for a year.

The 'group project' system of education has in it deferred values, but its immediate returns are gratifying. It is reasonable to expect that there will be definite improvement in practices on the home farm in succeeding years, and the return from such improved practice, because it is cumulative, is likely to be far greater than that from the original work. Furthermore, this improvement in practice spreads gradually to the whole community and becomes the leaven which permeates the farming and raises the general standard of rural living in its locality.

It has been found that the 'group project' or 'school farm' attains its maximum efficiency when it helps to solve community problems, leads to better farming practices, and forms an integral part of the district extension programme. It is therefore very essential for the organisation to give careful consideration to the vital problems of each particular area.

In the Kuruman district, for instance, the main branch of farming practised is dairy ranching, and the five 'school farms' or 'group projects' concern themselves essentially with this type of farming. Owing to a deficiency in phosphorus a disease "gallamsiekte" is very prevalent, and to combat this disease and to increase the weight of slaughter-stock, and also to serve as a demonstration to farmers, members of the 'school farm' give their cattle the right amount of bonemeal daily. Better sires are introduced, where finances permit. The best methods of handling milk and cream are taught. Drought-resistant crops are grown and stored in silos or in stacks. Natural pasture is stored for winter feeding.

The members also make a study of the feed-value of the natural grasses, edible seeds, and indigenous trees, in their vicinity, and samples are forwarded to the Department of Agriculture for identification purposes.

Numerous trees have been planted by Clubs on their 'school farms' to serve as shade and windbreaks for stock. The trees and seed in the Kuruman district were donated by the Department of Agriculture.

In addition to dairy ranching, mutton sheep farming is also practised, and one Club, namely the Kalahari 'school farm', has recently commenced farming with Blackhead Persian ewes crossed with "Ronderib" African-

der rams. This Club is also interested in the production of astrakhan and has procured a karakul ram to be crossed with Blackhead Persian ewes.

As minor projects, these 'school farms' also keep pure-bred dual purposes poultry and bacon pigs for local consumption.

The teacher on a centralised rural school is the desirable person for Club leader on a 'school farm'. Inexperience in leaders, coupled with the fact that group work is done without remuneration, has at times been the cause of unpopularity of the 'group project'.

To obtain the best results the Club leader should have had at least two years' successful experience in farming, preferably at a School of Agriculture. He should know and be in sympathy with farm life, not theoretically but from practical experience.

The organisation should be under the direction of the Extension Officer where possible. As local leadership is of the greatest importance, no Club should be organised unless there is a teacher or farmer who can devote time and effort in advice and direction. To secure a favourable community atmosphere, the Club should have the active support of the local School—or Boarding House—Committee, in an advisory capacity. The Department of Agriculture will supply the necessary seed for demonstration purposes, and all pertinent information.

In commencing a 'group project' the organiser should first consult the local Extension Officer. After the Club, with a simple constitution and the necessary officers, has been formed and the leader selected, the first meeting of the 'group project' may then be held at which the Extension Officer will present an outline of work for the year and finances may also be discussed. A Club programme may then be formulated and regular meetings should be held monthly on fixed dates.

The 'group project' can be financed in the following ways :—

(1) By interested farmers, teachers, or members of the public, who make donations.

(2) By the aid of concerts, agricultural shows, and bazaars.

(3) By the leasing of stock and implements by farmers to the Club.

(4) By the sale of farm products.

Members are also allowed to earn pocket-money individually by :—

(1) Producing vegetables on special plots allotted them.

(2) Special individual work done for the Club.

All the 'school farm' products in the Kuruman district are sold to local School Boarding Houses. All equipment, stock, seed, etc., purchased are the permanent property of the 'school farm', only to be sold as good business practice or necessity may demand.

The profits derived from the 'school farm' are used for the following purposes :—

(1) Purchases to extend and improve the 'group project.'

(2) Purchase of agricultural books for the school library.

(3) Financial assistance on repayment terms to members for higher education.

(4) 10 per cent. of the profits is divided amongst the members annually.

(5) In the event of the dissolution of a 'school farm', all the assets become the property of the school concerned. Where the school is closed, the local School Board will be the trustees of the funds and it will be their duty to use one-half of these for educating farm children in agriculture, and the balance is to be used for laying out demonstration plots under the supervision of the Department of Agriculture.

Club and other committee members and project leaders are elected annually. The Club leaders should attend all Club meetings, inspect the work of the members at frequent intervals, and assist the project leaders in planning and carrying out the work.

A factor which is causing concern in the individual project system is the availability of the member's time for doing the work. As the individual project grows this factor will become more and more vital. Most of the members of the individual project or the Boys' and Girls' Club are obliged to assist their parents on home farms for a very large proportion of their out-of-school time. With the 'group project' or 'school farm' on the other hand the members usually reside in hostels on or near the farm and are therefore available for the work as required.

On the 'school farm' methods of instruction are different from those of an Agricultural School. Most of the children are 12 years of age or under, and the instruction must therefore be based upon pre-adolescent psychology. This stage is marked by dependence on companions and on the opinions of the group rather than on those of adults, by rivalry, by a spirit of ready acceptance, and the desire for possession for the sake of immediate use. For money there is little regard. During this stage one sees the beginning of the so-called 'gang' spirit in the group leadership, which is dominant among urban boys between the ages of 11 and 16.

From the standpoint of Club work for the years 10 to 12 some of these characteristics should be utilised by Club leaders. Advantage should therefore be taken of the trait of accepting or adopting readily what is offered by having the members do the work themselves, on the ground that the actual doing of things provides more of the factors conducive to learning than any other method of instruction. Moreover, learning by doing provides ample opportunity for self-expression, which is essential if any real learning is to take place. In carrying out a programme of this kind early advantage should be taken of the 'gang' spirit and group leadership in the organisation of a 'school farm' on a voluntary basis to handle Club affairs. Experience has shown such a method leads to the most effective Club work. Club leaders should note especially that boys and girls during the ages 10 to 12 care very little for the work of adults, their interests being rather in others of their own age. Children of any period like to work, and do better work, with others of their own mental age. Hence attention should be paid to proper grouping on the 'school farm'. It should be noted also that the period of these early years is an opportune time, through a food club and perhaps through the use of a growth record, to establish or to reinforce proper food habits, especially in view of the fact that in the years following—the early adolescent period—the appetite becomes freakish and health may be undermined and mental power dwarfed owing to a lack of proper nourishment. Moreover, it is difficult to adopt new food habits after the subsequent physiological adjustment. Correct food habits should therefore be formed as early as possible. These facts, together with the fact that we have no less than 32,000 sub-normal children of school-going age, establish good reasons for food club work among the younger 'school farm' members. In this connection, the establishment of vegetable gardens on every 'school farm' is important.

Such food club demonstrations as the following can be carried out according to locality:—

(1) Greater use of:—(a) milk and other dairy products; (b) fruits and vegetables; (c) bran-containing cereals.

(2) More varied use of canned fruits and vegetables.

- (3) Improved school lunches.
- (4) The making of good wholesome bread.
- (5) Use of labour-saving devices.

The stage of early adolescence, 12 to 14 years, should be well understood by Club leaders if successful work is to be done, for otherwise local leaders may become discouraged and work be abandoned. This is the stage of primitive impulses, intolerance, cocksureness, a stage in which no normal boy can be called a "perfect gentleman". Growth is so rapid that extreme awkwardness results. The boy does not know what to do with his hands or his feet, or how to adjust himself either physically or socially. Boys and girls during these ages need sympathy and an understanding attitude in adults. Ridicule does distinct injury. They are now anxious to act as adults. Having acquired a social viewpoint they can engage in agricultural activities in much the same way as adults. The work is real and challenges their best effort. Because of children's ability to accept new ideas readily and to follow directions accurately Club leaders should not be surprised to find Club boys and girls carrying to successful completion much of the so-called complex work.

Effective teaching of the early adolescent involves an appeal to the learner's interest and initiative, the use of the member's apperceptive power, a knowledge of the individualism of youth, and an appreciation of the "gang" spirit. All the daily experiences of the 'school farm' must furnish the opportunity and the occasion for the Club leader to direct the activities of the members.

In conclusion we have found that Club work tends to :—

- (1) develop the qualities of leadership.
- (2) build up character and inculcate good habits.
- (3) keep the young people in constant touch with their future careers and also with the trend of modern customs.
- (4) make better business men and women of the members.
- (5) imbue them with enthusiasm in their work and make farm life attractive to them.
- (6) improve the quality of crops and stock in local areas and so in the country generally.
- (7) encourage the right spirit of competition and give a definite aim in life.
- (8) benefit the parents through demonstration work of educational value.

THE 'SCHOOL FARM' IDEA

MR. S. J. BOTHA

The *skoolplaas* or 'school farm' is the result of a reaction against the traditional *plaasskool* or 'farm school' with which the rural population had been saddled for the last 60 years. The latter generally consisted of one or two rooms attached to the farm-house and with nothing in it or outside it to proclaim its important function. Progressive ideas in the teacher were not encouraged, and more often than not everything in the immediate neighbourhood tended to counteract any educational influence which the school tried to exert.

As its name implies the *skoolplaas* is a *plaas* or farm conducted by a school with a view to supplementing and enriching the curriculum.

It has originated as a protest against conditions obtaining in sparsely populated districts and in areas where the inhabitants were poor.

Its advocates have no new philosophy to bring to the world, and they show a wide diversity of opinion as to what it really means and what it ought to stand for. In replies to a questionnaire circulated amongst Principals of such schools some stress the dignity of labour, as if that were a new aspect of education, though nobody will deny that our schools have neglected to teach the child that work is honourable or that our "Indigent Hostels" in the towns have been a fruitful source of indolence and laziness. Others plead for opportunities for self-expression which, in a one-teacher school, was an impossibility in the past. Others are more ambitious and aim at developing a miniature agricultural, industrial, and trades school combined. Only one teacher hoped to be able to make his hostel self-supporting from the proceeds of the farm. In practice we simply set out independently to try and secure for each child full opportunities for self-expression, for participation in collective tasks, and for leadership, by using the correct stimulus—interest. We knew that development, education, or character-formation, was impossible without interest, that the child was by nature an active being and wanted to be doing, and to that purpose the *skoolplaas* lent itself.

The men who originally began with this idea loved the country and realised how helpless a child was who left the 'farm school' after six or eight years of school life, and they were dissatisfied with the rigid curriculum drawn up for the city. Whatever has been done thus far to prepare public opinion for the change which is now coming has been the work of teachers plodding on in different parts of the Union, independently of each other, without much encouragement from the Education Departments. Dr. Viljoen, our late Superintendent-General of Education, said ten years ago: "An agricultural spirit must be introduced into the schools; we have made the great mistake of excluding the rural spirit from our schools and have neglected to do what other countries have done long ago. We have practically enforced urban conditions in the country, and we have separated the rural school from the rural home." His solution at the time was the school garden and compulsory nature-study in all rural schools. The outcome was that the spirit of the school remained the same with the same teachers and the same inspectors to put it into practice.

The little 'farm school' was often the scene of three tragedies—a lady teacher retiring from the service with shattered nerves, big boys leaving the school with no self-confidence, and all the children leaving school with eyes that had not been trained to observe and with hands that could not do a honest day's work. It was only after the Poor White question had become a POOR WHITE PROBLEM that the then Administrator, realising that drastic changes were necessary, came forward with his Indigent Boarding House scheme,* which, however well intended, meant in most cases that rural children were confined within the narrow precincts of a hostel in town. In a few isolated cases only did this centralisation take place in the country and give birth to the *skoolplaas* or 'school farm.'

* This scheme was instituted in 1917 by Sir Fred. de Waal, the Administrator, in the Cape Province. The Provincial Department of Education made available grants of about £19 per child to local bodies (mostly the Dutch Reformed Churches) to open hostels in which children, who lived outside the 3 mile radius from an existing school and whose parents could not afford to send them to boarding-schools, were assembled in order that they might receive schooling up to the completion of the primary standards. They received free board and sometimes also free clothing and medical attention in these hostels.

The property on which the *skoolplaas* rose was generally owned, and the farming operations were generally financed, by the Principal, which meant a very slow development. To my knowledge only one *skoolplaas* rose on property vested in an Education Department—viz., the one at Klipdrift, near Potchefstroom. At the time of my visit in 1932 this had been at work for just two years, and I well remember the pride in the faces of the children when I praised their endeavours, and how interested they were when I told them that I came from the largest *skoolplaas* in the Union, Seodin, near Kuruman, right on the border of the Kalahari.

In the Transvaal the credit is due to the Agricultural Department, which encouraged the establishment of Maize or Mealie Clubs or *Voor-spoedsbond*—a modified project—in connection with a few of the most progressive schools. These Mealie Clubs were afterwards changed to Agricultural Clubs, by which name they are known to-day, and they have since been established all over the Union.

An energetic Extension Officer of the Agricultural Department, realising that the school children would be his best lieutenants, started a series of experimental plots with various trees, grasses, and drought-resistant plants, and the Winton *skoolplaas* came into being. Our own *skoolplaas* at Seodin owed its rapid growth to the short-sightedness of the townspeople who flatly refused to contemplate Secondary Education for Poor Whites, as they styled the children of the farmer, even when deserving. In order to find the funds necessary to provide Secondary Education for all such children, I purchased property to the value of £3,000, and increased the area of irrigable land from $2\frac{1}{2}$ morgen to 30 morgen. The number of our boarders grew from 50 to 500, so that to-day Seodin is the only *skoolplaas* with a flourishing High School attached to it. This development has been possible because the 'school farm' is situated on an oasis with strong springs in the midst of a very arid region bordering on the Kalahari desert.

As the idea developed, it gradually became clear to the teachers concerned that the *skoolplaas* was serving a very modern educational purpose; that, besides cultivating a love for the country and making the child familiar with the rudiments of farming, it was also a means of providing suitable material and conditions for developing powers and interests, and giving social training for a happy and social life, with the aesthetic and emotional training required for civilised living. The majority of these enthusiasts state that they were unaware of the parallel attempts in other parts of the world.

When I pleaded with the former Superintendent-General of Education for a *skoolplaas* in Namaqualand 16 years ago, I only hoped to teach the children the dignity of labour, the minimum for successful farming, and the requirements for a social and civilised life. To-day we realise that we have to fulfil the duties of educator and parent, for the State has introduced compulsory education, which, so far as the rural school is concerned, means in the majority of cases centralisation in Indigent Boarding Houses of children between the ages of 7 and 16 years. The responsibility has been removed from the farmer to the teacher, who is not prepared for it because our Training Colleges failed to take early notice of the change coming over the country. For the future I personally expect great things from the spirit of co-operation lately displayed by the chief educational authorities, and the Minister of Education deserves the country's thanks for summoning a recent Conference at Capetown where a unanimous decision was taken to work together

to give the rural school a rural colour.* At present a day at such a school is largely a repetition of a day in an urban school and the scholar's attitude towards the one is the same as towards the other—his head is in the school but his heart is outside. But it is after school hours that the superiority of the *skoolplaas* asserts itself as an educational factor, in the healthier recreation, in the purposeful activities of the students, and in the performance of their respective duties. Care is always taken that these duties do not interfere with recreation. Manual labour is made compulsory for every child, rich or poor, if only to foster sympathy and to inspire self-confidence. On Wednesdays and Saturdays the children go to their respective tasks under their respective teachers and the natural aptitude of each is taken into account in the division of labour. Thus we see some scholars working on the play-grounds, others go into the blacksmith's shop, and others build outhouses or do woodwork. The garden work naturally makes a large demand on the labour supply: the orchard, the grain land, the vegetable garden, are each under the separate care of an individual teacher. The std. VII class is made responsible for the cowshed with its 20 cows and does the milking, the feeding, and the recording.

While the boys do all the outside work on the farm, the girls do all the most important domestic work in the Boarding House, which has 500 inmates, under the supervision of the lady teachers. Beyond this the poultry yard and the dairy fall to their care, and when their services are required in the vegetable garden they are only too pleased at the change from ordinary school work.

Football, tennis, swimming, and boxing are the favourite pastimes of the boys while the girls play tennis, tenniquoits, and basketball. Music is with us regarded as one of the most powerful stimulants of the emotional life, so that much time is devoted to it and the music teacher is kept fully occupied after school hours by his music pupils. Community singing is one of our favourite pastimes, as also are the social gatherings in which boys and girls mix freely as one large family. Our debating society gives the opportunity for insight into the social, political, and international questions of the day, while the debates held in the different class-rooms, under presidents chosen from amongst the students themselves, give the opportunity for leadership. The originality of the children becomes apparent in an organised society, such as that of the *skoolplaas*, without written laws, and those possessing the social insight are given ample opportunity to organise social evenings, concerts, or picnics. The dramatic element in education is fully realised as can be seen from the number of concerts, bioscope displays, and so forth, held regularly, and our dramatic society flourishes.

Every child, whether clever or not, is given equal opportunity for doing his share towards improving the society of which he is a member. The *skoolplaas* is a very useful institution for teaching boys and girls, through their separate tasks, that we exist but to co-operate. The educational limitations of the *skoolplaas* teachers and their lack of vision make it difficult for them to conceive of a radical change of outlook and to reorganise the school so that it may become a school grown out of the needs and problems of the people themselves. If the rural school has to stem the rural exodus, we shall have our work cut out for this generation at least. Adult education will also have to be one of the functions of the *skoolplaas* if we are to combat effectively the conservatism, and very often the ignorance and superstition, of the farming community.

* See Union Education Department's *Report of Conference on Rural Education*, 1934. (U.G. No. 29), Government Printer, Pretoria. Price 6d.

The *skoolplaas* is not going to feed the Universities, but it is going to serve a dual purpose of supplying the farmers for closer settlement schemes and at the same time of giving the fullest opportunity for the child to qualify himself for the profession of his choice. To that end it is plain that our curriculum needs gradual adjustment. No hard and fast curriculum, drawn up by educational experts living in the towns with a very superficial knowledge of the country and its needs, must be enforced for the first few years. The Departments will act wisely if they trust the teachers in this matter of experimenting, sifting, and adjusting, even though great mistakes are going to be made in the transition stage. The Training Colleges will have to readjust their courses, and only the very best and most intelligent teachers, men of initiative, resource, and adaptability, must be appointed to the responsible posts, after giving proof of practical ability. Especially where the school has helped to break down the family ties, through its scheme of centralisation in large hostels, is it necessary that we fully visualise what is the real task of the school, and especially of the rural school. We realise that we are to-day expected to educate for world citizenship in a land in which nationalism and imperialism are stalking the country. We are trying to give so many points of contact for each child's natural aptitude through our practical work in the home or on the farm, that we hope to produce a citizen whose individuality has been developed to the fullest, whose self-respect has been roused, and who aims at the well-being of society. We shall have to supply in the country the opportunities for social intercourse and amusements which are sorely lacking to-day and which are looked upon with suspicion by well-meaning parents and ministers.

Briefly then :

1. Our primary 'farm schools' must be converted into 'school farms' or *skoolplase* where Agricultural Science must supplant nature-study for boys, and where girls must get some form of Domestic Science and Needlework.

2. A number of *skoolplase* must act as feeders for a higher *skoolplaas* with a highly differentiated course of study in which agriculture, domestic science, and needlework must be compulsory subjects.

3. Those students of the higher *skoolplaas* who intend to be farmers must attend the Agricultural Colleges for at least two years before settling on the land.

4. Every ambitious indigent child should be given the opportunity at the high 'school farm' of obtaining secondary education free by giving his labour in exchange for instruction. At this moment a large number of indigent boys are working on the 'school farm' for their secondary fees.

5. Adult education must centre round the high 'school farm' through the joint endeavours of the Extension Officers of the Agricultural Department and the school—aided by a circulating library.

The promoters of the *skoolplaas* must bear in mind that it can never be a panacea for all the defects of the old 'farm schools.' If in addition to the services already mentioned we also succeed in bringing secondary education within reach of every deserving child, through our joint endeavours and our productive labour in the gardens and on the lands, we will have done much towards solving the Poor White problem and will deserve a place in the stars. If not our consolation must be—"They also serve who only stand and wait."

THE 'SCHOOL FARM' EXPERIMENT AT WINTON

MR. H. J. H. VERMEULEN

Three years ago the Winton School and Hostel were in a bad way. Ninety-six boarders were expected to share 11 pillow-slips. The buildings were dilapidated and in dire need of fresh paint. There was no kitchen, no flower-garden, and the rooms were furnished with tables and shelves made from old packing cases. The school was merely a building equipped with benches, chairs, tables, and black-boards. The Boarding House lacked all taste, convenience, or even ordinary decency; it was the embodiment of the idea that poor children have no needs beyond those of their stomachs. Indeed, to some people these penurious children were known as the "scoff-battalion", while some of the children regarded the hostel as a place to which to "come and buy wine and milk without money and without price."

This state of affairs necessarily affected the children who exhibited a strongly-developed instinct for destruction, which spared neither bedsteads, knives, nor plates. Hostel-life was seemingly so unbearable that they desired to satisfy their inarticulate grudge against life by destroying everything in the place. In addition, indolence prevailed in its worst form and was often encouraged by the parents. The moment a child was asked to do something for me his attitude became that of a convict, and to a teacher with the future and the interests of his children at heart it was exceedingly distressing to witness the spiritless, passive, and limp way in which he would set about this enforced "convict" labour.

The children lacked all cultural opportunity and stimulus. The Hostel subscribed for one Church periodical only. Organised games were unknown—we had to teach the youngsters to play football and basketball, and it was a Herculean task, trying to inculcate in them, not only a sense of *esprit de corps*, and feelings of pride in and respect for their own school, but also even the rudiments of the etiquette of games. During the first match that we played they all watched me and applauded only when Authority seemed to indicate that it was the proper thing to do!

This is no exaggerated portrait of a school with some 125 scholars, which should have specialised in developing under Kalahari conditions the conceptions of citizenship, humanity, co-operation, and communal production. And yet, Winton was a model school according to local standards!

This first year at Winton was the most painful period of my teaching career. In course of time I was obliged to face facts. The Indigent Boarding House, however laudable its object, is too often only the breeding-place of "Poor Whites", and on the occasion of the visit of the Inspector of Schools after a long discussion of our problems we came to the conclusion that, while we could suggest no satisfactory substitute for the Indigent Hostel, there was a possible alternative for adoption in rural areas—a system of 'school farming', where boys might by means, *inter alia*, of actual farming on their own account under expert supervision work out their own salvation.

In an attempt to formulate a reform I asked myself: What is actually required of a country school in the Kalahari? And it seemed to me important in the first instance to arouse and keep alive in these young South Africans the traditional desire to possess land of their own. From the time of the first 'Free Burghers' until to-day we and our forefathers

have been land- and farm-owners. The farm is an integral part of the life of the Afrikaans-speaking South African, and deprived of his farm he drifts aimlessly. It is especially necessary in the case of children, whose parents are only peasants ("bywoners") on farms and not themselves land-owners, or whose parents have lost possession of their farms as the result of mortgages incurred in times of stress, to impress upon them this love of land and the desire to possess it.

In the second place, the rural school should in these days take care that our people do not degenerate into a "tenant-population". Already far too many of our farmers are merely "working up" land belonging to somebody else.

A third requirement of the rural school is that it should teach the children the dignity of manual labour and break down the idea that such labour is degrading and fit only for the convict and the native, for it is with this false pride that these children try to cover up a feeling of inferiority.

In rural areas the need for spiritual and cultural stimulus is great, and a rural school worthy of the name should be able to conquer and compensate its environment. It should form the strongest factor in combating isolation and the crippling circumstances which arise from extreme poverty. What is lacking at home should be made good by the school. Added to these things, my children were to create their own cultural atmosphere by dint of hard work and earnest application, and in my school the aesthetic sense, which was, as in many rural schools, entirely absent, was especially to be cultivated.

Furthermore, the school was not to be divorced from life, but was to reflect the activities of life. It was to be a small independent community—an embryonic community-life, alive with types of occupations that reflect the life of the larger society, and permeated throughout with the spirit of art, history, and science.

As the State was paying for the education of the children for 24 hours per day, it was incumbent upon the school to exert itself to the utmost, even after school hours, for their mental and spiritual development and in their interests. Their free time was to be spent in the improvement both of themselves and of their school.

With others of the same mind it seemed to me that the rural school was the ideal school for enabling the child to come into his own natural environment. When we remove a child from the parental home and place him in a village, family ties are broken. The child who grows up on a 'school farm' on the other hand has the advantages both of home discipline and of being trained for service.

In rural sparsely-populated areas where isolation prevents much communication, the ideal school to my mind is precisely one which will aim at cultivating co-operation, humanity, altruism, and brotherhood.

Finally, my children were to learn to make some return to the State for the support which they were daily receiving. They were to improve and beautify their school without bribe or reward, and to create their own cultural atmosphere in order that they might some day go and do likewise on their own farms. They were to leave a definite legacy to the school in the form of "something accomplished, something done", which should enrich the school community and make it a real place of preparation for meeting the larger life outside. Such work is love-labour, and may be done by individual or united effort. Thus a child may for example give the school building a fresh coat of paint, or make a collection for the school or class museum.

I felt, however, that a school founded on these few unrelated principles would lack the wider social meaning. It would need therefore a background of wider knowledge, of psychology, and of statesmanship, before we could call the school a democracy.

Hence with this Kalahari background and upon a wider social basis we began to build up our school, commencing from the point of view of the child. Before adolescence the child is very much a creature of definite tendencies, chief of which seemed to me to be "the desire to possess", and the instincts of play and "busy-ness". His possessiveness guides his "busy-ness" or creative instinct, and his creative instinct again guides his aesthetic and social instincts. On these characteristics I set out to found my 'school farm' system of labour and activity.

In order to arouse the valuable instinct for possessiveness with all its lessons of discipline, responsibility, creativeness, etc., in the children, everything on the premises is looked upon as their joint property with which they may farm in their own interests, e.g., to collect funds for study. Thus they sow and reap to feed their own cows, and plant trees for the protection of their own crops.

Besides this possessive tendency the school is required to arouse the instinct of "busy-ness", of doing and building for the child's practical experience and to his own advantage, and thereby to arrive at the child's soul through his brain. The child's work is a real-life occupation to him, because it affects his person, his interests and his soul. The Winton 'school farm' is therefore an organisation for possessing and working, made up of smaller organisations for possessing and working, with the definite object of preventing the rising generation from becoming a tenant-population, or from regarding manual labour as fit only for natives.

To bring this about the work done by the children must be ennobling and must have a definite object. The subjects are brought into relationship with life, work is held up as being the greatest happiness—that which is God-like in human nature. The work must give scope for self-expression. The child must work for his own sake and not under pressure of authority.

For method—we set the child the proposition and he tackles it as far as possible without supervision. The finished task is examined and the defects are discussed. Then the children themselves begin again at the beginning. Their task is a daily one. Team-work is done in the interests of themselves and the school, individual work in their own interests only.

According to statistics it appears that 18,000 boys leave school annually and of these some 8,800 take up farming, and the school must meet the contention that the farmer has lost self-respect and self-confidence in his vocation. To cultivate this necessary self-respect and self-confidence in the child, farm work is brought into relationship with real life and the child is taught to find not only spiritual value in the accomplished task but also the romance hidden in his vocation. The child learns that any farm can be made to show the fruit of his development and that in the undertaking there is great happiness.

The 'school farm' realises also its duty towards the girls, especially in the matter of equipping them for home-management, and, by organising them into children's clubs and by enabling them to do something for their fellows by means of child welfare, house-decoration, and hygiene, it gives them daily exercise in self-discipline, a life of self-sacrifice, and love of humanity.

Besides the instinct of doing there is the creative impulse which reveals itself aesthetically and socially, and by means of concerts, bazaars,

and societies, which form a part of the whole community life on the 'school farm', the children are given a golden opportunity for developing fully those creative tendencies and for realising that they are members of one great body with duties which they owe one to another. In this way the children fix a standard of conduct and live together so harmoniously that disobedience is looked upon by all as a most serious offence.

The 'School Farm' and the Ordinary 5-hour School:—As the outcome of a real need in rural areas the 'school farm' is particularly well-suited to such areas. The child's activities are the starting point of his school studies. My own school had taught "nature-study" but little or nothing of actual importance in the problems of local farming.

Now, however, when a boy brings his cows to the 'school farm', milks them himself, measures the amount of milk, prepares the fodder, and experiments to find material for silage, he listens with much greater interest to the teacher who deals with matters of breeding and constitution, refrigerators and separators, or what not, and relates these to the stock or other experiences of home. On the land too some truth demonstrated by means of experiments leads to the same sudden awakening. As one boy expressed it in an essay: "Before it was darkness to us, now it is light!"

The 'school farm' offers a great variety of topics for oral lessons, and of objects for drawing, and ample scope for practical arithmetic. For example, if a child in describing how she has to water some trees draws a picture of the watering-can, it assumes a spiritual significance which the child fails to find in the ordinary academic school system. In this way drawing, leather-work, and Art are combined, and emphasis is laid on the cultural aspects. Thus we progress: that piece of handwork—that garden—those makers of history—Raphael, Michael Angelo, Luther, Shakespeare!

How far can these ideas be more practical? A "Prosperity League", consisting of a number of clubs, was established two years ago, following up preliminary propaganda amongst both parents and children. The central idea is that every possible kind of farming and handwork should be commenced among the children. The Department of Agriculture is approached for the necessary technical information, and its closest co-operation is secured through the services of the Extension Officer, who will spend as much as a week lecturing and demonstrating at our school both to the children and the public.

This Department also generously assisted us with a gift of 500 trees for experimentation, and enabled us last year to make more experiments than any other school in our own or in the Barkly West district. We have already experimented with 35 different kinds of fodder, and have planted nearly 2,000 spineless prickly pears. The children also procure cattle from their parents and work in their garden. In brief—their activities include all forms of stock, poultry, and agricultural farming, market and ornamental gardening, and related experiments.

The hostel grounds are improved and beautified by the boys, while the girls have in-door occupations of needlework, leatherwork, Art, and home-management.

All cash proceeds are banked by the League Executive, and 20 per cent. of the nett profits is paid out to the children, the balance being devoted to the "Study Fund".

In conclusion, how do these things influence the child? With the greatest confidence I can claim that indolence is superseded by industry and a sense of responsibility, inertia of soul by a keen spirit of productive-

ness, the desire to destroy by a tendency to protect. Interest and attention are stimulated. Winton is their own; they desire to see it prosper. Co-operation, zest, and happiness are apparent. Water-melons no longer disappear surreptitiously: for who steals what is his own? Their fields are tilled, their cattle and poultry are tended, sportsfields laid out, broken fences repaired, buildings white-washed and repainted. Everyone is busy and filled with zeal for all feel it is their own garden, their own school, their own cows, which they are dealing with. In short, they have found themselves.

Some statistics may make the position more clear. In the first 8 years of the existence of the school only 5 children continued their studies after Std. VI.

In 1931 out of 12 children who passed Std. VI. 7 went to a Secondary or an Industrial School.

„ 1932	„ „ 13	„ „ „ „ „ 9	„
„ 1933	„ „ 12	„ „ „ „ „ 10	„

In 1931, 2, 3—of 12, 13, 12 children who passed the sixth standard examination 7, 9, 10 went on to Secondary or Industrial Schools.

In 1930 we had one ornamental tree, in 1934 during the summer months more than 500 were watered daily. Production often exceeds consumption. Commencing without capital in October of 1932 the children had assets estimated at £300 at the end of 1933, the first year's profit being more than £100.

The activities at Winton 'school farm' are only in their initial stages, but the spirit of industry which has been aroused among the children and, more than that, the fact that a number of the less privileged have begun to understand the rudiments of independence, as evinced in labour, and of labour as an ennobling factor, are my source of greatest personal happiness, and the gratitude shown to my wife and myself by parents and children is our most precious recollection.

This account of a personal experience is not offered as that of an expert or a worker of miracles. Circumstances may make my views too subjective and tend to over-estimation of the value of the work. I submit it as practical illustration of an endeavour, initiated independently, to solve a great problem.

THE 'SCHOOL FARM' EXPERIMENT AT DIKEPPING

MR. D. S. UYS

In January, 1916, during the Great War, my teaching career started at Dikepping, a farm on the borders of the Kalahari desert. The mud-floored class-room, hitherto a bedroom, was part of an outhouse occupied by a family. Here we had the school in the home and the teacher and his eleven pupils came to know more about each other. Before the end of the year a desire for reform, which grew as time went on, took hold of us. By July, 1917, our numbers had increased so much that an assistant teacher was appointed and the rest of the little house was converted into a second class-room. The two class-rooms could just accommodate the 35 pupils, leaving very little moving space for the teacher.

By permission of the owner of the farm, we were able to use a piece of stony ground for the benefit of the school, and it was decided that each child in the higher classes should be given a small plot in which to grow produce of his or her own choice for personal benefit, and that

all the pupils should jointly utilise the rest of the ground for the benefit of the school as a whole. By this time a school hostel had been started and the children could attend to their plots in the afternoons. A few months later these looked so well that our District Surgeon, who was greatly taken up with the whole idea, offered cash prizes to the owners of the three best plots.

We had now decided to extend our outdoor activities and to re-organise our whole school so that our pupils would be busy daily with the problems of actual farm life and would not while at school become estranged from the little they might have learned at home but would rather acquire more knowledge of the life ahead of them. With this object we persuaded Mr. Smit, who owned the farm, to allow the boys to perform additional farm duties in their spare time, while my wife voluntarily gave tuition in practical domestic science and needlework to the senior girls.

Our disappointment was great, however, when at the annual inspection the Inspector of Schools was not at all interested in our outdoor activities. He inspected only what he expected, viz. the work of the prescribed syllabus—(something apart from ordinary living)—and nothing more.

In the meantime the numbers in the hostel had increased to such an extent that some of the children were housed in a wagon-tent, and when the owner of the farm refused to build—he was not well-off—we realised how helpless and dependent upon other people and circumstances we were and how essential it was that the farm should be owned by the Education Authorities if we were to make a permanent success of our scheme.

Since however the Inspector of Schools (and therefore also the Department of Education) expected us to do nothing more than carry out the set curriculum, and not being prepared to be driven along a prescribed road like an ox in the yoke, I left the teaching profession and went farming with ample time to reflect upon our experience. But the injustice done to the child—in my case the farm child—and the further facts that the farm, where we had had such great plans, had changed hands and that the organised farmers were beginning to share our views, induced me to apply for the principalship of the same school when the post became vacant in December, 1920. I was duly appointed and was more than ever determined to make outdoor activities a very real part of our school work.

The first step was to have the existing school hostel recognised under the Indigent Hostel Ordinance of 1917. The numbers on the roll, which had fallen below the requirements for a two-teacher school, increased rapidly. Our Indigent Hostel was placed under the control of the joint church councils of the Dutch Gereformeerde and Hervormde churches at Olifantshoek, 13 miles from Dikepping, in which we expected a force which would materially assist us in our struggle. The hostel committee however expected us to do nothing more for the children than to give them the usual abstract lessons at school and to feed them, and refused to buy furniture or to supply materials from which we could make this. A meeting of the community—(a poor community)—served by the school was therefore called and the position explained with the result that we became the temporary owners of a number of blankets and of a few pieces of furniture made from packing-cases. For bedsteads the children made the frameworks of mimosa poles and covered these with strands of wire, while the mattresses were grain bags filled with straw.

We then interviewed the church-councils to try to gain their consent to the formation of a local hostel committee which could use the funds obtained from the Provincial Administration and from other sources for local educational purposes. After much delay this request was granted and subsequently approved by the Administration. We now felt that we were slowly moving towards the realisation of our 'school farm' vision. As time went on the borrowed furniture was sent back to the owners and the mimosa frames were replaced by bedsteads.

By this time we were more than ever convinced that opportunities should be given to the farm child to bring farm life into the school and introduce the subjects taught at school into his farm activities, and when, in 1923, the Inspector of Schools showed great interest in our work and made special mention of it in his report, we were in the clouds. His encouraging remarks since then, in his annual inspection reports and in our conversations from time to time about the reform of rural education and the part the 'school farm' should play in this, have contributed largely to the broadening of our views on the subject.

As a result of all this, applications from the farming community for admission of children to the school poured in, which we had to refuse as we had no accommodation in either school—(still the same building)—or hostel. The owner of the farm wanted certain guarantees—which the managing committee could not give him—before he was prepared to build a new school or enlarge the existing school hostel. He was however keenly interested in our extra-mural activities and, when, in 1924, we bought a pathscope and shortly afterwards a gramophone and a piano—the wireless followed a few years later—he consented to build a hall 53 ft. by 23 ft. to serve as school, church, and a place where the children and their parents could meet for social functions. We could then use the old school for additional sleeping quarters.

We were more than ever convinced that, to extend the work of the 'school farm' and make a permanent success of it, the farm should be taken out of the hands of private individuals. We wanted to include in our work the making of permanent improvements by the bigger children for—with the exception of the newly-erected hall—the existing buildings, fences, etc., were dilapidated and primitive. The only course was for the Government to buy the farm for educational purposes, and with this object in view we approached the Kuruman District Farmers' Union, representing all the farmers' associations in that area, which proved very sympathetic and enthusiastic and undertook to contribute £400 towards the purchase price. They also approached the Provincial Authorities in the matter and, when they could not make any headway, they tried to induce the Union Department of Education, and subsequently the Department of Agriculture, to accept their offer of £400 for the purpose. In the meantime we had extended our activities beyond the boundaries of our 'school farm' and had tried to attract the attention of Government Departments by organising well-patronised short vacation and other courses under Departmental experts for the benefit of the bigger children and their parents.

The offer of the Farmers' Union was not however accepted and the farm was not bought "as the Department considers the requirements of your area fully met by the existing schools." Personally we did not give up hope of convincing the Education Authorities of the necessity of reforming and doing a little more for rural education, hence our next attempt to convert the Cape Education Department was made through its Inspector of Agriculture, and we thought that we had made some progress when, on the 4th September, 1925, he wrote: "I trust you will

not get discouraged if you have to wait a little longer for the realisation of your hopes in connection with the 'school farm'. Just let me say this, that these letters and bits of news that you give me from time to time are not written in vain even though it may appear to you that no action is being taken. Letters of this sort have a cumulative effect and in time, if you persist in your labours, you will reap the reward." Shortly afterwards his post was abolished and our hopes were once more dashed to the ground.

We then decided to go to the local Kerkraad with the Union's offer but, when the members could not see the necessity of outdoor activities, and even expressed the opinion that the children would not have sufficient time to study books and do sums, we determined to buy the place for ourselves. A few years later the farm was bought and a considerable sum has since been spent on improvements. I need not dwell on details of how the school and our ideas grew, how the Principal Teacher, on account of lack of classrooms, had to teach under a camel-thorn tree for more than a year, how we made use of every opportunity to further the cause of the 'school farm', and how, apart from reading several papers at Teachers' Conferences on the work and aims of the 'school farm', we tried to induce teachers in our School Board area to move in the same direction.

So much for the history of our school. Now to give you some idea of our work.

Our intra- and extra-mural activities are to-day so interwoven that when the child works on the lands or elsewhere he meets with problems which he can only solve by applying the knowledge acquired at school or by consulting books. e.g., A child wishes to know how much butter-fat his cow gives during a week. He is faced with a rather difficult problem. The milk can be weighed, but how is he to know how much butter-fat it contains? He consults his library for the necessary information. Should he not succeed in doing the test successfully, he calls in our assistance. He is asked to show which instructions he followed and to perform the experiment in the teachers' presence. Should he go wrong again, his attention is drawn to the particular portion of the experiment which was not carried out according to instructions. This method is at present only practised in the higher classes. Our object is to get the child before it leaves school into the habit of solving some of its own problems from the information obtainable from books.

The management of our activities is in the hands of the Prosperity League. This society was started in 1922 as the Dikepping Welfare Society but its name was changed a few years later into the Dikepping Prosperity League. (The rules and functions are much the same as those in vogue at Winton and elsewhere. Ed.)

We hold that opportunities for individual work are especially valuable when the child attains manhood or womanhood. The desire to do definite work and to be responsible for one's own maintenance develops rapidly, and we should therefore at this stage, more so than for the younger child, create opportunities to satisfy this desire. If at this stage, on account of lack of opportunities, the child can only participate in team-work then we cannot see how we are to come to know its natural bent. In team-work the child acts according to the dictates of someone else, and we have the old story of: "Do as I say and all do alike". While therefore we have team-work as a sub-division of our school activities—we lay more stress on those duties which a child performs of its own freewill. We make it possible for the child to come into contact with a variety of work or play-works—(this branch should be considerably

extended), and encourage it to keep itself busy. We allow individual pupils to grow whatever they wish in their plots or play-gardens or to make useful articles from packing cases, wool, etc., and to sell or keep the proceeds.

Individual pupils are paid for duties they perform for the benefit of the school as a whole or for permanent improvements erected by them. Part of the cultivated land is divided amongst the pupils of Stds. III, IV, V, and VI, and each is required to plant, cultivate, and generally care for his portion until the yields are bagged—when 25 per cent. belongs to the grower and the remaining 75 per cent. goes to the general funds of the League. Here again the child feels that he has a personal interest in the work and tackles it in the spirit of an owner. On Tuesday afternoons and Saturday forenoons we have team-work. All proceeds from such work belong to the general fund.

Apart from other objects, the idea is to make the institution as self-supporting as possible. During ploughing, planting, reaping, canning, and jam-making seasons, the older pupils are sometimes for a week or longer exclusively busy with outdoor work—and how they enjoy it all!

At our concerts, the programmes of which are principally contributed by the children themselves, and of which we have several every quarter, no entrance fee is charged. We do not want the child to hold the impression that the value of these entertainments lies in the money received at the door. It is the benefit which those who take part derive that counts.

We have children elected as leaders and inspectors for every section of our organised activities. This and the facts that at all times the children have free access to woodwork and other tools and to their classrooms, that no cupboard containing school requisites is ever locked, and that the leaders are responsible for the issue of all books, pencils, etc., make the child feel so responsible and develop so much self-discipline that we would never dream of going back to the old lock-up system.

We place the spirit in which the child does things first and, when we advocate the 'school farm' for the rural child, never lose sight of the fact that the whole institution with all its possibilities is there for the child and not the child for the institution. We want the child to develop self-activity, to gain the key to solve its difficulties, and to be in daily contact with actual life.

Apart from the additional activities created on the 'school farm' by the living together of so many members from different homes and the special facilities it offers, life on the 'school farm' is so similar to that on the surrounding farms that when the farming community—(the homes from which the children come)—suffer from say a drought or locust invasion the 'school farm' suffers in the same way, and any variation in degree will depend upon the difference between the farming methods adopted and precautions taken on the 'school farm' and on the surrounding farms during years of plenty. The child meets with the same problems at school as its parents do at home and is given the opportunity either to solve them or reduce their effects to a minimum.

The children are medically examined and those that require treatment receive this, and we hope that the day is not far off when, through our 'school farm', it will be possible for children in our area not yet attending school also to receive attention, so that they may not be left to suffer simply because their parents cannot afford treatment or, through ignorance, neglect their children's health.

There is one aspect in which many teachers differ from us and that is that they do not want the child to have any individual share in the

money part of the 'school farm'. The child must do everything for the school as a whole, and the fruit of all his actions, whether these actions were performed voluntarily or otherwise, must become the property of the whole (the school). A long discussion here is not necessary. I wish only to say that since money, as a means of exchange, has become part and parcel of our civilised life, I cannot see how we can exclude it from our scheme of school activities if we wish to give that life fully and truly. We want the child to realise that there are only three honest ways of acquiring money for personal use : firstly to produce by his own efforts something which other people require and will therefore buy—(hence our individual plots, articles made, etc.) ; secondly, by working in partnership with others and getting his share of the fruits of his labour or by caring for portions of the cultivated lands belonging to the whole school group ; and thirdly to perform certain set duties for other individuals or groups for which he gets a specified reward—(building, hair-cutting, buttermaking, attending to stock or poultry, etc.).

Our 'school farm' also serves the farming community at large. Supported by the local Farmers' Association we induced the Department of Agriculture in 1929 to establish demonstration plots under the Extension Officer. The work on these plots is done under expert guidance by the pupils in the higher classes, and the benefits the farmers have derived from these demonstrations can be noticed on many a farm to-day. Our Women's Agricultural Society, which meets monthly and of which all the senior school girls are also members, has its own library. We also allow the whole community to make use of our school library.

Apart from the fact that the children and their teachers live together as a big family and partake of what the day offers in labour, recreation, and social intercourse, we have at the conclusion of every school term a closing function when parent, child, and teacher form a big family circle.

In conclusion—we specially advocate the 'school farm' for the thinly populated parts of our country in which, generally speaking, we have poor farming communities and the child and its parents live lives of isolation.

All that we ask for is Government recognition and support to enable us to extend our activities, to give those children who wish to become farmers a course of special training during their last year or two at school, and in general to organise the 'school farm' community along the lines suggested by us at the S.A.O.U. Congress at Oudtshoorn during December, 1933.

SOME QUESTIONS REGARDING 'SCHOOL FARMS'

DR. WM. MCKINLEY ROBINSON

I wish to congratulate Messrs. Botha, Uys, and Vermeulen on the initiative, resource, and earnestness, shown by them in their undertakings. I feel that the worth of the experiment has been fully demonstrated. Certain general questions, however, arise in this connection. I shall mention three :—

(1) Did emphasis on agriculture and things rural limit the child's horizon ? and did concentration on the improvement of agricultural practice obscure its relationship to other educational needs ? The ideal is not " farming as a way of making a living ", but " farming as a

way of life", and practical knowledge and technique must be coupled with an appreciation of urban and rural relationships in national culture and welfare.

(2) Would devotion of so much time and attendance to agriculture obscure an adequate knowledge of the possibilities of other vocations, and by encouraging the assumption that these born on the farm are to stay on the farm, lend the school to the building up of a peasant class? Further, might not the child be exploited as a producer after the educative value of some practice had ceased?

(3) Do the children on their return home maintain or even approach their 'school farm' living standard? In America an alarmingly large percentage of home-economics graduates, who had taken a four-years' University course, were found in their own communities to have fallen back to old standards. Tradition and lack of appreciation are deadening factors, and it would be of value to know what, if anything, is being done to influence community and adult standards of living?

These questions may be and may remain insignificant as compared with the benefits boys and girls may evidently derive from the 'school farms.'

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS *

PROFESSOR MABEL CARNEY

In South Africa, as in America, the predominating character of the country is rural. One third of the school children in small farm schools and more than half the people make their living by agriculture and closely related industries. There are only fourteen towns and cities in the entire Union with a population above 10,000. Rural education, moreover, because of its many peculiar difficulties, is the most urgent, important and baffling problem in the whole field of South African education.

Something of the spirit which marked the meetings of the Rural Education Section is indicated by the fact that, whereas but five regular meetings were planned, nineteen were actually held. In addition various committees were formed, many personal consultations held with the lecturers, much mimeographed material distributed, an exhibit of American books on rural education carefully studied, and many books ordered for personal use. In brief, the whole spirit, initiative, and attitude of, this section was among the best I have ever known in my long educational experience of some 25 to 30 years in several countries.

To make this report truly representative, the Section devoted its last meeting to formulating a summary of its conclusions.

Throughout these statements emphasis is placed upon the small *primary farm school* because of the prevalence, and the general neglect and need, of this type of rural school over most of the Union.

I. *Curriculum and Teacher.* The curriculum should be revised in terms of the life experience and needs of country children:

- (1) By co-ordinating and teaching the *Social Studies* (geography, history, civics, health, and industrial arts) under three large units or centres of interest, namely the *Home*, the *Farm*, and the *Community*.

* This refers only to the Johannesburg meeting of the Rural Section conducted under the chairmanship of Mr. L. J. van Zyl, (Inspector of Schools for the Orange Free State).

- (2) By teaching the tool or literary subjects (reading, composition, spelling, and arithmetic) in relation to these units.
- (3) By re-organising and classifying the entire school into three groups so as to reduce the number of oral revisions on the daily time-table, thus affording better opportunity for activity and life-related teaching.
- (4) By stressing *Nature Study* and *Gardening* throughout, and by introducing a course in *Agriculture* for all children, 14 years of age or older.
- (5) By developing some type of *Club organisation* within the farm school which will afford children experience and training in group-action, preferably in co-operation with the Agricultural Extension Service of the Union Government.
- (6) By more effectively teaching primary reading on a *sentence or thought-understanding basis* (rather than on a *phonetic or mechanics basis*), and thus gaining the time for other socialised activities and content studies.
- (7) By building up farm school libraries with a greater supply of reading material suitable for both school and home reading.

II. *Community Relations.* To promote closer relationships between the farm school and its community:

- (1) The farm school teacher should know every family and visit every home in the district.
- (2) He should promote appreciation and support of education among parents and patrons by organising a Parent-Teacher Association or similar less formal activities.
- (3) The teacher should co-operate with all other social agencies as the home, church, Agricultural Union, Child Welfare and Social Work, organisations in their educative activities.
- (4) The farm school building should be used after school hours as a general meeting-place for the agencies and activities of the community, and
- (5) School *fairs, sports, agricultural and handicraft exhibitions*, etc., should be more widely extended throughout all districts.

III. *Teacher-Training:*

- (1) In the field of Teacher-Training the Training Colleges and Universities should introduce specialised rural courses and practice-teaching to afford more effective preparation for teaching in farm schools. The courses recommended are Nature Study and Agriculture, Rural Sociology and Economics, and the Technique of Teaching in Small Rural Schools—the specialised practice to be conducted in farm schools of the one-teacher, two-teacher, and centralised types.
- (2) A special *salary allowance* or *bonus* should be paid for service in one and two-teacher schools in remote areas, and increased attention given to the provision of attractive homes and better living conditions for teachers.
- (3) More professional long vacation courses are needed for the benefit of teachers in service.

IV. *Inspection and Supervision.* The Conference on Rural Education finds most inspectors to be thoroughly worthy, over-burdened, and hard-working men, whose limitations are due mainly to circumstances and antiquated traditions:

- (1) To remedy these conditions their professional load should be reduced so that they may devote more time to instruction and supervision, either by reducing the size of inspectorial areas or dividing the work into its supervisory and administrative phases in larger districts so that two inspectors become responsible for these two separate phases.
- (2) More specialised training of a supervisory character is advocated, and a universal requirement of at least *two years of farm school* experience before endorsement of appointments for this work.
- (3) Women inspectors might well be appointed (duly qualified), especially in districts with a predominating number of lower primary pupils.

V. *Administration.* In the field of rural school administration :

- (1) Small farm schools should be centralised wherever possible into larger, more efficient, and rurally-adapted units capable of providing secondary as well as elementary education. This change should at all times be based upon a social, economic, and population survey of the area involved.
- (2) Small farm schools which remain should receive every possible attention and improvement including especially a rurally-adopted curriculum, the provision of rural-trained teachers, and more professional supervision.
- (3) The recommendation of compulsory education up to the sixteenth year, irrespective of the standard reached (see *Report of the Conference on Rural Education* (U.G. 29, 1934)), and the demarcation of a new educational unit, affording two years of post-primary differentiated education for rural youth about to enter farming as a life vocation, is strongly endorsed.
- (4) The provision of primary courses by correspondence-study on the lines now followed in Australia is recommended.
- (5) Special provision should be made for the more effective education and care of the large numbers of mentally retarded rural children.

VI. *Secondary Education :*

- (1) The *secondary school curriculum*, like the curriculum of the primary school, should be based more on environment and suited to the needs of pupils and utilise activities.
- (2) Home Economics should be emphasised as a subject desired by, and desirable for, all girls in secondary schools.
- (3) Exploratory opportunities of secondary school life should be extended through a Junior High School or similar organisation so that all children may more wisely choose their life work.
- (4) Educational and vocational guidance should be provided in all secondary schools so that young people may emerge better fitted to their life tasks.
- (5) In *examinations* prompt reform is advocated from above in harmony with the best principles and practice presented at this Conference. Principals, teachers, and inspectors, can however do much to improve present secondary instruction through relating it more closely to life needs. Meanwhile the Rural Group pledges its members to work steadfastly in this direction.

- (6) Teachers for rural High Schools should be much stronger in general professional preparation and should also receive specialised training of a rural nature.

A new type of secondary school Principal is needed to direct the school farm educational unit, and specialised training for this type should be receiving consideration from the Training Colleges and Universities.

VII. *Need for Co-ordinated Effort in Rural Education*: It is clear that there is great need for co-ordinated effort between all the institutions and agencies dealing with this field, especially in the matter of general and vocational education as affecting rural High Schools. It is respectfully urged, therefore, that the Union Departments of Education, Agriculture, the provincial Education Departments, and all other forces operating locally through such schools, carefully articulate their programme at the top before passing them down to the local agency, so as to avoid friction and confusion in the local school with unhappy and needless loss of energy.

VIII. *Professional Leadership for the Rural Field*: The greatest single need is for a capable, well-trained, and devoted leadership. The enlistment and retention of superior talent thus becomes a matter of primary consideration. It is urged that a definite line of promotion in rural education be developed so that rural specialists will not be tempted to advance professionally by deserting to the urban field. Such a line may be roughly indicated by the continuity of advancement of farm school Principal to Inspector, Training College Instructor in Rural Education, and Provincial Director.

CHAPTER XIV.

SOCIAL WORK PROBLEMS

INTRODUCTORY

MR. H. BRITTEN

Social work is Charity in its highest sense, and in our constantly changing society due provision must be made for the evolution which is taking place.

There was a time when Charity presupposed that poverty was a natural condition, and consisted in the rich providing alms or doles for the poor.

The fact that in a young city like Johannesburg three generations of the same family and four different branches of another family are on the books of one institution brings home the fact that Poor Relief has the effect of pauperising the recipient and undermining self-respect.

A change of outlook has become apparent. The problem of dealing with the poor must be carefully studied; remedies to deal with the cause, and not the provision of mere palliatives for indigency, call for our early attention and action. The resources of science must be employed first by means of education, followed by training and experience, in order that the social worker may concentrate on preventative measures.

The need of the specialist has asserted itself.

This Conference shows that the pedagogue has recognised the value in the community of the social worker, whose work, mainly for his knowledge born of practical experience and the results he has been able to produce, has become known and recognised. In South Africa the science of sociology is as yet in its infancy.

A further change in outlook has taken place in the substitution of Service for Poor Relief, or in other words concentration on the Rehabilitation of the Family rather than on dealing with individual members piecemeal through various organisations. The time has come to call a halt in the committal of juveniles to institutions and for the provision of care of a non-institutional nature.

A. GENERAL

THE FAMILY : PAST AND PRESENT*

PROFESSOR B. MALINOWSKI

The family, that is the group consisting of mother, father, and children has been, and to a large extent still remains, the main educational agency of mankind. This is the verdict of sound modern anthropology, this is the knowledge derived from history and dictated by common sense.

*A fuller documentation of the anthropological views here summarised will be found in the articles s.v. 'Marriage', 'Kinship', and 'Social Anthropology' in the latest edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; the articles s.v. 'Culture' in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, (New York); also in the article 'Parenthood—The Basis of Social Structure' in *The New Generation*, London, Allen and Unwin.

Ancestor worship, the command to 'honour thy father and thy mother', the cult of a God the Father and of a Mother Goddess, have been the corner-stones of most human religions. The modern scientific student of genetics is inclined to judge the quality of the offspring by that of the parents. The contemporary sociologist counts cultural inheritance and home influence as the dominant factors in the shaping of human character. Psycho-analysis, with its stress on the 'domestic complex'—that is the memories derived from the early contact between the child and its parents, and Behaviourism, with its assertion that 'conditioning' matters more than endowment, also imply that the influences of the domestic setting must be dominant in education.

The Modern Onslaught on the Family. At present, however, the family is being seriously threatened and its future searchingly questioned. 'The family is going to disappear within the next fifty years'; 'sex is now used for recreation and not for procreation'; 'family life is obviously a study in lunacy'—such statements could be multiplied from modern sociological and pseudo-psychological literature. The type of reproduction and education outlined by Aldous Huxley, as a satire, in his *Brave New World* has been seriously propounded by some writers whose authority is not altogether negligible.

There is no doubt that some of the dominant intellectual trends of our day have exercised a corroding influence on the stability of marriage and the family, notably Psycho-analysis, Behaviourism, and some advocacies of 'sex communism' and of the extreme hedonistic point of view. Some overt legislative attacks against marriage and the family, mainly in Soviet Russia, seem also seriously to threaten the future of the domestic institutions. The most important, however, are those influences which go beyond academic attack or clumsy legislative encroachment, which are insidious, inevitable, and pervading at the same time. I mean such facts as the technique of contraception, the growing financial, hence also legal and moral, independence of woman, and the fact that the household is rapidly ceasing to be a profitable economic enterprise or even a convenient place for the joint existence of the family.

The modern woman does not need the cloak of marriage in order to satisfy her sexual life; modern man does not need to resort to prostitution nor clandestine intrigue. Each can earn his or her own living, can play a rôle in public and political life, can move about independently, and need not marry when wanting occasionally to mate. Even should there be a child, it is possible with the modern ease in transport and anonymous reappearance somewhere else to slip away and eventually to hand the child over to be brought up in some sort of communal nursery, kindergarten, and then school. With most incentives gone, with the advantages of marriage fading away and the hardships of home life increasing, one often wonders not that marriage is affected but that people still marry and bring forth families, that after divorce they re-marry—in short, that humanity still produces mainly in the old-fashioned manner.

Anthropology and the Family. It is at this point that the modern anthropologist, who studies the past of human history in order to obtain an insight into the future, can offer an explanation as well as some indications of development.

The anthropologist himself, in fact, has been confused in his theoretical work by a number of factors such as primitive mother-right, the sexual freedom of savages, the importance of the clan, tribe, or horde, and its encroachment on the family—factors which closely resemble

the modern snags of domestic life. There was a time when anthropology despaired of the existence of the family in the past, even as sociologists nowadays despair of the family in the future. We had the famous theories of primitive promiscuity, of group marriage, of early matriarchy, and of the gradual and painful evolution towards monogamy and family.

Sexual Morality, Past and Present. These views, which still have a wide currency in popular and pseudo-scientific literature, have been now definitely discarded by professional anthropologists. The change has come through a better knowledge of facts. Reports about the existence of so-called group marriage in Central Australia, in Siberia, or New Guinea, have been recently found to be incorrect. With the fuller knowledge of facts and the changing outlook we have arrived also at more precise concepts and different methods of approach. We no longer glibly speak about 'sexual communism', 'group marriage', 'primitive matriarchy' and the 'clan as a reproductive unit'. The modern anthropologist is no longer busy dissecting the various aspects of the family and marriage into 'promiscuity', 'marriage by purchase', 'patriarchy', and so on, and then projecting such self-contained entities on an evolutionary line. The competent observer has discovered that 'father-right' and 'mother-right' exist side by side, that marriage is compatible with pre-nuptial laxity, that the clan and family, instead of excluding, complement each other. In fact, through all variations the most stable units which are found everywhere are the family and individual marriage.

An entirely different problem, therefore, has emerged for a modern anthropology. It is no longer the question of deciding whether the family or individual marriage has superseded or followed the clan, whether early representatives of the human species were entirely promiscuous or highly virtuous, whether mother-right precedes patriarchy or vice versa. The problem for the modern anthropologists is rather to show the relation of these different social groups, agencies, and institutions.

Let us take as an example the question of sexual morality. The distinction embodied in the modern slogan 'sex for recreation and not for procreation' has been drawn by most savages—drawn, enforced, and institutionalised. If we were to divide the lowest savages into Primitive Puritans and Early Hedonists, the former—the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Orang Kubu of Sumatra, the Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego—look at matters in a way on which from the 'moral' point of view even Queen Victoria herself could not improve. Everyone of them regards with horror any lapse of an unmarried girl, with disfavour any libertinage on the part of the unmarried boy, and they are very much shocked by the very mention of adultery.

Sex and Parenthood. On the other hand, the central Australian, as well as the typical Bantu and Polynesian, the Papuan or the Sudanese, takes a different view. Free love-making is allowed, if at times there are restrictions and definitions on the type of erotic satisfaction which can be found in the company of the other sex. But one rule is always precise and often extremely stringent: *there must be no pregnancy without marriage*. The punishment for transgression is sometimes severe to the extent of public and cruel execution of both culprits. Among the Djagga*—who belong to the Bantu tribes practising female circumcision—I was told blood-curdling tales of how such executions were actually carried out in the olden days.

* (= Chakka, Chaka, Coagga—Hill Tribes)

In most tribes, however, some speedy and easy remedy is found: immediate marriage is enforced after pregnancy has taken place, or a compensation is demanded from the man, which makes the girl more desirable or, in some cases where children are the main asset of marriage, the man himself marries the girl of his own freewill as a reward rather than as a penalty.

This example shows that it is futile to discuss pre-nuptial licence without reference to the institution of marriage. A more detailed analysis—for which some material will be found in the articles quoted—shows that marriage in all human societies is the licensing of parenthood rather than of sexual intercourse. Marriage affects the course of sexual life very profoundly. In fact, pre-nuptial intercourse almost everywhere is not an end in itself but rather a form of trial union, a method of courtship, a means of experimenting in the possibilities of marriage.

Sex and Marriage. If this view be correct, we can say that even a considerable relaxation in sexual conduct does not need to affect profoundly the institution of marriage and the family. It also proves that the key to the problem does not lie in the study of the sexual impulse detached from its wider context of personal relations and of parenthood. We can say that the desire on the part of the woman to have children with the right man and the realisation by the male that only as a father can he reach full tribal status and influence lead to marriage and the establishment of a household. Thus, even as it is futile to study the sexual impulse without understanding its psychological context of personal relations between man and woman, so also it will always remain irrelevant to study marriage as a personal relationship without investigating its rôle in tribal life. Without personifying society we can say that everywhere tribal tradition puts a premium on effective and successful parenthood. In societies like those of Africa where the core of religion is ancestor-worship a man who dies without male issue passes into oblivion, while during his life he remains without real influence in the tribe. Female issue is equally desirable in societies where the bride price is one of the fundamental legal institutions. The whole legal and economic constitution of a typical Bantu tribe, of a Polynesian or Malayan society, is associated with the principle that it is economically advantageous, morally desirable, and socially honourable, for a man to be father of many children and for the woman to be a mother of both sons and daughters. The strength of some more highly developed communities, notably the Chinese, the Semites, and the Indians, is associated with the same social and moral forces.

The Economic Attack on the Family. Turning now to another aspect, there is no doubt that at present many economic forces work against the family, and that the State, even in such of its forms as profess to favour marriage and the family, works against it. This is very different from what obtains under more primitive conditions. Take a typical Bantu: he marries, because he wants children, but also largely because without a wife he cannot set up a household and cannot cultivate his fields. For this is a joint man's and woman's work. His wife will provide for him his domestic comforts. She will cultivate his gardens and prepare his food. The children also, even while they are being educated in tribal matters, work with him and work for him. In his old age he entirely depends on his children, who by tribal law and morality have to support him.

If, instead of taking an African Bantu, we were to pass to any other native community or dwell on the old order of things in China, we would find exactly the same conditions. And let me add at once, the study of primitive religion, customary law, and early morality, would show that all the forces combine to make wealth in children, that is a strong family and a large family, the greatest asset to man and woman.

Marriage and Motherhood—Asset or Liability? Here modern conditions are certainly more alarming than those discussed in connection with the sexual aspect. In the large towns and among industrial workers to-day the self-contained household is no more an inevitable necessity. It is even less so among the middle class. In the modern life of big cities, what with the difficulty of domestic service and the ease of obtaining food and help in 'service flats', the life of a household seems to be disintegrating. The family is rapidly ceasing to be a group based on joint production, or even on joint consumption of goods. The economic advantages for a modern city man or woman to marry are negligible compared with the inducements of a Bantu or Oceanic or a Chinese peasant.

The crushing death-duties now imposed by most States, above all in Great Britain, have already disintegrated the economic continuity of lineage. Modern taxation, with the insignificant advantages given to large families, works essentially against and not for the family. In addressing educationalists one can point out a characteristic detail—the fact that married women in many countries are deprived of any chance of obtaining teaching posts in State schools. Here, as in many professions, marriage becomes a liability and motherhood a stumbling block to a woman's career. A full analysis would show that not only do modern economic and technical conditions work against the family but that the State instead of assisting the family very often militates against it.

The Family—Its Power to Survive. But here again an anthropological analysis would prove that some such disintegrating forces of an economic nature have at an earlier stage worked at the expense of the family, yet without destroying it. The family has survived the economic onslaught and extortion of greedy Chiefs, as well as the excessive forms of taxation in the highly organised little States of Africa or Oceania. It has survived the disintegrating influences of forced labour and slavery. It is compatible with individual exploitation of the soil and with communal land tenure.

Again, the clan, as I have shown in the article on Kinship above-mentioned, is not something which overrides the family but it is a group which can be shown to grow out of the family—to be a by-product of family life.

Thus, whichever of the modern disintegrating forces be considered, it is possible to show that the family has in the past withstood and overcome their onslaught. Individual marriage and the family have somehow readjusted and survived the attacks of antagonistic influences. The group consisting of mother, father, and children, emerges always as a social unit in which the biological process of procreation is carried out under legal safeguards with a substantial economic foundation surrounded by moral and religious values. Anthropology proves that the physiological forces of maternal love, the attachment between husband and wife, and the interest of the father in his wife's offspring, cannot

be readily thrown away and superseded by the impersonal concern of the State, by the lukewarm enthusiasm of charity, or by the cold interest of scientific planning.

This 'message of comfort' does not mean that we should be satisfied with a supine acquiescence in the operation of modern disintegrating forces. A policy of vigilance, indeed of active and constructive reform, is necessary. The exclusive concentration on the sexual side of marriage which we find prevalent in modern sociological literature is, I think, one-sided to say the least. The most important need is to realise that in the future we must create economic, legal, and social conditions with real advantages to those who enter marriage and produce large families.

The study of the family teaches us that a civilisation which would destroy the family would also destroy the continuity of tradition, the interest in building up economic enterprise, and with this also the integrity of human character.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RURAL EXODUS

PROFESSOR W. H. HUTT

Not only in the Union of South Africa are the urban districts acting as a magnetic force to the unpropertied members of the country classes (or races), but in every civilised area of the world. Fundamentally the problems involved are of the same nature for all under different concrete manifestations.

The best contribution, known to me, on this subject is a modest essay by Professor Allan G. B. Fisher in the *Economic Record** of 1929, which deals specifically with New Zealand but sets out with admirable simplicity the social causes behind these migrations of people. Practically everywhere the rural exodus is deplored as an evil in itself. So evident are its problems that the question as to whether it is socially beneficial is never even considered.

Now *prima facie*, in so far as the movement is spontaneous, one would expect it to be welcomed rather than resisted in a community professing liberal ideals. Those who come to town willingly are, after all, groping towards the fuller life, it may be through the medium of higher money incomes or of many other believed advantages attaching to an urban existence. They may feel, for instance, that, whatever the material benefits of rural occupations, they are virtual serfs in most farm employments, and the urge to taste of liberty may draw them away. But in every case they must be thought of as seeking a wider field for self-realisation. To the very poor this will usually, although not invariably, be seen in their pursuit of higher earnings.

That the rural exodus is a good thing and ought to be encouraged is only a presumption, and experience may suggest that expected advantages are not in fact realised. It is often argued, for example, that those who come in are misled; that their expectations are not realised; and that in their own interests they ought to be excluded. But it is hard to believe that they could be *continuously* misled. It takes some considerable effort and enterprise to uproot oneself from the soil and trek to strange surroundings. The peasant is not trained to exercise drastic initiative, and the expected advantages of the change must be

**The Drift to the Towns*, in *Economic Record*, November, 1929, p. 234.

extraordinarily alluring to cause him to move. Moreover, we are all inclined to prefer those ills that we know than risk the unknown. And if there were widespread disillusionment on actual acquaintance with town life, why should not an even stronger tendency towards a counter-vailing urban exodus develop? On the contrary, however, one of the principal reasons for the whole phenomenon is the fact that the many who do progress in urban life arouse the envy of their country friends and relatives.

The basic presumption of the goodness of urban immigration can be attacked on grounds of a different kind which deny the principle of liberty, or any inherent goodness, in a régime which gives scope for the exercise of individual preference. It may be argued, for instance, that the towns are unhealthy and that, in spite of preferences, the real interests of the country folk are served by exclusion. Or again, the great metropolis may be thought of as dangerous to the morals of the simple countryman and poor Whites, poor Coloureds, or poor Natives, may be considered peculiarly subject to contamination from the wicked city.

In practice we do not find, however, any marked willingness on the part of politicians, reformers, and publicists, to face the implications of this presumed social beneficence of the rural exodus.

If they do mention the possibly disadvantageous aspects it seems to be more by way of using them sophistically—or as a means of rationalising preconceptions. A superficial plausibility makes these points attractive to propagandists, who seem to start from the hypothesis, to use Professor Allan Fisher's words, that "there is some natural ratio which ought to be preserved. . . . between the number of people engaged in so-called primary production and the number occupied by other forms of work. Nobody has attempted to define precisely the correct ratio, but it is generally agreed that the observed diminution of the ratio indicates some grave evil in the economic organisation of the Dominion. Politicians who differ about everything else are practically unanimous about the dangers of the drift to the towns."* Further we lack even the vaguest principle to help us in this undefined ratio, and even if we had some principle, and an agreed ideal fixed ratio, it would not justify resistance to some considerable influx from the country so long as the rural birth-rate continues greatly to exceed the urban.

The correct distribution of population, however, between town and country is a changing thing, varying according to the shifting relative importance of society's demand for the products of industry and the products of the soil.

This aspect gives an explanation of an important contributory factor, if not the principal cause of the phenomenon. The drift is a consequence of the facts (a) that, in the present age, costs of raw materials are making up a decreasing proportion of the prices of industrial products, and (b) that we are all spending a smaller proportion of our incomes on foodstuffs. The rural exodus is one of the fruits of plenty, of society's desire for higher things, of the power of the people to feed themselves with less effort. It is the outcome of growing material wealth, even though it remains the intimate and inevitable associate of growing poverty.

The relative decline in demand for farm products is not absolute. The population of the world is still expanding, and people are demanding more expensive types of foodstuffs which require more labour to produce

**Op. cit.* p. 235.

per unit of value, yet in spite of an increased absolute demand for things we eat the countryside is being deserted. The effects of improvements in farming methods are, however, almost entirely in the direction of labour-saving changes, and in face of this politicians and others, who claim moral good or economic advantage in farming pursuits, seem to believe that the stimulation of improved farming methods, agricultural education, and so forth, can promote rural settlement.

In South Africa we see a naïve belief that the promotion of improved agricultural methods in the Native Reserves, together with the introduction of individual tenure, will act as an automatic segregating force. Such a policy might, of course, help to make enforced segregation a more humane policy; but most farming improvements economise labour, and, under private property, tend to displace superfluous workers and release them for other occupations which consumers' demands make more urgent. "One of the most curious phenomena of our time", says Professor Allan Fisher, "is the widespread belief that it is possible at once to improve the efficiency of farming and to increase the proportion of farmers to total population. . . . It is quite futile to suppose that by re-organising our educational system and giving it a more definitely agricultural flavour we can stem the drift to the towns. On the contrary, the more efficient farmers become, and the more widespread scientific methods of cultivation, the easier will it be to satisfy the primary needs of the world as a whole, and therefore the smaller will be the proportion of primary producing to total population."*

This great diversion of relative demand away from the products of the soil shows itself in part in a manifest discrepancy in rates of earnings within the towns and without. It is however "net advantages" which have to be compared and which cause migrations. But the actual cash payment is becoming more the worker's paramount concern, since it is through the funds in his purse that he can realise his power of free choice and preference as a consumer, and these open to him the most significant avenue to experience of the reality of liberty. The prospect of a fuller urban life is largely sought through the higher earnings offered for urban work. Yet have we not again a serious surplus of urban population shown by widespread unemployment without a parallel persistent shortage of farm labour? "Surplus" and "shortage", however, have no definite meaning when used in this way. The only logically consistent conception of "scarcity" is the relative "wantedness" of a thing by the community. This is equally true of the services of individuals, and the scarcity of different types of labour is actually indicated in relative rates of pay. The inevitable conclusion is that, in spite of unemployment, it is in the towns that labour is most "scarce."

Unemployment is a phenomenon produced in communities in which the demand for certain types of labour which have customarily been remunerated at high rates of pay is monopolised. Certain groups succeed, by the exclusion of others, in securing special advantages for themselves. They are then forced, on grounds of humanity or expediency, to feed and otherwise maintain those who are kept from the more paying kinds of work. The system of monopolisation practised is that based on the institutions of trade unionism, State wage fixation, and industrial legislation generally, re-inforced by other social factors and, in particular, by prejudice against, or restrictions on, the employment of certain classes. The unemployed who are excluded are kept alive, or prevented from becoming too critical, by various forms of charity, unemployment—and

**Op. cit.* p. 242.

subsidised relief-work, or unemployment insurance, subsidised may be by the State (or the Municipality). Unemployment is an incidental feature of a system under which certain classes reserve to themselves a large part of the advantage of the shifting demand in favour of urban occupations. It does to some extent deter would-be immigrants, and it may be regarded as in part a consequence of resistance against their competition and indirectly as a barrier checking the influx. The principal means of exclusion are expressed in the chances of employment.

To this condition of affairs in the towns the rural exodus is a response. The immigrants have not only a chance of getting into one of the less successfully protected occupations but into many subsidiary jobs. Unless well-schooled they will be completely excluded from trades protected by apprenticeship, but there are other openings, and even the poorest feel they will be more secure in urban life. They dimly realise that they are less likely to suffer from semi-starvation or the absence of medical help. They have heard of charities and relief.

The fundamental reality underlying this problem is that urban immigration is to the benefit of the immigrants and to the detriment of many well-defined groups within the towns. To the social welfare institutions the disadvantages of allowing the drift to continue are obvious. Their difficulties are greatly aggravated, and the undue concentration of the attention of their officials on the specific tasks involved may lead to the exclusion from their minds of a broad consciousness of social welfare as a whole.

They are easily apt to overlook or undervalue the interests and legitimate aspirations of those who grope their way in, especially in view of the fact that practically all "social work" that is not deliberately educative is merely palliative.

Social workers, however, dealing with this problem often feel almost instinctively that it is wrong to allow the drift to go unchecked. In so far as they *do* stem the tide of rural emigrants they act as a brake upon a powerful force whose momentum would be dangerous to certain things that we hold dear if it were allowed an unencumbered expression in determining a new equilibrium of population distribution. In these days perfect mobility of labour, or unrestrained competition in the labour market, would cause so drastic a levelling up of low and down of high wage rates that the result would be catastrophic.

So far I have argued that changes in world demands are attracting labour to the towns; that it is to the advantage of rural inhabitants that they shall be allowed to come into towns in response to those changes; but that the interests of many sections of the urban population require the rural exodus to be checked and the benefits of the diversion of demand to be largely reserved for them. I am now going to suggest that the significance of the resistance to the influx is but one of many manifestations of resistance to competition with a view to preserving a certain distribution of income wealth.

The key to an understanding not only of the resistance to the townward drift but of a host of other social problems lies in a recognition of the fact that present day economic institutions and policies have been more or less unconsciously fashioned with the object of maintaining a given distributive scheme, each social class resisting the encroachment upon its earning capacity of those less favourably situated than itself by means of intentional restraints upon their unemployment and also through innumerable conventions and customs, which, although they are hardly ever recognised as restrictive and working to the detriment of the poorer classes, bear, none the less, upon them. In South

Africa the attempt to retain an existing distributive scheme has taken the clear form of what we call a "civilised labour policy", and the rural exodus is one of the ways in which this powerful force is attacking that policy. To-day the distributive systems of all countries which rest on marked economic inequality are being threatened by competitive capitalism. The effect of unrestricted competition is to raise the poor and humble and to lower the wealthy and privileged. It is an equalitarian but not a kindly force; it is callously indifferent to private interests. In a competitive market the consumer is indifferent to the status of the workers who have produced the commodity for which he bids. The consumer is as considerate to the humble as he is to the proud. It is the poorest who gain from competition; and it is against the poorest—"those with low or 'uncivilised' standards"—that restrictions on competition are aimed, e.g. the attempt to stifle the competition of the Japanese workers in the world economy.

Now to explain is not to condemn the opposition to competitive capitalism. The cruelty of competition lies in the manner in which it rides rough-shod over the expectations of the privileged classes. Those of us who are in receipt of incomes, whose level has been influenced through that absence of competition which is commonly called inequality of opportunity, have adjusted our lives to that situation. Any sudden disturbance of that position will produce dismay or even despair. In the case of artisan labour in this country, especially those skilled trades protected by the Apprenticeship Act, if all the restraints in the labour market were removed, earnings would quite conceivably fall over the period of from ten to fifteen years to about one-half their present level—approximately the corresponding scale in England to-day. From the workers' point of view that would be disastrous and, unless things could be so arranged that the cost of living to them could be brought down considerably, it would hardly be legitimate to advocate any such far-reaching revolution.

The problem is, however, much wider than this. The whole of our social and economic activities are adjusted to a certain distributive system in which there is a series of continuous gradations, each social stratum being protected from that below it. This protection is only in part dependent upon deliberate contrivance, for many social institutions also operate in like manner. The distribution of income is so arranged as to flow into sheltered fields arranged as it were in a progressive scale. To these circumstances our activities both in our producing and our leisure hours are adapted. They have formed the environment in which our nature has been moulded, and any rapid change in that system would leave most of us confused and unhappy. And competition, owing to the very universality of resistance to it, is constantly threatening sudden revolutionary changes. It is common to refer to our society as though it were a competitive system. But a truly competitive system would be intolerable over the period of its attainment, not because it would result in the exploitation of the poorer workers but because it would bring crashing down all those privileges on which rests the greater part of what makes our lives worth living. Those things which most of those in our social class regard as beautiful and noble and distinguished are derived from a system based on privilege and protection. Society is an organism of immense complexity and, no matter how indefensibly from the point of view of human welfare, existing arrangements have been moulded in countless ways to the service of social needs and aspirations as they are. Moreover, productive power is adjusted to this distributive scheme and the changes in demand which would follow from

any violent redistribution of income in favour of the relatively poor would produce a similar confusion in the field of production. A Fascist or Communist revolution would lead to infinitely less disorganisation and bewilderment than the sudden removal of all the barriers on competition and the sudden provision of equality of opportunity. The fundamental equality of a competitive State would mean the scrapping of at least as much social machinery as would the attempted establishment of any form of authoritarian society, and we need that machinery for the very continuance of an orderly and harmonious daily life.

To return to the specific topic of this address, the resistance to the drift to the towns is one important example of this defence of the system of distribution with which we find ourselves to-day. Its legitimacy must rest either on some principle of aristocracy—the unashamed defence of privilege as such—or on the recognition that changes in social institutions must be gradual if those institutions are to continue to perform their functions over the period of transition. We may refer to this as the principle of “gradualness”. But gradualness does not mean rigidity. The word itself admits the necessity for change. The plea it makes is that a working social organism shall not be wrecked in the name of reform but patiently adapted to the changing situation which its own successive adaptations are precipitating. The recognition and acceptance of this principle seems essential if a rational view is ever to dominate policy in connection with our many worrying social problems. We cannot prevent the rural exodus. We may strive to check its rate; we may attempt to preserve a social system in which disappointed expectations can be minimised; but, if we cherish ideals of liberalism, we must recognise that ultimately the economic advantages of town and country existence will be levelled up. And here in the Union that process will mean gradual changes of a far-reaching character. For we have three broad classes who are certain to continue their pressure on the towns—Poor Whites, the Coloured people, and Natives; and the very prospect of the equalisation of conditions is loathed by most of our ruling race.

In my opinion any attempt to stabilise existing economic and social relations between these classes is certain to be disastrous, since the equalitarian force of competition cannot be permanently restrained except under a completely authoritarian State. But what I call the “cruel” effects of competition on privileged classes are displayed in terms of the greatest despair and bitterness when that force has been blindly barred until its accumulating power bursts the dam that has been erected against it. Surely the only intelligent policy is to pursue a middle course, endeavouring to avoid the necessity for catastrophic adjustment, yet refusing to commit ourselves to what must prove to be but unavailing resistance to inevitable change.

To-day, in a seeming effort to avoid facing reality on these questions, reactionaries and sentimental liberals alike base their arguments on assumptions which envisage the continuance of the present distributive régime; but neither group seems to be able to bring itself to formulate any principle of distributive justice on which existing social classes may be regarded as resting. Reactionaries deny that present-day restrictions imposed in the interests of White labour are unfair to the Poor Whites, or the Coloured people, or the Natives. They will not admit that the innumerable methods of labour protection can benefit the depressed classes. Sentimental liberals also deny that there is any fundamental clash between the interests of White artisan labour and those eliminated by the civilised labour policy. They want us to believe, for example, that the raising of Native earnings would not be detrimental to White

artisan and labouring interests. The truth is that neither group dare contemplate for a moment unrestricted competition between all members of these races, and they try to square their consciences with the continuance of gross economic inequality. This has led to the dominance in present-day discussions on social and economic problems of a number of hypocrisies and shams so current that most people accept them as self-evident truths. The reactionaries are relying upon the superstition, which has arisen in defence of White economic privileges, that miscegenation is socially, mentally, and physically, harmful to the human race, supported by a like myth that the non-European races are intellectually or morally inferior to the Europeans. And, on the other hand, the sentimental liberals pander to the same superstition by denying the obvious truth that greater economic equality will promote race fusion. The facing of our social problems necessitates fearless and unashamed realism, but, because we have been concerned to protest that differentiation on grounds of race is "just", we have become lost in a mist of casuistry and cant. Even to our liberals "justice" to the Natives means little more than some always undefined amelioration of their lot, and never absolute economic and social equality with Europeans. They are reformers without principles because they have been afraid of recognising that the nature of the modern social organism and the culture that it preserves rest upon extreme inequalities of condition. Principles of justice derived from liberal ideals of the "natural rights of man" have played no fundamental part in the development of our civilisation. What the liberals have to recognise is that the fanatical pursuit of those ideals would definitely threaten that civilisation. Subconsciously they recognise this, but they seem afraid to state it openly; and this prevents them from bold advocacy of absolute economic and political equality as an ultimate ideal.

The protection of a certain type of civilisation in this country, and the preservation of the lives of the people who carry it from bewildering and heart-breaking changes of condition, is a great enough ideal in itself to be able to stand on its own merits. Indeed, the case for it will be strengthened if we can succeed in eliminating the humbug with which it has become surrounded. The essential features of its contemporary White civilisation rest upon a certain means of distributing income; but the persistence of harmonious social development does not require that that system of distribution shall remain permanently unaltered. White predominance is not a sacred thing, and the culture that we have inherited does not depend upon it. All that the harmonious continuance of our civilisation requires is that change shall be tempered by the principle of gradualness. We must save certain important social classes who carry much of what is most essential in our culture from the worst terrors of disappointed expectations, but we must at the same time prepare these very classes for the emergence of a greatly different social system as the years go by. They must be ready to accept successive modifications of the privileges on which their economic position is founded. Neither in this nor in any other country will the rural populations, or any other depressed classes, remain permanently content with a position of relative inferiority in the community. And in no country will it be possible to ignore their discontent.

Thus, the significance of the rural exodus can be understood, if it is regarded as a particular form of the attack by competitive capitalism upon an existing distributive system, and if we recognise that that system is protected by innumerable intentional restrictions and social habits and conventions. And that system, although founded on privilege

is, nevertheless, capable of the conditional justification supplied by the "principle of gradualness".

I do not suggest that the rural exodus has been too rapid, neither do I believe that the "principle of gradualness" requires any further restrictions on the influx of Poor Whites, Coloured people, and Natives. There are countless unseen barriers protecting our town populations from their rural compatriots. My purpose has been to explain the true origin of the misgivings of those who fear the influx to-day.

DISCUSSION.

PROFESSOR VERWOERD maintained that the rural immigrants often made good, not necessarily in the first generation, in the towns. They came owing to economic stress rather than seeking any wider realisation.

PROFESSOR HUTT emphasised that he had tried to treat his subject from the economic viewpoint, but this did not imply belittlement of other factors and angles.

PROFESSOR VERWOERD in discussing the question of professional training emphasised the fact that its absence accounted for the purely remedial nature of social relief. He also urged the importance of the "following up" of those, and their families, who had been provided with work. A model case-work institution was a vital need. He also dealt with the question of University Courses, the introduction of which was in general prohibited by financial considerations. The monthly salary of £15—£18 was sufficient for the young University-trained beginner. Smaller societies might co-operate to secure one trained worker to direct and supervise volunteers and untrained employees.

BISHOP LAVIS suggested the appointment of a qualified Government official to visit throughout the country to give advice and guidance.

CHANGING TECHNIQUE IN SOCIAL WORK (*DIAGNOSTIC*)

DR. CHAS. W. COULTER

Five years ago I found your social work organisation in Johannesburg incipient, somewhat chaotic, uncorrelated, incoherent. To-day I know of no city which in so short a period has accomplished more. If this progress continues, you will be sending your social workers to England or America to indoctrinate us in the newer methods of solving our social difficulties.

There is just no limit to the shifts which have taken place, both in my country and yours, in methods of finding out the causes of social maladjustment. That is what diagnosis is—finding out the causes, the exact terms of the situation, whether in Medicine or Social Work so that the specific treatment can be applied. The shift has been from the superficial to the fundamental, from the symptomatic to the root causes. And this shift has made Social Work a profession and has caused the social worker to be feared and in some quarters vigorously opposed. It is the easiest thing in the world to relieve a distressed family by giving food, clothing, and shelter. It is quite another thing and requires a different kind of courage to get at what the indigency

is and what caused it, and to point out the remedy which is necessary to prevent its continuance or recurrence. Changes indicated by a thorough-going diagnosis have dynamite in them; so the career of the social diagnostician is not any bed of roses.

These newer concepts which the social investigator now supports are that—

(1) *Personality is the outgrowth of the experience of life.*—It is built up as a result of having to respond to certain situations as a result of contact with certain individuals and groups. Nobody is born with a personality. Personality is acquired.

All human reactions have antecedent causes. A complete diagnosis requires an understanding of the factors which have conditioned present attitudes. A man's attitudes have to be changed before any permanent adjustment of some family upheaval can be effected.

(2) *Behaviour is determined by our responses to present as well as past environment, physical and social.*—We find ourselves, just as we find our clients, varying our rôle to suit our company. Our client tells us what he thinks we want to know. A shrew diagnostician cuts down through this present artificial reaction if she would ascertain the truth on which remedial plans are to be based.

No client is consistent. So the diagnostician must have a clear cut definition of the client. It must be remembered also that emotional need assumes priority over intellectual reasoning. *There are not any purely intellectual decisions affecting behaviour.* It has been said that social workers do not think—they feel. It would be more correct to say that their decisions are not on intellectual grounds only. The emotional factors must, however, be rationalised. Thorough diagnosis must penetrate the rationalisation, clear away the emotional clutter, if it would apprehend the actual causes of behaviour.

(3) *All behaviour must be regarded as purposive and symptomatic.*—Behaviour is the symptomatic response to the needs and strivings of the individual as a result of his life experience. The simplest form of symptomatic behaviour may be seen when someone makes a clever remark or tells a witty story to a little group. Immediately another person in the group bursts out that he has heard that before. He detracts from the superiority of the person making the remark and attracts attention to himself. But actually his behaviour is symptomatic of his own need for recognition.

The sagacious social investigator every week has to interpret symptoms brought out in the interview in terms of underlying causes—causes of which, perhaps, the client is entirely unaware, but which, nevertheless, have fruited in anti-social or disruptive behaviour.

(4) *Every act is a part of a life sequence in which the element of choice is modified.*—Thus to the case worker no act in itself is right or wrong. Diagnosis does not permit of moral judgment. She is there to discover why the individual acts as he does.

The response of the moment is a part of the sequence of the life of the individual, and diagnosis must uncover the life pattern, if it is to be of value in suggesting remedial treatment.

(5) *Understanding the individual is difficult without a complete picture of the environmental influences.*—No plan of treatment for the individual can be devised without taking into consideration the influencing personalities. That is a reason why an adult or a child, when examined under controlled conditions in an institution, seldom yields complete data for diagnosis. The environmental factors are absent.

The "negativistic" child may be a misnomer. Negative behaviour may be the child's way of punishing his parents for something they have done to him. In order to understand the child's behaviour a great deal more would have to be known about the child's parents.

(6) *Modern case work treatment now undertakes to give positive satisfying constructive experiences as opposed to negative and destructive experience.*—Thus, as a case worker evaluates a client's earlier influences and attempts to work with him on his present problems, she must determine how this present experience may have a constructive value for him. She looks for the constructive possibilities in the emotional implications so as to prevent his withdrawing into mere infantile satisfactions. She treats not so much his words and acts as the inner feeling which determines his behaviour. A satisfying constructive experience for the breadwinner and the home is clearly indicated.

(7) *It is desirable to tell a person only what he is ready to accept*, since ideas become action only when they are charged with the wishes and inner needs of the individual self. A client thinks and feels in terms of what things mean to him. So that his acceptance or rejection of suggestions made by the case worker must be on the basis of his own choice.

Thus a disruptive family situation may be cleared up not by the case worker suggesting the best possible substitute but by a suggestion in harmony with what the client is ready at the time to accept and act upon.

(8) *The case worker relationship involves an acceptance of the client as he is, and it is based on an understanding of his behaviour as an expression of his individual needs.*—A drunken client is thought of to-day rather as one who has to find some means of escape from his present situation, and it is for the case worker to make escape unnecessary. In her treatment she attempts to establish the kind of relationship which will allow the man to develop more nearly into the person he wants to be. This may be accomplished by the case worker's attitude of respect for what he struggles to express, the removal of his thwartings, and the understanding of his other difficulties. Through her acceptance of him as a person the client may become more acceptable to himself and therefore more equal to meeting his own difficulties. Alcoholism is seldom wilful behaviour. It may be traceable to one or other of many domestic, social, or economic sources. His behaviour is the expression of his individual needs which must be understood and accepted, and their adjustment must be worked out on that basis.

Again, the case worker no longer approaches the family with the idea that she is to secure certain information but rather that she is to secure material which will help her understand the situation. Thus the routine investigator has disappeared—the questionnaire, pencil, and paper have gone. The worker draws on source information only when the client himself sees that it has relation to his problems and only when it has been a matter of agreement between client and case worker. This method releases the client so that, if he wishes, he is free to share significant experiences in terms of what they mean to him rather than of being important in themselves.

And, lastly, the modern social worker has the same objective give-and-take approach in dealing with her associates that she has in dealing with her clients. Sometimes it is necessary that another worker take over the case, or be called in as consultant, or that she have the combined wisdom or constructive criticism of the agency in her diagnosis and treatment.

I have not mentioned here the changing of fundamental maladjustments in the social order. Sometimes the housing situation in an entire neighbourhood has to be modified, high rents, charged by landlords who collect through renting agencies, have to be reduced, thus bringing social work into conflict with the very people who most liberally support it. A new technique of approach, persuasion, and compulsion, in this field has yet to be worked out. But the initiation of such procedure is the task of the Social agency.

Sometimes family maladjustment is due largely to the absence of adequate community recreational facilities or indeed to the presence of questionable commercial recreations. The facts are easily ascertained through the survey, but the best methods for implementing the recommendations into civic action, especially where the municipal authorities are involved, are not definitely known. *But the initiation of such procedure is the task of the Social agency.*

Sometimes the initial cause of the family maladjustment rests partly—perhaps largely—in the industrial system—wages, hours, and other conditions. Hence, the agency is forced to attack the problem with the sword of the serpent but without the harmlessness of the dove.

These, a few of the newer concepts underlying the changing techniques, represent modifying attitudes and are therefore more intangible and fluid than community data and office routine.

Perhaps because of this they are more difficult to adopt and to standardise, but three methods of doing so have been found most fruitful by progressive agencies: (a) *The group discussion method*, or the training and standardising through group conferences. Such discussion is really a venture in co-operative education. Extreme views are toned down, rigid condemnation of behaviour is lessened, prejudices are corrected, and emotional disturbances due to a sense of outraged conventionalities are brought into professional focus.

In these group meetings specific cases are discussed. There is a pooling of experience and thinking, and the solutions become patterns for ever-improving methods. Philosophic concepts develop naturally out of such concrete situations.

(b) A second way of popularising such concepts and techniques within the agency is that of "*periodic evaluation*", where the Director of the agency, or its supervisor, has an evaluation at regular intervals of every member of the staff, her difficulties and successes, her weakness and strength. The worker, whether paid or volunteer, should participate in the evaluation of her progress because joint evaluation tends to equalise discrepancies. This is in no sense an inquisition but an opportunity for honest impersonal self-appraisal. It permits of suggestion often as valuable to the supervisor as to the worker. It relieves tension and affords a definite opportunity for re-stating the policies and principles of the organisation, and it keeps the worker constantly and alertly and progressively 'on her toes'. Such evaluations are always in terms not of perfection but of growth in understanding of her own attitudes and those of her clients, in the terms of her ability to establish a constructive relationship with her clients, and of interpreting what she is learning in such a way that the community may become more tolerant of the failures and more hopeful of the possibilities for development on the part of her clients.

(c) The "*constructive use of limits and authority*." Sometimes it is well to narrow down the field of choice so that it comes within limits. There are rules of procedure in every agency which obviate the necessity for decisions on matters of routine and thus allow energy, time, and

emotional freedom, to make important choices. These routine matters should be made clear as the policy of the agency and in the interest of limiting the responsibility of the worker.

There are certain limits as to case load, and the quality of the service against the background of the worker's equipment, life experience, and training. There are certain types of cases which should not be handled by an inexperienced volunteer. Limits are thus imposed on the kind of people with whom in the beginning she can make effective contacts. Such constructive limitations are essential to the protection of both worker and client from possible destructive experiences and are usually voluntarily and gladly accepted by the worker if they are made clear by the greater improvement in technical efficiency than if she is allowed unlimited freedom.

DISCUSSION

DR. COULTER: Specialisation in social workers is essential. Environment measurably determines what a feeble-minded child is going to be. He may be conditioned by circumstances and environment into a life of delinquency or into as fair a citizen as his mentality will permit.

Some can be adopted but the lowest strains must be sent to institutions.

We are not to reduce our social sanctions of "right" and "wrong", but the social worker must preserve an unbiased attitude and not that of the judge.

CHANGES IN THE TECHNIQUE OF SOCIAL WORK IN GERMANY

FRAU ELISABETH NITZSCHE

The economic and social changes in Germany had brought about a great increase of poverty amongst all classes of society. There was a great increase of unemployment, while the destruction of all social orders, and especially that of the family, was the most disastrous of all especially for the young people. Most important of all was the loss of the static basis of life. Ideals, principles, and faith had been overthrown. The young people were without religion, their beliefs were in a state of chaos. Despair prevailed and induced the effort to escape by resort to drink and narcotics.

New social problems were created calling for new methods of solution. It became very necessary for all social workers to have a knowledge of psychology to understand the client. A professional trained service thus became essential, and for members (chiefly women) a two years' training course, with an examination and a further year of practical service to follow, is added to a previous professional training as a nurse or a teacher.

Every social worker has twenty voluntary helpers for whom courses are also held. The causes, not always in the patient but operating from outside, and not the symptoms should be treated. It is not possible to efface judgment. The social worker must recognise the guilt but need not and should not condemn.

There are times when we must render the service of punishment and recognise facts.

In treatment the client must be released from himself. At times he may not want to be helped, and would rather give than receive, as this enables him to forget his psychological situation.

For remedial methods—young people must live with their families. All social work is based on the family as a unit. The rehabilitation of the family, in its turn, was based upon the rehabilitation of women. Women have never been of more importance than to-day, never has more been expected from them. Woman is to be the centre of the family, the mother the centre of the nation.

To assist in this movement Mother Schools have been established. My own Mother School in Berlin is attended by all classes of the population, who receive instruction in health, hygiene, domestic science. If a woman wants a foster-child she must attend a Mother School. Children are only placed in families, and institutions are only for children needing special treatment.

In all this distress it is most important that the people should believe in a future.

With regard to case work, it is not possible to help individuals. It is the nation which must have a new and healthy future. In our welfare work we try to give no relief, but we give guidance. We do not support sick persons, but we try to help healthy persons to remain healthy. We teach mothers to keep their children healthy. It is much more important to help the well than to help the sick. We help them to realise that they live in a social order and not alone. Marriage is not regarded as a contract between two personalities but as a social order. It is more important that the social orders live than the individual.

The work done by the Churches, to which has been assigned the care of the mentally sick, is important, but the work of the community is the most important. We can only be a good nation if we have faith in God.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL CASE WORK

MISS HANSI POLLAK

Constructive social welfare to-day must be interpreted as the provision of those conditions in the community which will enable each individual best to develop and satisfy his physical, mental, emotional, economic, cultural, and social needs.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century the efforts of social workers were mainly directed upon the alleviation of distress and upon the study of the environmental conditions that contributed towards the frequently caused social failure. The existence of the problems of poverty, crime, etc., was held to be resultant upon the adverse and undesirable conditions that prevailed in the community. Consequently, efforts were mainly directed at formulating a public consciousness of the problems, their extent, their application, their influence, with the fundamental purpose of endeavouring to remedy the adverse social conditions and remove the evils by suitable legislation.

But the futility of attempting to solve a human problem by the routine procedure of alms-giving soon manifested itself. If social effort were to be of any permanent value, it must combine the environmental approach—(seeking to abolish the evil and substitute the positive good)—with individual treatment of each case. Social maladjustment and distress may be caused by a multiplicity of factors, and social workers gradually came to the realisation that the first essential was an adequate understanding of each case and problem—social diagnosis—and the

subsequent individualisation of treatment to be effected primarily through service. Hence, under Mary Richmond, was developed the Social Case Work technique, which she defined as follows: "Social case work consists of those processes which develop personality through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment."

At this period social case work was practised only in the field of family rehabilitation and in some parts of the developing field of child welfare. Its leading emphasis was upon preliminary investigation and upon treatment, which was conceived as a combination of personal advice and control of the environment, its purpose being to put its clients into a position which would enable them to achieve the fullest possible measure of self-help.

The criticism has often been made "Why investigate?" But, to quote Mary Borisly, "A social work investigation is not for the purpose of determining whether people need help. It is to find out what kind of help they need. Socially sick people, like physically sick people, may, while wanting to get well, be too occupied by the immediate pain, which they want relieved at any cost, to see what lies below and is causing the pain. Good case work, like good medicine, tries to do both—relieve suffering and help the individual to remove or cure the cause".

With regard to case history the general practice was to get an extremely detailed and systematic social history of each client. The history was compiled from the statements and conversation of each member of the family, while great importance was bestowed upon the evidence collected from sources with intimate personal associations.

In 1917 Mary Richmond defined the psychological basis of social case work:—"New skill and new aims are developing, (1) skill in discovering the social relationships by which a given personality has been shaped; (2) ability to get at the central core of difficulties in these relationships; and (3) power to utilise the direct action of mind upon mind in their adjustment".

Yet it is the sociological rather than the psychological basis which organises and gives unity to her presentation in "Social Diagnosis". Law, Medicine, History, Philosophy, and Psychology, each contributed a vital part in the synthesis which this book presents. The purpose of her book is—the effort to formulate the elements of social diagnosis which "should constitute a part of the ground which all social case workers could occupy in common, and which should become in time to take for granted in every social practitioner the knowledge and mastery of those elements and of the modifications in them which each decade of practice would surely bring." (preface p. 8). To her case work was becoming standardised in a professional way. While she emphasises the relationship of diagnosis to the practical end of treatment, actually in the discussion social evidence is for the sake of diagnosis—"the attempt to arrive at as exact a definition as possible of the social situation and the personality of a given client." (p.51). "Investigation, or gathering of evidence, begins the process, the critical examination and comparison of evidence follows, and last comes interpretation and definition of the social situation." (p.51).

The usual method of subsequent treatment was a general procedure of classifying social problems and of meeting these by advice and control of the environment. In this service the case workers played a very active role—finding employment for the wage earner, hospital or clinic care where necessary, and recreational outlets for the children, re-housing

a family, settling domestic troubles, and so on, the case worker generally assuming full responsibility for devising and executing the plan of the moment.

The development of case work has been so rapid that it has often accumulated experiences of profound importance and significance more rapidly than they could be classified and appraised. The lateral extension of social case work to hospital social services—(hospital almoners), probation, child welfare, psychiatric social work, vocational guidance, etc., contributed a vast store of information on human behaviour under different conditions, with the result that social case work has undergone a very pronounced change. This lateral extension brought the work into contact with other professional activities and gave it a close association with some forms of hitherto unfamiliar scientific knowledge in practical use. All these new relationships stimulated the effort to improve the standards of its own achievements, to add to its technical and scientific skill, and to make its professional contribution sufficiently adaptable to be of real service outside of agencies wholly engaged in social work.

Among the changing ideas to be absorbed has been the growing connotation of the social study. The effects of both environmental and personal factors in the lives of clients have been more clearly appreciated and more intensively explored. The extended use of the case method in social research has had a meaning for social case practice.

Social case work has always conceived of its major objective in terms of human personality. Its professional equipment for dealing with human personality has been largely derived empirically, and subject matter of *mental hygiene* has both reinforced many of its conceptions and also added to them knowledge and methods which are beginning to revolutionise its practice. Social case work is still trying to find the formula of assimilation which will give the most servicable blend to mental hygiene and its other elements, and to this effort much of its present unsettled condition is due. Virginia Robinson, who will be quoted, in "A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work" is of great value as an aid to interpretation of the position to-day.

In the light of the deepened post-war knowledge of human motives case workers are no longer prepared to accept the classification of social and personal problems into broad classes. The former method of endeavouring to control the environment too often led to stereotyped prescriptions, and refusal to respond to these efforts was the only sufficient reason for giving up treatment with the closing entry—"Case closed", "Family failed to co-operate". There is now a question whether the basis for the lack of co-operation was analysed or whether any factors in the known trends of the individual personality might have led sooner to this conclusion. Might not the method of the worker have been the fundamental cause of the failure of the client to co-operate?

In the past fifteen years the outstanding change has been the change in emphasis from the sociological to the psychological—from the environmental factors *per se* to their value and meaning as individual experiences. Case work has, however, not remained dependent and subservient in its alliance with psychiatry but has rather been constantly stimulated to new definitions of its essential problems. Psychiatric knowledge of the mechanism of behaviour has shed new light upon the problems of the behaviour of the client. To-day the effect of this increasing recognition of the psychological nature of problems and of the direct influence of psychiatry operates to obliterate the distinction among specialised fields in favour of the recognition of one common field. The Milford Conference in its report—"Social Work, Generic and Specific"—

states: "Social work is a definite entity The various separate designations by which its practitioners are known have relatively less significance all the time in terms of the professional equipment which they connote in comparison with the generic term "social case work" The outstanding fact is that the problems of social case work and the equipment of the social case worker are fundamentally the same for all fields." (page 11).

In the practical field the outstanding change in social case work has been the lesser concentration on formal history taking but the greater concentration on the client's own spontaneous story and on treatment. The family history becomes rather an analysis of the individual members of the family and their interaction on each other in their social setting. The unit of study has shifted to the individual, although in case-family-work the family is still assumed to be the treatment unit. The record to-day is much fuller and richer in detail. Systematic history taking is being relegated to a less important place. An obvious difficulty is the pressure for treatment which the more emergent nature of the family problem may put upon the worker. This willingness to help immediately places every worker in a treatment relationship which at the very moment of its initiation may be the determining factor in the progress of the history and treatment. Virginia Robinson makes the following points:— (1) The social case history to-day is rich in psychological fact. (2) This psychological fact is growing firmer and more concrete in quality and there are signs that it is based on a progressively better organisation and understanding of the cause and effect relationship in the development. (3) The histories from all agencies tend to favour the individual's own story and the observation of the worker in preference to outside sources of information. (4) While the content of the history is determined by the desire for sound treatment another factor is realised, which may penetrate into the content and operate as the decisive control of the method and procedure in history taking itself. This factor she calls the 'TREATMENT RELATIONSHIP'. The social objective of treatment is accepted without question by the Milford Conference. At the same time "The ultimate goal is to develop in the individual the fullest possible capacity for self-maintenance in a social group Proximate goals may involve such things as restoration of health; re-establishment of kinship ties; removal of educational handicaps; improvement of economic conditions; overcoming of delinquent tendencies"

"The treatment services given on the statistical cards used by social case work agencies would give merely the bare bones. The flesh and blood is in the dynamic relationship between social case worker and client, child or foster-parent; the interplay of personalities through which the individual is assisted to desire and achieve the fullest possible development of his personality. Social case treatment has to do with the way in which the social worker counsels with human beings; at every step it links up with his understanding of those requiring service, with his concepts of social relationship, and with his philosophy of normal standards of social life." (pp. 29-30).

"Herein lies the essence of the conflict inherent in the treatment situation at the present moment. It is the social welfare of the client versus the relationship between the worker and the client. If the worker is chiefly animated by the desire to plan for the social welfare of her clients, she assumes the control of the situation with her plan in which the client is permitted to participate—as was the predominant practice formerly). If the relationship with the client has become paramount

to his social welfare and the welfare of his family, then a new factor of control must be sought for within the relationship itself."

Consequently in the more progressive and enterprising agencies a very complete change is discernible. It is a swing away from the sociological to the psychological and to the endeavour to control the relationship between client and worker. The case worker strives to maintain a perfectly objective, passive attitude, meeting the client and his problems with understanding of his problem, accepting his impulses good or bad, without praise or blame. In the measure in which this understanding is really accurate, fine, and comprehending, with every shade of difference in the individual's feelings he will tend to use this relationship at deeper and deeper levels and release his conflicts to project his impulses, to work through his problems, to define himself as a real self in differentiation from the other. This detachment of the worker creates for the client a unique opportunity to change. In every other experience his need has been met by conflicting or conquered will.

In her function of understanding and accepting the client the case worker asserts no will of her own but becomes at the service of the client. This attitude depends upon her integrity and freedom of designs of her own and varies with her development. This client's response is always ambivalent in that he wishes to arouse some personal response as a token of his power to do so, and he also finds a new sort of satisfaction in this impact with a force which permits him self-expression or planning on his own behalf. The new technique does not impose a uniformity of treatment relationship of worker and client, for there are still a considerable number of situations in which activity, not passivity, is demanded of the worker.

In every case work relationship there are two extreme forms of response of client to worker. In the one case he becomes overdependent and constitutes a peculiar temptation to the worker to bestow the necessary advantageous approval, encouragement, and support. The other extreme of reaction is that of the individual who states that no one can help him but himself. The one accepts and lives in his dependency, the other denies the object in over-protesting against his feared dependency. Between those two extremes lie the great number of cases. The case worker must from the outset learn to distinguish these types and develop a suitable relationship with each in order to preserve their independence and security.

Virginia Robinson states that there are three things that are necessary if case work is to have any confidence in itself as treatment for human ills. (1) The worker must be able to analyse the forces active in the individual at the time when she enters into relationship with him. (2) She must be conscious and interested concerning the way these forces interact on her attitude and on each other in the progress of the relationship. (3) She must have some conception of the therapeutic limitations and possibilities of the relationship.

"The acceptance of this responsibility involves a treatment relationship whose essential character is dynamic interaction between client and worker and, by this, distinguished from the early 'doing for' or 'doing something to' the client or the later 'understanding the client through his past'. In one the worker projects herself upon the client, in the second she escapes herself in identification with the client, while in the third, the treatment relationship, she accepts responsibility for herself and the relationship as well. "The latter is the ideal towards which successful case work should be directed. There is little known and everything to be learned about the elements in the relationship

which favour successful work. The only hope of solution lies in the worker herself and her capacity to understand the object, not only in relation to the client but in relation to the pressure of the community and social standards."

"The spirit that animates social work is not new—respect for personality, appreciation of the individual's capacity for endurance, awareness of his limitations, a determination that case work contacts may give him an increased self-esteem and a measure of courage, the hope that from this experience he may emerge with integrity preserved and spirit unbroken." (Eleanor Neustaedter).

TYPES OF SOCIAL WORKERS AND THEIR TRAINING

DR. CHAS. W. COULTER

Good intentions, fine moral character, the service motive, and experience, do not take the place of adequate technique whether in social or professional work.

Social workers in America are classified on the basis of their training into three groups :

(a) *The Trained Social Worker*—a graduate of a University (or its equivalent), who has spent two years in a graduate school of social work, including nine months of field-work experience under competent supervision.

During this period she may have specialised in any or all of six different branches, qualifying her for participation in :—(1) Family case work, the basis to all social service. (2) Group service work. (3) Child welfare. (4) Court and Probation work. (5) Medical, nursing, psychiatric and hospital service work. (6) Research and social legislation.

She has distinct professional standing and after two years' further experience is admitted as a member of—The National Association of Case Workers.

(b) *Apprentices* are persons with a B.A. degree, who for financial or other reasons do not take the post-graduate professional course but are given such training as the facilities of an agency can offer. They cannot become members of the National Association and usually work temporarily only. They generally receive payment.

The student is under the double supervision of the Director of the agency and the Professor in charge of the training in 12 courses of Sociology, but this is *not* professional training.

The University Course is academic, designed to acquaint the student with the Society in which he lives. The post-graduate Course is professional, specifically designed to equip a person to do a specialised job.

(c) *Volunteers* may or may not have had specialised training and experience. These rare souls in every country have been the pioneers. At present they give only part of their time, but much of their interest and not a little of their substance, to this service and thus act as a floating labour supply, which will be used in conjunction with trained technicians in Africa's social work for many years to come.

The word "volunteer" in the recent past has had an unfortunate association with condescension and patronage.

If, of course, volunteers are to be unreliable, irregular, and casual, social work does not want them. Men and women in social work give

years of their life to training, and naturally they demand responsible volunteers, but if the volunteer is determined to bring to her small task the same sort of professional standard which the staff worker brings to her larger task, then social work *does* want her, and without her it would be decidedly crippled.

The volunteer is needed even in the agencies where there is the highest type of professional service, firstly—for her actual contribution to the work specially in times of emergency; secondly—to bring stability and leadership to the agency and insure continuity of policy; thirdly—to bring in a fresh outside point of view, and lastly—to interpret to the lay world what the social agency is really trying to do.

Suitable persons to be volunteers are (a) married women who do not want a salaried position and who can do only part-time work, (b) young women just out of college, who desire to gain experience before taking up some full-time occupation, and (c) men and women in regular vocations who have a keen consciousness of their social responsibility.

In handling volunteers, one experienced person only should conduct all the personal interviews and select and supervise the workers. Interest too has to be kept keen, and any flagging enthusiasm be re-kindled. It must also be made abundantly clear that the volunteer is an integral part of the organisation, and just as important as the paid staff members, and that his or her viewpoint receives full consideration. The Central Volunteer Bureau in America has been organised as a labour bureau, so to speak, for volunteers. Its function is to co-ordinate and organise all volunteer service.

The Council of Social Agencies usually formulates the organisation. An appeal is made to the Women's Clubs or to some other service organisation to provide a room and equipment. The Council provides a Director and the office force is volunteer, and on application from any local agency the Bureau secures and supplies the person best equipped to fill the particular need.

A Central Volunteer Bureau exists to serve (1) any accredited agency that desires volunteers, and (2) any qualified lay person who wishes to be placed as a volunteer. Its scope is community wide in service both to volunteers and to agencies, and it therefore should not be identified with any one organisation.

The purpose of a volunteer placement system is (1) to make your volunteer service reliable and of real use to the community; (2) to have each volunteer working in a job which she is best fitted to do; (3) to have each volunteer working in a job from which she can learn something as to the part that her particular agency serves in the whole community welfare programme.

The Volunteer Bureau has a double educational or training purpose: (1) Educating the Board member (2) Educating the volunteer worker.

Periodical reports are made on the volunteer by the agency and vice versa to insure efficiency.

For purposes of instruction "Discussion groups seem to be more in favour however than formal lecture courses. The most popular and successful study groups, from the point of view of their members have been limited to 25 or 30 persons. *This small number allows for freedom of discussion and consequent clarifying of questions. It seems better to have two or three small groups rather than one that is overcrowded. Each member of the group then feels free to join in the discussion and bring up questions that are in her own mind and connected with her own work.*" (Margaret Rich).

DISCUSSION

MISS WILBY wished the outside world to regard social work as a profession, but social workers to regard it as a vocation.

MRS. NITZSCHE said that the German University was not adapted for this training, and suggested that the con-current course was rather on a par with surgical or medical practice prior to study of chemistry and physiology.

DR. COULTER spoke of apprenticeship training and of school departments of sociology which covered family and society work and methods in social service and field work. In America all workers spent 9—12 weeks at work under a social agency. Prospective wives might become paid apprentices to the agencies. Volunteers could also undergo some training if not a full course.

MISS MACKENZIE: In South Africa we have no one to train experienced practical workers or enthusiasts eager to work and other volunteers. It was a time to sink differences and establish one or two schools for the whole country.

TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK IN GERMANY

FRAU ELISABETH NITZSCHE

The beginning of training for social work started in Germany about fifty years ago. We had at that time already a rather widespread organisation giving relief to needy persons of different groups. Not only relief but also training to know how to give it was necessary, and the movement was started by a Women's Association of which Miss Alice Salomon was the President. She is now treating the international subjects of women's work. At the same time the Churches took charge of the training of their voluntary workers. The well-known Adolf Stoecker did prominent pioneer work in this field.

At the beginning of this century schools for training in social work were established. There are about 43 schools, six are for male and the others for female students, all under one association for the past twenty years. Once a year we meet in Berlin for three days and discuss problems and exchange experiences, so that we may adapt our methods to new conditions.

All schools have the same curriculum and students before their admission must have qualified as nurses or teachers, or in some similar capacity, and be at least twenty years of age. We have regulated training with supervision by the State and a final State examination.

On the other hand the Government curriculum is a mere rule of conduct because there are so many changes even in one year and every school has to meet peculiar needs.

Nearly all schools are maintained by private organisations, by the Churches, by women's and other organisations which ensures a varied outlook.

We try to send applicants too young for admission to training to a household, perhaps in the country, to learn housekeeping. A year or two of agricultural work is an advantage. A candidate must also have a good training in music and other arts, in gymnastics and dancing. For at least twenty weeks too she must have taken part in the camp life of the army of voluntary female workers. In other cases she may

learn tailoring or undertake commercial work. She must have had some experience of life itself rather than any training in science which can be given in our schools.

There is a theoretical and a practical training for two years. For at least half a year the students work under a social welfare board in an urban and a rural district. We have courses of lectures and discussions in psychology and sociology, in pedagogics, in economic science, in the study of legislation, social hygiene, eugenics, mental hygiene. During the course the students come into contact with factories and institutions of all kinds. Every student has to write an essay of about sixty pages about some problem of special interest. We can thus prove her ability to do scientific work because a social worker is asked to identify social problems for herself and to find the best method to solve them.

It is most important that the students should be trained to teach both children and adults and to train the mother and the juvenile in hygiene, educational problems, and domestic science. Hence some social schools have added to their courses schools for mothercraft.

The social worker has afterwards, especially in rural districts, to direct the cultural life of the community. We have in our school a public soup-kitchen for 200 and 300 persons daily. All these persons and others are invited to come twice a month to a school entertainment arranged by the students. We have thus a real social environment and the students learn more from this atmosphere than from any instruction.

I believe in a religious atmosphere in such a school. The social worker must have a sound character. She must not be narrow and heartless in her judgment but must work in a spirit of love. Voluntary workers are trained in courses of a few weeks duration and by means of evening lessons at the training schools.

Continuation classes are held every year. The social schools have such classes for their former pupils, and there are associations of the social workers who carry on the training of their members.

DISCUSSION.

MISS POLLAK emphasised the cogency of the reasons which made the University the suitable centre for this work, and the duty of the University to establish a school of social studies, for which Johannesburg with its numerous and varied social agencies (sixty-four were registered with the Board of Charities alone) was exceptionally well adapted.

A post-graduate course was the ideal to ensure maturity and practical efficiency but this would necessarily appeal to a small minority only in the absence of a recognised professional status with a corresponding remuneration. This indicated that some undergraduate training would have to be supplementary to the provision for this minority, and special diploma courses and general extension courses should be provided, for those interested maybe in special aspects, or unable to find the time and the means for the complete course.

The supervision of the practical work of the student was a serious problem.

Men students in this department were greatly needed: the work was not as so generally imagined primarily or only women's work.

Pretoria, Stellenbosch, and Capetown, had made commendable commencements of training, but lack of funds handicapped extension or completeness of the work.

She favoured the system of concurrent work in vogue in America.

LEGISLATION ON SOCIAL WELFARE IN GERMANY

FRAU ELISABETH NITZSCHE

In the early Middle Ages there was a wide-spread system of poor relief administered by sovereigns such as Charlemagne, by the feudal lords, and chiefly by the Church. The Protestant Church, from the sixteenth century, made the public communities responsible for the relief of their own poor population. Public welfare has maintained during about 400 years the same methods of a mere support for the poor with unimportant changes according to the different conditions. Private organisations, especially the Churches, have done pioneer work and tried to furnish the best methods for handling social problems according to the development of the nations.

Since 1914 several laws have been issued for public welfare work, and in 1924 we had the most important legislation which defined the fields of public agency. The towns and the rural communities are not responsible for the care of all necessitous persons; the cost is divided between the Reich, the States, and the communities, and takes the most considerable part of the public revenue. We try to decrease this by spending more on employment, e.g. in housing schemes.

Social insurance legislation ranks foremost in social work to-day. The social insurance funds maintain their own welfare centres for physical examinations and study of diseases, hospitals, sanatoria, and convalescent homes. The sick insurance funds have now recognised the great value of preventive work. Several of them have now engaged trained social workers instead of mere nurses.

The most important points of the German welfare legislation are :—

1. The guarantee of an absolute uniform system for all public social work, and the joint co-operation of all private and public agencies.
2. The strict responsibility of communities for all welfare costs.
3. The necessities of life to be insured by social work are specified—housing, food, clothing, help and care in times of sickness, and, for children, education and vocational training.

Nevertheless it is important that welfare work has only to care for the mere necessities of life. In Germany we have too much social work, and a family thus supported may get more than a father of a family earning his own living in some employment, which is a mistake. Relief work also supports the inferior stock, while the normal descendants of good families have to bear the burden of life for themselves. We now recognise that the communities have greater duties to the normal families.

4. The responsibility is more extensive for the relief of children than of adults. It involves the full responsibility for education and vocational training. The Child Welfare Board must therefore be in close connection with all the institutions charged with the care for children.

5. All measures of social work are based on the rehabilitation of the natural social institutions, especially on the rehabilitation of the family, and thus tend gradually to make social work superfluous for the greater part of the population.

6. All regulations of the law are merely rules of conduct. But there is enough freedom left to adapt methods to changes of situation.

7. The duties are so extensive that there must be a wide-spread system of well organised social work with many specialist sections and well trained social workers in every field, and with innumerable voluntary

helpers. The public welfare work is carried out by welfare boards, with different departments, the Relief Board, Health and Child Welfare Boards, etc. The Health Welfare Boards are under the authority of a Central Council of Health. The Child Welfare Board takes care of every phase of neglected, illegitimate, or delinquent childhood.

Industry has wide-spread institutions of social work, and the factory welfare work is in the front rank. Scientific research is carried on by a number of federal institutions such as the German Society for Public and Private Relief.

There are many private organisations in Germany engaged in social work, but they are all joined in four great societies. These societies are National Associations and have sections in every State and Province and in every town.

The welfare work of the National Socialists figures prominently in the Joint Council of the four federal organisations. There is a great emphasis laid on making everybody conscious of the responsibility for relief of the needy neighbour and there are not many who are not members of the National Socialist Associations. Members pay at least one mark monthly, and they help voluntarily as much as possible in the different fields of practical work.

In the same way there are more than three million women joined now in the German Women's Work.

The positive policy of real eugenics is much more important than that of sterilisation. We have special assistance for the large families; towns undertake a kind of guardianship for the third or the fourth child of a good family; early marriages are facilitated by loans from the State; fathers of large families are preferred in employment; healthy families are settled in the new colonies in Germany and so on.

Preventive health welfare work is effected by strong propaganda and enlightenment of the population in general. The Press, theatre, and other institutions must serve this purpose.

But the most important part of the programme is to make the mother the responsible guardian of the health of the nation. We have now an extraordinary feminist movement. German women are not to be pitied; they are quite happy in giving national service and they never had more rights than now. Motherhood has been recognised as the actual ground of the national roots. There are now a great number of convalescent homes for the mothers and we have sent thousands of women for happy holidays.

We take great interest in the rural districts as we consider that the peasant is the best member of our fatherland, and that hard work on his own land is the best education for a man for life. To keep property intact the farm may by law not be divided amongst the children when the father dies; the eldest, or better the youngest, son is the only heir, and the other children must get some training provided for them by the revenue of the farm.

We have no coloured population and no "Poor Whites", but we share the South African problem of rehabilitation. You have more money, we have greater experience. But we feel the most exhilarating sea-breeze of new optimism and a renewed spirit of youth.

With regard to our social responsibility each person alone can answer for himself: he cannot escape from this responsibility and can answer only in the peculiarity of his own person. Therefore never was personality more needed than to-day.

The responsibility for the nation calls upon the deep personal freedom and enlivens at the same time the reality of a community.

We grow and bloom as one flower in the meadow of our God, and you as another. And the more distinct and developed is the colour and form of each flower, the more we all will contribute to the real harmony of this meadow of the world by the will of God himself.

SUPPLEMENTARY

"Wont-works" in Germany, if young men, are made to work in the Labour Service Army. Those who can not or will not work must be found occupation with restricted freedom.

Menial work offers opportunities for employment not available in South Africa. In the compulsory Labour Colony those who will not work are starved.

Sterilisation is being carried out in cases of mental deficiency, but lack of experience as yet involves a danger in its exercise.

ORGANISATION OF SOCIAL WORK IN GERMANY

FRAU ELISABETH NITZSCHE

Modern social work in Germany was based on the experience of the War and post-War period. The whole population had become needy at once, and the war-disabled and the dependants of deceased soldiers had also to be dealt with. Welfare work had been done during the war by thousands and thousands of voluntary workers as a whole-time job. After 1918 the War-workers went on working—there were about 1,000 of them who got a salary but had not been trained, though they had had four years' actual experience.

Then training of from four to six months began for experienced workers. In 1920 the new Welfare Board was established. Regular training for social work was now started and no one without experience was given training. To-day every teacher has four or five years experience in social work. Those who are not engaged in teaching have jobs in the various agencies. Only one man was capable of giving instruction in social hygiene—the physician, who is the Principal of the Central Board of Health in Berlin. The study of laws of welfare legislation is taught by an ex-judge of the Juvenile Court. The few persons capable must spend at least four weeks every year doing social work so as to find out for themselves what changes have taken place in technique since the previous year. A new Decree lays down that the teachers have also to spend that time doing practical social work.

In 1914 we only had a law for poor relief. Then came a law for relieving those injured in the War; provision was also made for pensions to disabled men and dependants. The care of orphans was taken up by the social welfare workers. Eventually the State took charge of the whole of the very complicated welfare work. Committees or Welfare Boards had to take charge of every relief case in their part of the country, the State meeting the cost. More than one-third of the expenditure of the State was incurred in connection with social work, the same standard ruling both in rural and urban districts. There were separate Boards for family case work, relief welfare, child welfare, and health welfare. Direct relief was given, but it was better to provide work than a dole.

The work was based on a policy of decentralisation. Berlin, for instance, was divided into 20 districts with from 30 to 60 trained workers in each. Each social worker was allowed twenty voluntary helpers and the districts were split up into very small sections. All workers were acquainted with the principles underlying their work. Every care was taken to prevent temporary relief becoming a permanent measure. The Director of each section was a voluntary helper, a physician from the Welfare Board. The administrative work of the Welfare Boards was carried out by men, the practical care work in the families by women. Principles of method and objects of relief were laid down by law.

All relief should be preventive and effective. In the case of children education and vocational training are also provided for; in the case of the blind, deaf and dumb, we try to strengthen earning capacity.

The Health Welfare Board in each town takes the administration of hospitals, sanatoria, and all health services.

On the Child Welfare Board social interest is very strongly developed and more cases of relief are treated by this means.

All relief is based on family work. The same worker is placed in charge of the same family as long as possible. Sometimes, in connection with a social section of the Health Welfare Board, assistance is given in cases of common diseases.

Private organisations are also working, but all have formed Councils of which there are four, i.e. the Protestant Church, the Catholic Church, the Red Cross, and the Welfare Association. Nearly the whole of the population are members of the National Welfare Association. All members must pay. There is the closest co-operation between all bodies at work, and all work is carried out on uniform lines. Trade Unions assist and welfare work is carried out in factories and among the unemployed.

In Berlin the work in the western districts is better organised and there are many more institutions than in the other districts. The municipal shelter can accommodate 5,000 homeless persons. The hospital has accommodation for 2,500, and there are two infirmaries with 2,000 beds and a sanatorium for children with 1,200 beds, a Federal institution for the prevention of infant mortality, a lying-in hospital, a training school for nurses, an institution for medical research work. The deaf and dumb are catered for by the Oberlin House, which has 377 beds, and there is a Home for cripples.

ORGANISATION OF SOCIAL WORK IN URBAN AREAS (SOUTH AFRICA)

MAJOR MAYNARD PAGE

Charity is not to be confined to the giving of relief in material form and no lasting cure is to be found in the temporary satisfaction of material wants, hence every scheme of charity must make provision for mental and moral no less than for material deficiencies.

In the organisation of charity the object is to secure the largest measure of attainment with the least of effort, and we should, therefore, enquire (a) what are the imperfections of the present administration of charity, then (b) whether these can be made good by the improved organisation of the existing system, (c) what scheme is to be brought into effect.

Until a few years ago there had been no attempt, at least in this country, towards the co-operation and correlation of charitable activities. Statistics show that at the end of 1933 there were registered sixty-four charitable institutions in the Johannesburg area, the declared income and expenditure of which for the year was £198,990 and £201,664 respectively. The actual amounts expended and received were undoubtedly larger than those stated, one body in particular, the Salvation Army, which collects and expends considerable sums annually in Johannesburg, not being included in the list by reason of its refusal to seek registration under the Charitable Institutions (Control) Ordinance.

It may be taken, then, that in 1926, when the first hesitating steps in the direction of co-operation and correlation of effort were taken, there were in Johannesburg, apart from the various phases of Government relief, some sixty Societies collecting and distributing or applying to the maintenance of homes and similar institutions sums to the amount of about £200,000. Each of these functioned independently without consultation with other bodies and almost without regard for their existence.

These conditions were so notoriously open to abuse that in 1926 the Provincial Council of the Transvaal framed the Charitable Institutions (Control) Ordinance to prevent appeals for public contributions by any but approved institutions and generally to provide means whereby co-ordination of the work of, and co-operation between, approved institutions might be effected. Only in January 1932, however, were regulations framed under the enabling section and a Board of Charities constituted for the district of Johannesburg, its function being the stimulation, control, and co-ordination of charitable work in the districts; and for the discharge of these functions wide advisory and executive powers are committed to it.

The limitation for convenience of discussion to accomplishments and projects in the Johannesburg area does not imply the absence elsewhere of any move towards co-ordination of charitable enterprise. The combination of effort in collecting funds was attempted first in Cape Town and then in Durban by the establishment of the Community Chest. In Durban too there was formed in 1932 a central body, consisting of delegates from the majority of charitable societies, for the discharge of functions similar to those entrusted to the Johannesburg Board, and in the same year an Ordinance was passed by the Provincial Council of Natal which is in fact a reprint of that in the Transvaal. Last year a Board was established for the Pretoria district.

While no doubt by the Churches and by the Salvation Army some effort is made towards reclamation by the reform of moral character and the readjustment of perspective, generally speaking the practice still prevails of supplying goods as an effective remedy for the evil of indigency. Here South Africa lags far behind Europe and America, and little has as yet been done to put into practice the admirable recommendations of the Carnegie Commission. The Probation Association stresses the greater need for rehabilitation of social misfits, but the field-work is confined to Probation Officers, who are salaried Government officials, and to two or three voluntary (and honorary) Probation Officers, the participation of other members being limited to sympathy, moral support, and some effort in the provision of funds. A further limitation confines the work to families of which some member has come within the purview of the criminal law.

Undoubtedly one of the most important needs in re-organisation of charitable work is to persuade charitable organisations which now

restrict their efforts to the supply of material relief to extend their scope and adjust their methods so as to include rehabilitation work, or to foster the establishment of a new organisation specially designed to satisfy this need. Gradually, however, it may be expected that the substitution of service for doles will be effected until, though the amount spent may not sensibly diminish, the proportion representing direct gift will be very much smaller and the results obtained of infinitely greater value.

Little can be done in the way of rehabilitation unless work can be found for those able to do it, but account must be taken of the prevailing conditions of the labour market. If a new field of employment can be found, all is well; if the displacement of some other individual is involved, nothing can be achieved.

All indigency is not caused by unemployment, yet no permanent reclamation of the indigent can be effected unless employment can be found. The problem of unemployment is thus a matter of the closest concern for all social workers.

In the case of all Societies, whether affording institutional or material relief, the need for, and the advantages to be derived from, close consultation and co-operation are apparent. There are in Johannesburg at the present time three institutions affording temporary shelter and food for destitute and homeless men, some ten Children's Homes, and other homes for the aged and infirm. A study of each other's methods of management and a joint study of their common problems can produce nothing but good. In the case of Children's Homes it might lead to a scheme of classification and specialisation with resultant simplification of work and improvement of efficiency.

Again, provision is desirable for a closer study of social problems and for the training of social workers. The benefit to be derived by the infiltration into Societies, which consist at present almost exclusively of members whose studies have been confined within the limits of their personal experience, of others who have been educated in theory and principle is incalculable.

It is probable too that no little improvement could be effected on the collecting side by better organisation. So long as reliance is placed wholly or in part upon a voluntary system all necessary measures should be taken to make it as effective as possible. The present system of independent collection subjects a limited number of donors to repeated solicitation, while others, probably willing to contribute if the needs of the various institutions were properly represented to them, have no reasonable opportunity for doing so. No single institution can cover the whole fruitful field in such an area as Johannesburg, but all institutions working in concert could easily do so. The establishment of one collecting agency offers great possibilities of advantage in the advancement and improvement of charitable work in the area.

The necessary co-operation and correlation of effort can be effected only by the voluntary action of the various charities and charitable institutions themselves. The Board of Charities has been invested with wide powers of compulsion and control, but in this matter any attempt to exercise them may well lead to frustration. Voluntary charitable institutions are disposed to be jealous to preserve their identity and independence of action, and to meet resistance by compulsion would be to establish merely a nominal co-operation or to drive willing workers out of the field. An unorganised system of charity is much better than none at all. Dependence must be placed then upon appeal, persuasion, and education. Once the need for reform has been

appreciated and the desire for it awakened the practical steps may be left to the Societies themselves, with the Board or any similar body merely guiding, suggesting, and advising.

In Johannesburg the establishment of the Social Welfare Committee, consisting of representatives of all registered charitable institutions in the area, has preserved autonomy and secured co-operation. The Committee has already done valuable work towards establishing a central information bureau, and it will be for the Board to afford it all possible assistance and encouragement. The Board will still have its own task of keeping a watchful eye on the work not only of the Social Welfare Committee but of its constituent societies, and of being vigilant to check any departure from sound principles and urgent to create necessary expansion. It must foster the spirit of mutual confidence, pursue independent study of social welfare problems, and use all its influence to guide executive operations in the right direction.

A State Department of Social Welfare would do very valuable work not only of co-ordination but in correlating various State efforts more closely with each other and with the voluntary work. It would discharge, in respect of the whole Union, the functions which are now entrusted locally to Boards of Charities and, being staffed permanently by officers who combine practical with theoretical knowledge, it should command greater respect and wield wider influence than the existing Boards. The creation of such a Department might be taken as an acknowledgment that social welfare work is a matter for the State and result in the withdrawal of much of the present voluntary effort, and the greatest care would have to be taken to obviate this.

My hope and conviction are that the thought which is now being given to the better organisation of charitable work in urban areas in this country will before long bring about a marked improvement not only in method but in ultimate efficiency.

SOCIAL WELFARE IN JOHANNESBURG

DR. A. J. MILNE

Commencing with very small beginnings in Social Welfare work 23 years ago, when its first two Health Visitors were appointed, the City Council of Johannesburg has made great and steady progress and now has a large and important Maternal, Infant, and Pre-School Welfare Branch of its Public Health Department. The Council has never begrudged a penny spent on its Social Welfare activities and has even been lavish in responding to the requests of its technical Health Advisers.

Its social activities may be grouped into:—European, Native, Coloured, Asiatic.

European:—Pre-natal activities, two clinics. Post-natal activities, five clinics. Pre-School activities, four nursery health classes.

School age activities are the function of the Provincial Authorities, otherwise I feel sure that the City Council would advance school medical care by leaps and bounds. At present the activities are not very wonderful.

With regard to the pre-natal clinics, the nurses visit the expectant mothers in their own homes, and arrange for confinements either in institutions, such as the Queen Victoria Maternity Hospital, or the home itself. Over 2,000 of these cases per annum are attended to in the clinics.

Three nursery health classes are in operation and a fourth will be opened shortly.

Native :—Medical services, Native nurses, Native clinics.

The four Native townships accommodate 40,000 people. A doctor is in charge in each of these centres with two trained nurses, and each township is supplied with a clinic, which is visited by the Health Visitor and has European helpers at work.

Two clinics for *Coloured people* have lately been established and an *Indian* clinic is being opened.

In connection with the European clinics the number of visits paid to houses by Health Visitors during the past year totalled 12,000. The number of attendances at the clinics during the same period was 44,000.

The total expenses of the Department reached £12,000 per annum. An amount of work was done in the way of Health propaganda and all publications were sent out free of charge. These included such subjects as the Care of Mother and Child, the Destruction of Rodents and Flies, and at present a brochure is in hand on the extermination of bugs.

The Health Department always holds an exhibition at the Witwatersrand Agricultural Show, and is organising the Ideal Home Exhibition—with models of the Municipal housing schemes, also a full-size model of an ideal nursery.

The personnel of the Department consists of :—4 Ante-natal Nurses, 1 Senior Health Visitor, 9 Health Visitors, 1 Pedastrie Officer who attends all Clinics and all Nursery Health Classes, 1 Psychiatrist for Nursery Health Classes, 2 Specialist Obstetric Officers for the Ante-natal Clinics, 1 Medical Officer for Native Townships.

DISCUSSION.

MISS MEESER outlined a practical scheme for the centralisation in Johannesburg of the Municipal Health Department, the Juvenile Court, the Probation Office, and the offices of the Rand Aid and other charitable associations.

RURAL SOCIAL WORK IN AMERICA

DR. WM. MCKINLEY ROBINSON

Social work in rural areas in America tends to measure itself upon the programme and achievements of urban social work.

The rural community is, however, more nearly homogeneous not only in occupation but also in social and economic standards, hence its social problems are not so varied in character or complicated by so many varying factors. Rural people also still know a community life, and friendly personal concern over one another's troubles and difficulties frequently solves a social problem, while thorough knowledge of one another's affairs creates a powerful and effective public opinion which forestalls many a social difficulty.

While rural social work is, then, a thing apart from urban social work, at the same time we realise that there are fundamental likenesses.

In rural social work we find that people usually resent the "social uplifter" who comes out from the city to save them, and by experiment it has been found most effective to develop and use local talent. Some of the outsiders have been over zealous, but there is probably something even more fundamental underlying the resentment.

Two very interesting experiments are being carried on in America at the present time in the health field. The one is the establishment and maintenance of six well-equipped rural hospitals under the Commonwealth Fund, and the other the promotion of County health work in the State of Michigan under the Kellogg Foundation. Both are successfully working upon the basis of providing facilities for and of developing local medical, dental, nursing, and health services through a stated period of years until the local community may carry the entire expense.

One may note here that the Government is necessarily slow to experiment with public money, but the large Foundation can afford to experiment, and our thesis is that when an experiment has demonstrated its worth to the public then the public should assume its support. Such humanitarian work may be commended to the attention of your men of wealth who seek to become public benefactors.

In rural social work we have neither the numbers nor the wealth to support the many highly specialised forms found in the work in the city, and we must be content with the country nurse who touches all fields of health. While most rural communities lack most of the town recreational and character-building organisations, there are neither the numbers nor the funds to support them. Their failures have caused loss of interest and have also caused the rural people to lose faith. But the medical profession is now advocating the training of more general practitioners rather than of specialists. One of the Y.M.C.A. Training Colleges is offering a course in boys' work, and there is a call for general family welfare workers.

Meanwhile we are falling back upon two expedients. The first of these is to use existing organisations, and the Parent Teacher Association is proving itself a great force for community betterment, although its primary function is educational.

In looking towards better days we seem rather to have overlooked the tremendous influence of the home upon the child. The average child in America up to the age of eighteen years spends only about 5 per cent. of his waking hours under the guidance of his teachers, so that, if we are to have those better days, we must work with the child—but we must also work with the parents in their efforts to improve home and community conditions. Hence the endless possibilities of the Parent Teacher Association.

There is another expedient. In the training of teachers, ministers, doctors, extension agents, and other professional workers for the rural field, a certain comprehension and appreciation of rural social problems may be expected, and in some Teachers' Colleges we require those preparing to teach in rural areas to study rural economics and rural sociology and in addition maybe to have a certain amount of practice in community work. To master the social work in addition to some other profession is too heavy, but a few of the fundamentals can be mastered—recognition of the major symptoms of social maladjustments, familiarity with the services and institutions available to rural people, a respect for the professional social worker, realisation that social work is not the mere giving of relief but the helping of others to development and self-dependence to the limit of their abilities.

DISCUSSION

DR. ROBINSON (*in response to questions*): The rural people should do their own work and leadership must be developed amongst them. America has Recreation Association Leadership Schools, which assemble

women for five days of instruction, and the Parent Teachers Associations assemble leaders for a month at a time. . . .

The Pre-School Clinic, National T.B. Organisation, and Red Cross Society were all helping. . . .

Through various agencies milk consumption has been increased one-hundred-and-fifty-fold, that of oranges doubled, that of butter increased by 60 per cent., and so on.

MRS. MARIE VISSER, in speaking on the organisation of rural social work in South Africa stated that the work suffers greatly through lack of facilities for interchange of thought and ill-informed public opinion. She then gave a more explicit account of the work of the Afrikaans Women's Associations and referred to the high percentage of representation at their Conferences as a tribute to the zeal of their members. While money and higher training might create a more perfect machine, these Women's organisations had grown from inside and were in intimate touch with rural needs. Finally she enquired as to the qualifications for social work in America.

DR. ROBINSON—Five years' training with a Degree. Better spend £1,000 to get one fully trained worker than three half-trained. The demand, however, exceeds the supply.

RURAL SOCIAL SERVICES IN SOUTH AFRICA

REV. J. R. ALBERTYN

The European population of the Union per square mile is 3.87, in rural areas alone 1.5, and in very sparsely populated areas .33. The annual rainfall in nearly half of the Cape Province is less than 10 inches.

The population is in origin—Dutch 57.5 per cent., British 33.8, and other nationalities 8.7. Of the Dutch 60 per cent. are rural and 40 per cent. urban, of the English 25 per cent. rural and 75 per cent. urban.

As general principles (a) workers should be of the same race, language, and religion as the rural community, (b) existing organisations should be extended and developed, and (c) new agencies should be a last resource.

The three Dutch Churches have as adherents nearly 1,000,000 of the 1,750,000 Europeans, and the Dutch Reformed Church alone claims nearly 900,000 of this number.

Until a generation ago the Dutch Reformed Church was predominantly rural. It has more than 400 ordained Ministers for European work, 3,000 Elders and 5,000 Deacons. Its Women's Organisations, apart from the Afrikaans Women's Societies, have over 30,000 members, young people's Associations 22,000, and Sunday Schools 140,000 with 10,000 teachers.

Apart from homes for the aged, deaf, dumb, and blind, etc., it has fourteen orphanages with 3,000 inmates (orphan and destitute), four settlements comprising 750 families of 4,500 persons, and in co-operation with the State has opened some hundreds of Church boarding hostels enabling over 10,000 pupils, mainly from isolated farms, to attend schools.

While institutional relief work is strong, outdoor relief and family care work is weak. There is a want of far-sighted policy and of social care of parents whose children have been committed to institutions, and a great need of well-trained workers. There is one training institution for

women, of whom 23 are now engaged in the slum districts of larger towns but are poorly trained in view of modern ideas and confined to city work.

An Afrikaans Women's Society operates in each Province with some 250 branches, 12,600 members, and an annual expenditure of £30,000. These Societies are socially minded and socially alive, working on scientific lines and covering a wide range of social and educational services. They maintain six housecraft schools, a maternity hospital which has trained 160 rural maternity nurses, four homes for the aged, and eight educational hostels.

The National Council for Child Welfare, though its activities are mainly urban, renders rural service. It has a mothercraft training centre in Cape Town, several branches in smaller rural towns, and in 1933 its affiliated societies spent £29,000. In November of each year it organises "Our Children's Day" and focuses attention throughout the Union on Child Welfare.

In general the State spends some £250,000 each year in administration of the Child's Protection Act, there are 8,000 children in institutions and 1,300 receiving vocational training in industrial schools. Mother's pensions are given in the case of 2,800 children, 500 adoptions are effected annually, and 187 boys are inmates of two junior reformatories.

There are eighteen Forestry Settlements accommodating 1,300 settlers with 5,000 dependents, each Settlement under the care of a Welfare Officer and his wife who promote family, social and community interests, and, under the Department of Agriculture, Home Economics Officers visit the 600 branches of the Women's Agricultural Union of 16,000 members whose aims are primarily educative and charitable.

The Union Health Department is steadily improving rural Health services, and the National Thrift Association is meeting with considerable success.

The establishment of a National Department of Social Welfare would give rural work a great impetus.

THE WORK OF THE "BOND VAN AFRIKAANSE MOEDERS"

MRS. S. B. BROERS

The women of the Transvaal belonging to the Women's Nationalist Party, the South African Party, the Helpmekaar, and the South African Women's Federation, came together and began this work in 1918, in response to heart-rending appeals from women isolated in areas remote from medical and nursing services.

The former residence of President Kruger was granted, free of rent, by his relations, and for many years nurses were trained there for the rural areas—the Platteland. Unfortunately the political Parties were forced by legislation to give up the work and the Helpmekaar stopped active work, so the South African Women's Federation accepted full responsibility and carried on. In 1931 a beautiful new building was built at a cost of £31,000. Two thousand two hundred and seventeen mothers and children are treated in the mothercraft section per year. Mothers come for ante-natal treatment, others are treated for breast-feeding and are instructed in mothercraft, while the babies are brought to be weighed or for suitable diet.

At least twenty midwives are trained annually, and large numbers of indigent maternity cases, and many mothers from the best families, are also treated in the Bond van Afrikaanse Moeders Hospital. The number of maternity cases per year is 500.

Suitable women are selected for training by the S.A. Federation Branches. These probationers have to sign a contract to return to work in their own districts.

This method has proved to be a great success; the nurses know the language, the people, and their ways of living; they are respected and are satisfied to work and live in these far-off rural parts. Eighteen nurses have been placed: we have not had any trouble with any of them and they are respected everywhere. The women of the Transvaal are keenly interested in this work and have raised over £800 on Mothers' Day for this training school and hospital during the last two years in succession.

WORK COLONIES AND SETTLEMENTS

REV. P. DU TOIT

Colonies and Settlements have played an integral and important part in our social programme. As to their service in rehabilitation opinions still differ.

They have been advocated and established as one of the solutions for our "Poor White" problem in response to the cry of "Back to the land".

Colonies may be defined as Settlements where people are brought under compulsion, work for a fixed wage, or receive some *quid pro quo*, or are harboured temporarily owing to unemployment, etc. In Settlements, groups of people are assembled to give them a chance of recovery and rehabilitation. They are not there by external compulsion but enjoy a large amount of freedom and a system of free production.

Properly conducted colonies may serve a very good purpose, but have not been very successful in South Africa. Under the forced Labour Colony Act one such colony was started but it proved a failure as a result of the type of persons sent to it.

In some European countries the colony system is run on sound lines, and has done good work in the social sphere. Two examples may be quoted, namely, the *Witzwill Colony* near Berne, in Switzerland, for won't-works, vagrants, and slight offenders, not for habitual criminals. No repressive measures were resorted to, the idea of a prison was altogether eliminated, and there was a pleasant and helpful atmosphere and a very healthy and definitely religious and moral tone. We need this type of colony in South Africa.

The *Lobetal Colony* near Berlin, Germany, is for the temporarily unemployed in distress, who are thus saved from resorting to begging or city slum conditions. This type is also needed in South Africa.

Of our *Land Settlements* three types may be mentioned:—

1. Government Settlements,
2. Church Settlements,
3. Private Settlements.

The idea underlying all of these is to enable necessitous families to re-establish themselves, to keep on the land those best fitted for the land, and to stem the tide of influx into the cities.

There are about seventy Government Settlements in which the people are supplied with employment, a plot of ground and free medical attention, schooling for the children, etc.

There are four Church Settlements under the supervision of the Dutch Reformed Church, two in the Cape Province, one in the Free State and one in the Transvaal. They hold 780 families.

The best-known is at Kakamas, established in 1898, on the banks of the Orange River, fifty miles south-west of Upington. 5,800 acres are under cultivation. Each owner of a plot has six morgen. The people themselves constructed the two canals, 17 and 25 miles long respectively. Modern education facilities are provided and there are co-operative stores, lucerne and flour mills, and a large modern electrical plant. The chief engineer of this plant is a young man, now highly qualified, who comes out of one of the poor homes. We concentrate on economic re-establishment but lay very great stress on moral and religious influences with very good results. Settlers support two independent congregations voluntarily, and very many families of the poorer classes have been rehabilitated both economically and spiritually.

To render these Settlements more profitable and efficient, the following principles will assist :—

1. *There must be a wise selection of settlers.*
2. *There must be a proper grading system.* It must be made possible to pass on to a stage of greater freedom and scope. This will instil the necessary initiative and foster idealism and self-respect and thrift.
3. Great care must be taken with regard to the appointment of a sympathetic personnel.

The appointment of supervisors and leaders must be free from political influences. They must be persons of healthy outlook on life, sound moral and religious principles, and with the fullest sympathy for those in their charge.

4. *There must be close co-operation between the State, social agencies, and the Church.*

FORESTRY SETTLEMENTS

REV. E. J. J. VAN DER HORST

In the Forestry Settlements under the Government Department of Labour social work was a purely secondary matter: they were there for the sake of giving employment to the unemployed. Social work was something superimposed on employment.

These Settlements, eighteen in all, afford an opportunity of viewing the question of the poor from many angles—the unemployment and employment problem—the economic from the side of afforestation and from the side of the worker—the educational, both adult and child—the moral and religious, and into each of these enter a large number of factors some common to the whole question and some peculiar to the special position.

The problem is the difficult one (not only for the supervisor but for the settlers themselves) of dealing with a mixed population, a cross-section, all poor but not “poor whites” as generally understood.

There are 1,300 families on the eighteen Settlements with a total of 7,400 souls. Amongst these are 1,600 children of school-going age, not many over that age but a large number under it. Fortunately the various Government Departments interest themselves in these Settle-

ments. Men are trained under the Forestry Department; the Provincial Education Departments have placed good schools in every Settlement; the Department of Labour looks after welfare. There are occasional clashing but the greatest co-operation makes the work a success.

The daily pay is 4/4d. per day, but it will now be 5/4d. with two increases of 6d. per day every six months up to 6/4d. Piece-work is in vogue. A man is allowed to do 66 x 60 feet and paid accordingly. Some of them do very well on piece work and some are so eager that they are inclined to overdo it. After twenty years' experience with them I am confident that the lazy ones are few and far between and laziness is chiefly in evidence when the man is a misfit. Men have to walk four or five miles to their hard work and back again. Some find the work uncongenial, or are suffering from some disability, but this is inevitable.

Every settler has a small house of three or four rooms, made of iron lined with board. Families vary in size from 5 to 10 or 12 and houses often become too small. House rent is 10/- per month. Attached to each house is a small plot 100 x 50 for a garden. Water is laid on and the ground must be cultivated, otherwise the man in default is prevented from going to work.

There is a nurse stationed on every Settlement, and the District Surgeon visits once a week or once a month without a fee. The women have a housecraft or domestic science class under the guidance of the Welfare Officer of the Department of Labour and his wife. The trouble is that only the people belonging to the better classes will attend. Has America found a way to make a woman act against her will?

Underfeeding is rare, and is usually found among children of new arrivals. Everything is done that can be done to assist the community life, but there is no money for recreation halls. Bioscopes are not liked and no dancing is allowed. Moral suasion replaces rules. Children who have passed Standard VI must attend vocational classes. The Union Department of Education is very helpful. If a child is not allowed to work, but this is rare, the whole family must turn out. There are children of 16, 17 and 18 years who have never got beyond Standard III. The vocational school will not take any who have not passed Standard VI. A boy must leave the Settlement after he has reached his eighteenth year.

Efficient working life on the Settlement is only 10-12 years. What is to be done with the worker afterwards is one of our problems.

Forestry Settlements have as (a) *advantages*: employment, especially for those of rural origin, which is regular and permanent. Fair housing and living conditions. Educational facilities. Health provisions. Community life;

(b) *disadvantages*: exceptionally hard work in a damp climate. A limited working life of some ten years, with no afterwards provision, which means return to unemployment and the ranks of the unemployables. The pay admits of no adequate provision for the future. Distance makes the cost of living high. The housing accommodation is insufficient for large families.

Many of the children are backward or retarded owing to previous handicaps, and in an isolated existence this limited outlook is maintained. The parents, too, object to sending children to vocational classes, which offer no avenue to local employment at fair wages. They have to leave the Settlement to find work and, failing to do so, are not allowed to return home. A fair number never pass beyond Standard IV and, no means having been devised to fit them for their future, they usually idle away their time.

Adult education is practically nil for the men, unless they voluntarily take part in the debating-societies. Small use is made of the books and periodicals in the reading-rooms. For the women regular classes in housecraft and mothercraft are held but poorly attended. The regular visits and talks of the Welfare Officer and his wife in the homes are proving beneficial and leading to improvement which will no doubt increase during the course of time.

COLONIES AND SETTLEMENTS IN GERMANY

FRAU ELIZABETH NITZSCHE

Some fifty years ago the special needs of unemployed men were recognised in consequence of the fluctuating prosperity of industry. A Protestant Minister in the west of Germany, realising the increase in unemployment owing to industrial changes, decided to give the beggars who were continually coming to his door work rather than money. Sometimes there were as many as 200 in a single day. After a time he bought a large area of uncultivated land, heath and moor, and settled workers on it. He began with 20 settlers, increased the number to 100 and afterwards to 1,000. Normal wages were paid, but the men were spurred on to settle on their own ground. Now there are about 10,000 in one colony, and the work is being carried on right throughout Germany.

In Berlin shelters are provided for 5,000 homeless people. The work is carried on by the Social Welfare Board and twenty welfare workers are employed in the shelters. The inmates go out in the morning to look for work, and settlers for the work colonies are recruited from them. The Social Welfare Board is in close touch with the work colonies and with employers of labour. In these colonies no wages or salaries are paid but the men are given food and clothing. The money they earn is all saved up for them, and when they leave the full sum is paid out to them to enable them to settle on the land on a plot of their own, to build a house, or to start in business.

In Germany all our methods of social work are always applicable to the country. Among the means employed are schools which have been set up for farmers, both men and women, whose wages are kept to enable them to buy their own acre. All the houses are built by the farmers themselves. They have no labour service. We also tried to set up settlements for from 50 to 100 families of a certain type but they would neither work nor try to improve their positions. Now families are only drafted into settlements when they are willing to work. Others are sent to a Home of Correction to compel them to work and earn their own living. It is a very difficult task to get a new spirit into these people.

Experiments have now been made with a different kind of colony. Germany is overpopulated and new homes must be found. All the young people from 18 to 25 years of age have to work for at least twenty weeks in the Labour Service. They get no salary and are housed in hostels. There are also corps of young girls. No one has any individual advantage. All, some 65,000,000, work for the community. Preparations are on foot for new settlers. There is a new spirit. Among the overcrowded population of the big towns there has been a big emigration of people

of the best character into the country districts. There is hope that in a few years the young people will live in the country rather than in the towns.

Every child in a primary school is now obliged to stay at school one year longer. All unemployed people must go and work in the country. Girls of 14 to 15 do not go to apprenticeship in the towns but to farms. They stay there for two years and then have to pass an examination in house and farm work.

There are single farms, and also small settlements with about twenty to fifty houses. Social work is established at the beginning of such a settlement. The social worker appointed must have special training in agricultural rural science and later on must take a course in social pedagogical training.

There are also settlements in the neighbourhood of big towns for people who do not earn enough in the towns to keep themselves, e.g. in connection with factories—for poorly paid workers, for there are more workmen to-day but wages are smaller. Perhaps a hundred families will live in such a settlement. The father would work in the factory for three days a week and the remaining three in the garden. Maintenance money is given by the State or by the factory.

Very good families are settled in the country settlements, especially in Eastern Germany, where they have less crowded districts with single isolated farms or small settlements with from 25 to 100 houses. The men and women receive special training in special schools before being sent out to these. They must put up their own houses so as to save cost of labour. A man has to put down 1,000 marks before he is allowed to go into such a settlement. The State gives the balance on loan to be repaid in yearly instalments.

In every such settlement twenty-five girls render social service,—nurses, teachers, and members of the Labour Battalion. They must be trained for two or three years in agricultural work, but no worker has specialised training. They take part in all the cultural and religious work of the community and must be able to give advice and help in all conditions of the settlement.

B. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

DR. CHAS. W. COULTER

In dealing with methods of adjusting delinquent children a speaker is confronted with three possible lines of approach.

(a) That of gradually improving the basic group institutions in society. These have a powerful influence in determining behaviour, but they are crystallised, so that the suggested changes, however significant, must be gradual and not too slow for our immediate purpose.

(b) That of adjusting the delinquent (or potential delinquent) through the various agencies which detect and prevent delinquency. This group of safeguarding agencies is wonderfully salutary and, since they have access to the child before his life patterns are too completely set, may be the hope of effective future safeguard.

(c) That of increasing the social efficiency of the examining and correctional institutions to which the child is committed by the Court. Before the ultimate disposition of its border-line cases your Juvenile Court frequently refers them to a group of specialists (psychiatric and psychological) for observation and examination. Such assistance is tremendously important if properly organised and efficiently conducted.

On the other hand, if the child is ultimately committed to a correctional institution, it is not only for the safeguarding of society, certainly not for the purpose of a deterrence example, and far less to punish wrongdoing vindictively. The State is rather *in loco parentis* and keeps him in custody just long enough to discover the factors which occasioned the delinquency, to re-condition him, and to restore him to society. In such an institution the psychiatrist and perhaps a psychologist sometimes discover the trouble, sometimes not. There is a set of factors which are frequently overlooked.

In one of the most recent and most complete studies of the factors making for delinquency and crime, the author, Dr. William Healey, a physician and psychiatric specialist, who has handled thousands of cases in Chicago and Boston and followed many of them over a period of fifteen years, says :—" We tell the sorry tale of society's failure to make much headway in the prevention of delinquency even when a criminalistic character is seen impending, and in spite of great public expenditure directed towards prevention, but as our experience grows we are becoming more and more convinced that there are many untapped possibilities for doing finer work and realising more profitable returns".

My purpose is to emphasise one of these until recently, " untapped possibilities."

In a cogent 4,000-word article on *The Economic Consequences of Crime*, published in the *Manufacturer's Record*, Mark O. Prentiss arrives at the almost incredible conclusion that the cost of crime to the United States annually has reached the staggering total of sixteen billions of dollars, that is an amount equal to our total Allied War Loans and larger than the entire value of the agricultural products of U.S.A. for the past year. These figures may not be accurate, but they have crystallised the purpose of an intelligent public to inquire critically as to what has been, is being, or is to be done to check this alarmingly disproportionate waste of America's wealth, energy, and resources.

Undoubtedly the most promising method of reducing crime is by reducing delinquency. Statisticians both in America and Europe agree that most criminals are first convicted before they have reached their majority. Charles Goring concludes that 53.7 per cent. of the criminals confined in the English prisons are first convicted before they reach their twentieth year. Dr. Healey, summarising the available data, says :—" Practically all confirmed criminals began their careers in childhood or in early youth." Hence permanent correction of the juvenile delinquent in its measure ultimately solves the problem of crime.

Long ago America irreparably committed itself to a policy of reformation as opposed to punishment in the case of the juvenile, if not entirely in that of the adult offender. In harmony with this general conception, special institutions and courts have been established, special officers appointed, and a new set of legal machinery has been set up. While however our purposes and policies have been definitised and standardised, our methods are still in the experimental stage.

Only a few years ago the Lombroso school was working on the theory that there was a criminal type physically recognisable with a strong

presumption that the type was hereditary, and that these congenial criminals required permanent custodial care. The only specialist needed under such a theory was a somatologist or physical anthropologist to make measurements and record data. But a change in theory and method of treatment has been occasioned by the discovery of the presence of certain afflictions which have a tremendous influence on the behaviour and conduct of many adolescent delinquents. Hence the medical practitioner became an integral part in the process of diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation. A second modification of method came with the development of the psychiatric specialist out of the medical profession whose function has been to deal with personality traits and the social conduct in which these traits find expression.

This is largely a clinical procedure carried on within the institution. Investigation into the social situation from which the child comes is carried on through a psychiatric social worker, who often may have the viewpoint, understanding, and training of modern scientific sociology, but in many cases has little beyond the technique of family case work, which is again often incidental and subsidiary to her function as a Probation Officer.

But investigation is a phase of the diagnosis which complements the psychiatric as the clinic's only contact with the world outside the institution. A child is one thing in an institution and another in social environment. Hence the investigator should be highly trained and should not only bring into the correctional institution environmental data, together with its proper interpretation, but also a recommendation for treatment on the basis of a complete diagnosis. This recommendation should be of value to those having the care of the delinquent and should determine the conditions of his detention and supervision. Dr. Thrasher, in *The Gang*, points out the great importance for diagnosis of this study of social environment. Among others he cites a case of a delinquent boy physically in perfect health, with his I.Q. above average and no discoverable mental quirks, but thoroughly adjusted to the social environment in which he had never known a boy who didn't steal. In the light of that fact his delinquency was immediately intelligible and his behaviour open to re-organisation.

In one of the cities of our middle west a little girl not yet eight years old was brought into the juvenile bureau, her third visit for examination as to the cause of truancy. A three-fold experience of this sort, which revealed no physical or mental anomalies, should have demonstrated conclusively that the maladjustment lay in the social situation, but without the sociological specialist the institution was handicapped in making a salutary investigation, analysis, or recommendation as to treatment.

A third change of method came with the development of psychology. Psychological specialists for many years have been employed to obtain mental measurements of the delinquent and offender. With the inadequate facilities at their disposal many juvenile institutions reported a majority of the inmates as feeble-minded, and hence not responsible.

But Professor Carl Murchison, in his book *Criminal Intelligence*, has proved conclusively that the incidence of feeble-mindedness in institutions for the care of the delinquent and offender is little greater than in the population in general. Obviously there has been little change in the past decade in the intelligence of criminals, but there has been a *tremendous change* in the methods of studying them and in the conclusions from such study. Considerations of this sort show that criminals and delinquents, on the whole, are *not* mental defectives but

people whose peculiar attitudes and behaviour are occasioned by their peculiar social experiences, and to understand them it is necessary to know the social experience of which they are the product.

In view of these changing and uncertain methods it is not surprising that case after case referred to the Bureau or Psychiatric Clinic is returned with the finding "psychopathic personality but not committable", a finding of no diagnostic value. The individual remains at large, still an unadjusted problem to the agencies; he comes into the Juvenile Court again and again, but "nothing more can be done."

This is not to discount what has already been accomplished. I would rather emphasise the wholesomeness and hopefulness of this progressive change in the method of diagnosis and treatment of the delinquent. But the process must be pushed one step further. With our realisation that delinquency is largely the result of factors in the social situation the next logical step is the reference of such factors to the social specialist or sociologist for investigation and adjustment.

Delinquents have been roughly divided into two classes: the out-comes of unpropitious environment, and the misfits due to feebleness of mind or body. The latter are the concern of the physician, alienist, or psychiatrist. Unmixed cases of this sort are comparatively few and are clearly for treatment in institutions where they can be investigated, assigned and cared for. Of much greater significance are the apparently normal children whose circumstances leave them at cross purposes with the conventions of society. No intelligent person now doubts that incorrigibility of any sort presupposes a cause, of which the child himself may be unaware. He must therefore be studied in the environmental laboratory in which his behaviour is conditioned by someone with the knowledge and technique of modern scientific sociology who has a sympathetic understanding of social conditions and is able not only to detect incipient anti-social behaviour but to get at its social causes and apply prophylactic treatment.

There is an insidious temptation to stop all research on a case as soon as it is discovered that the delinquent is mentally defective, and not to investigate social environment.

Sociological experiments and demonstrations have been made with significant results, but as a whole they are incidental and sporadic. In the Judge Baker Foundation studies enough place has been given to this phase to demonstrate the urgent need of it in any adequate clinical procedure. Mr. Edwin J. Cooley, in *Probation and Delinquency*, bases the success of the work of the Catholic Charities Probation Bureau in connection with the Court of General Sessions of New York in diagnosis and rehabilitation not only on the careful personality studies but also on the scientific evaluation of the experimental or sociological factors and the close co-operation of the Bureau with some of the foremost social agencies in New York City. The Bureau of Juvenile Research of Chicago, the clearing house for the Juvenile Court of the City, and an internationally recognised institution, two years ago added a full-time sociologist to its staff to investigate the social situations from which behaviour cases come. The sociologist has charted all cases of delinquency and discovered that there are neighbourhood patterns—the shoplifters come from one section, the housebreakers from another, etc. He has also made considerable headway in finding out the community factors contributing to each type of delinquency. This is pioneering work but work of essential value. And the tragedy is that there are not more Juvenile Courts in the United States with access to a clinic making any attempt whatever to do this thing adequately. In the Research of my

home State, for example, there was no sociologist until a year ago. The physician, psychologist and psychiatrist had filed careful, detailed, scientific reports, uniform throughout, but the more important reports on the social situation were valueless.

We do not claim that the sociologist will entirely solve the problem of either delinquency or crime, but he is a specialist, it is his job, and he is already building up a body of scientific data of universal significance on all behaviour types.

We contend then :—Firstly, that a scientifically trained sociologist, thoroughly familiar with institutions, individual psychology, and group behaviour, should be placed on the staffs of all court bureaux and clinics for delinquents, for the working out of a more adequate technique of diagnosis.

Secondly, that his knowledge and technique should be more widely utilised for the continuous training of officers of probation and parole in the sociological principles operating in the field in which these officers are seeking to create proper adjustments—thus unifying and standardising this important arm of our legal machinery.

Thirdly, we contend that the sociological specialist should be especially charged with the responsibility of effecting contacts between the institutional ward who has been paroled or discharged and the normal group institutions in his community, until a complete re-instatement has been effected.

Fourthly, that he should be attached to the staffs of the Schools for the training of institutional executives, in order that the graduates of these increasingly important schools may not only go out with the technique of a job but also with an understanding of its significance, its meaning, and its place in present-day society.

SOME METHODS OF TREATING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN U.S.A.

DR. CHAS. W. COULTER

There is a growing recognition of the fact that the causes of delinquency are social, universal, and inevitable, in any dynamic society, and the emphasis has shifted from the punishment of the child to a scientific attempt to understand the causes of his failure.

Children are made, not born, delinquents. The elaboration of the safeguards of society has not kept pace with the complexity of the social system. This is seen in the inadequate school procedure for dealing with truancy and behaviour problems, in fact in the inadequacy of social and legal machinery in general and, most important of all, in the lack of a well rounded co-ordinated community programme for the development of constructive wholesome interests and for the early study and guidance of children presenting problems of behaviour and personality.

From a wide survey it would appear that in America the delinquents come mainly from normal homes, and that fact faces us with the intriguing question as to whether mental defectiveness and broken homes are as significant causes as the pathological features in the social environment to which the child is exposed.

Several agencies have been elaborated for the treatment of the delinquent whose misdemeanour has brought him into conflict with his family,

his school, or society, whether his case has actually reached the court or not.

One of the most important of these is the Probation Office, usually but not necessarily an adjunct of the Juvenile Court. Although its prototype existed in Boston in 1869 and was authorised for the State of Massachusetts in 1870, its real beginning was in Chicago in 1899, since when it has been legalised in 46 States of the American Union and in many States is obligatory for every county as part of its legal machinery.

When a child of more than 16 is brought to the court he is given a preliminary hearing, usually with the parents present. Then it is the duty of the Probation Officer to make an investigation, with any necessary assistance, of his health—physical and mental, his behaviour, and his social background. On the basis of the information thus collected the judge, or deputed referee, decides the terms and period of probation.

Any punishments administered are always considered by the court, as subsidiary and incidental to its main function of putting the child right, and they are not given for retribution or example. No handcuffs or similar devices are used. The Probation Officers are the arms and, to a great extent, the ears, eyes, and brains, of the court.

It is their function to reconstruct the behaviour of the child by a better adjustment. There are no cut and dried rules of procedure. It is a task involving constructive imagination and ingenuity on the part of the person dealing with the child. The aim is to create a spirit of co-operation.

Delinquency is largely misdirected energy, the result of a search for adventure. Right direction provides an obvious remedy.

The handling of girls by the Probation Office is much more difficult than that of boys, and on the whole is considered less rewarding. While approximately 90 per cent. of delinquency in girls is sexual, it is generally conceded that sexual passion plays an unimportant rôle, and that sex is but a means of realising a desire for new experience, for security, for response and recognition.

The probation period extends from six months to a year, and is most efficiently carried on if the case load for each officer does not exceed 50 children. In well-equipped American Juvenile Courts 90 per cent. of first offenders are placed on probation instead of being sent to institutions.

The National Probation Association estimates that, in the period 1923-1933, 802 of those placed on probation have completed these periods with success. The work of the Probation Officer is not less socially important than that of the teacher, the physician, or the clergyman, and may be more difficult if properly done.

Suggested experiments in probation are being tried out in connection with the various courts. In the Court in the Ohio State capital we organised a school for parents and guardians of the entire delinquent group under the jurisdiction of the court. It operates in the evenings for two-and-a-half hours a week for eight weeks. A group of public-minded volunteers was assembled beforehand and coached in the art of presenting materials. The parents were divided into groups of twenty, given simple pamphlets, and each night a 'round table' discussion was conducted, teaching children respect for property, training children for happiness, etc., specialists in the various fields discussed being called upon for service.

Another experiment has been in connection with the Probation Office of the Juvenile Court of Cincinnati, which has the enviable reputation of keeping 90 per cent. of all its cases on probation and committing

less than 10 per cent. to correctional institutions. Accordingly every available agency in the community has been called upon for assistance in rehabilitating the child. In most cases the child is turned over to the private agency, which under the supervision of the probation office, undertakes his or her safeguard.

In reviewing the work Judge Hoffman says—in the Review of the Work of the Court of Common Pleas (1928) :

“We recognise to-day that these children cannot be regarded as temporary nuisances, but that they must be considered as potential social problems of the future. Having recognised this fact the school system is gradually being equipped to co-operate with the court in coping with the problems of these children. It has begun to study these cases from the social as well as from the educational viewpoint.”

Later it took over the Boys' Opportunity Farm at Glendale and the Girls' Opportunity Farm at Wyoming and transformed them into hospital schools for the study and treatment of problem children. They are now known as Hillcrest School for Girls and Glenview School for Boys. A few of the inmates are under official commitment of the court. Most are transferred by school authorities with the consent of the parents.

Other agencies at work in Cincinnati are a *Recreation Commission* providing supervised recreation especially in congested districts ; The Women's Department of the Federation of Churches, of which the Big Sisters' Club is part, pay two full-time trained workers to handle cases referred by the court, and render other collateral services ; the Catholic Big Sisters—223 in all with 23 registered as active case-workers—use the membership fees of 200 subscribing members to furnish recreational facilities for the “ Little Sisters ” ; the Jewish Big Sisters excel in their intensive treatment of cases, health work, and co-operation with the clinic ; the Protestant Big Sisters, 1,000 strong, purchased and administer Oakrest, the Big Sister Home, an outstanding success in its service to girls ; Ruth Lodge—No. 18—equips girls with outfitted suitcases on taking up service ; the Parent Teacher group makes a study and analysis of home conditions.

The Bureau of Juvenile Research, or Behaviour Clinic, provides for observation and advice based on this. There are usually office buildings and a number of cottages built around a common playground. There are four departments (medical, etc.) under a director, also teachers, recreational director and maintenance staff. Graduate student volunteers often assist. Apart from routine work an out-patient service is maintained, also test services for institutions or for suspected behaviour cases in schools. A system of the kind is recommended for adoption in South Africa.

There are also 600 privately supported child guidance clinics handling each year 600,000 children, aged from 3 to 17 years, regarded rather as “ wholes ” than in individual aspects, in a preventive service.

Preventive service is also rendered by the Visiting Teacher, or the “ Counsellor ”.

An illustration of occasional service comes from Detroit, in response to the report that one out of every eight boys between the ages 17-19 was arrested in 1925 and that 81 per cent. of 300,000 boys in Detroit and its suburbs of the average age of 10 were not reached by any existing agency. Fifty public-spirited citizens thereupon established the Detroit Union League Club in a four-storey building, and from an initial enrolment of 300 the roll in the third year was nearly 4,000.

DISCUSSION

DR. COULTER: Overlapping of activities is avoided by the Council of Social Agencies which acts as a clearing house, and of finance by the Community Chest.

Rotary or other clubs are suitable for approach to effect the institution of a Boys' Club.

(Note: The Rotary Club at East London, Cape Province, has established a successful Boys' Club.—Ed.).

Any large number of inmates in a Detention House is purely temporary pending action by the court or the probation officer.

Educational facilities are better than penal servitude in effects. The crime element is often exaggerated. Early experiences and wrong treatment of him as a child through misunderstanding were factors in the development of Dillinger, a clever and imaginative boy.

DR. SIMON: Psycho-analysis can not stop delinquency developing into criminality, but by early analysis of character traits the unconscious can be made conscious and so prevent criminality.

DR. WILLEMSE: More stress should be laid on psychopathy and the emotional side. I feel that science has proved that certain things are hereditary and inborn.

DR. COULTER: A boy of 16 years of age but with a mental age of 11 must be given tasks based on the latter.

CHANGING TECHNIQUES IN TREATING DELINQUENCY

MRS. IRENE GEFFEN

A great advance has been recently achieved by placing reformatories under the control of the Union Education Department in recognition of the fact that the treatment of delinquency is more an educational than a criminal problem. Magistrates are at liberty to deal with delinquents under 16 under the provision of the Children's Protection Act, but they seldom do so and only about 10 per cent. of criminal trials are converted into enquiries. The Act provides machinery for Probation Officers to supervise children not convicted in the criminal court: and to augment or supplement the probation force by officers appointed under the Education Department is the first remedial measure indicated in South Africa. A psychiatrist has been appointed as an assessor at the Juvenile Court in Capetown.

A recent analysis showed that a large proportion of some 700 cases heard at the Johannesburg Juvenile Court were attending school. My suggestion here is, that mental hygiene should be introduced into the teachers' training courses to facilitate early recognition of symptoms of maladjustment and of striking deviations from the normal in behaviour no less than in educational achievement.

In large classes individual attention cannot be given to the children who are recognised as showing personal peculiarities, but visiting teachers, trained not only as class-room teachers but also as trained social workers with special psychiatric knowledge, would recognise the nature of the child's personality and be capable of entering the home and advising the parents. Their main work should lie in the earlier grades, as the correction of wrong tendencies is comparatively easy while the child's

nature is pliable. They should be attached to some clinic headquarters and refer the more difficult problems to the psychiatrist in charge.

In this way the wrongful attitudes of parents may be pointed out to them, or children may be transferred to special classes for a time, so that there is less interference in the progress of the regular school class and of the maladjusted child under more suitable surroundings. This is the method employed in Newark, N.J.

In Chicago there are remedial schools for maladjusted children which claim 80 per cent. of cures and restoration to normal classes by use of intensive personal methods.

In New York City a special department of the police force does preventive and remedial work referring cases requiring social treatment to institutions.

In Boston the main remedial work is done by the Judge Baker Foundation to which about 30 per cent. of the juvenile cases are sent by the schools and about 30 per cent. by the court and the remainder come by personal reference.

The remedial work consists first of all in a diagnosis, the result of an interview after the Probation Officer's report. A special department of co-operation then carries out treatment in conjunction with the other city agencies and holds conferences from time to time with social workers carrying out the recommended treatment. Except in cases of a committal to feeble-minded or reform institutions recommendations refer mainly to advice with regard to education, companionship, and environment.

The recent report of the Harvard Survey of Crime in Boston shows that 82 per cent. of the delinquents dealt with in the Juvenile Court or Clinic over a period of about twelve years has relapsed into crime during the five years after their cases had first been dealt with by the Court or Clinic. The authors of this Survey emphasise that delinquency cannot be eradicated without a complete modification of the delinquent's attitude towards other people through a modification not only of his human but also of his material environment.

The delinquency background of every Juvenile Court is one of economic as well as physical and mental handicaps. In Johannesburg the overwhelming majority of delinquents come from poor, under-privileged homes, and in many cases the crime, particularly thefts of food or clothing among Natives, is directly attributable to poverty and bad circumstances.

Remedial measures cannot, therefore, be confined to psychiatric work, essential as this is.

Experience all over the world points to the fact that reformatories, and 60 per cent. of the sub-normal industrial schools and even orphanages, must go. The only hope for remedial work is through home life and the home as the training place for citizenship, and the tendency to-day is to replace institutions by foster homes and to reduce the number of hostels—half-way houses between foster homes and reform institutions.

The report of the warden of Tokai Reformatory shows that 46 of its inmates have previously been in reformatories or in industrial schools. Institution, or mass, treatment is only a superficial method of getting out of sight the unpleasant results of our system, and the success of any institution is measured by its approximation to a normal family environment.

The White House Conference on Child Health and Protection in its delinquency section in 1932 stressed as the needs of every child for development security—economic and emotional, sympathy, and an opportunity

for growth, and that these needs could only be met in the home. The Union Education Department, being in the happy position of administering the Mothers' Pension Funds of the Government, has the power to assist in the development of responsible citizens by aiding mothers financially in keeping their homes together instead of at the same cost committing a child to an institution as one unit out of many. Since the money allowance is the same whether the child is under the care of its mother or of an institution, there is no doubt as to what its choice should be. If the economic part is satisfied, much of the tension in the home will be lessened and the child will be enabled to grow up with a sense of its responsibility to its family and to the rest of society.

A Probation Officer is needed to deal with non-support cases, and family cases are the finest social service headquarters.

Every community must realise its full responsibility for delinquency within its area, and to reduce this to a minimum it is the duty of every municipality and local community to supply recreation grounds, proceed with slum clearances, make provision for clinical and social work, and prevent the development of slum conditions.

The whole problem is bound up with the general present economic system. If work is found for some of these delinquents, others perhaps more fitted for it are left unemployed. The amount of work available is strictly limited and the supply of workers is far in excess of such demand. The principle that man should earn his living by the sweat of his brow no longer applies.

Economic stress produces conditions which cause mental distress and breakdown that is the basis of delinquency. In Europe and America hundreds of thousands of young people have never known what it is to work and so have lacked that early training in habits of industry considered essential for character formation.

The world unfortunately has had an opportunity of witnessing in very recent times the effect of the accompanying insecurity on people looked upon as the leaders of culture, and their behaviour has displayed every well-marked anti-social delinquent behaviour possible if words have any meaning.

One is driven to the conclusion that the main remedial measure is to secure the distribution of the resources of nature to all. That is the only way to treat the vicious circle.

DISCUSSION

MR. COOK urged that there was no parallel between the cure of conduct and the cure of disease. The former had to be economical, moral, and ethical, and the factor of the unethical character of conduct must be recognised. The institution was not necessarily harmful. Visitors were admitted, and social life—games, etc.—were valuable. At the age of puberty institutions were of great value.

MRS. EIDIMAN: From the point of view of the countryside the institution is much the better. Direct payment to incapable mothers is open to abuse.

FRAU NITZSCHE: Every mother who has a child in a reformatory or an institution must attend a "Mother School". Case work is done in Germany, but the family rather than the individual is the case.

In villages "Mother Schools" operate periodically and teachers visit from school to school. A training school has existed for fifty years.

The Russian plan is for the greatest number of persons in the whole world, the German plan is to raise the quality of the nation to ensure a healthier national future.

CHANGING METHODS IN INSTITUTIONAL CARE OF THE CHILD

MISS G. M. WILBY

There has been a changing method in institutional care, the whole bias being not towards sheltering the child from contact with the world but towards preparing the child for contact with the world.

The Children's Act is in favour of the non-institutional method and lays down that children should be placed with suitable people, that is in homes with foster-parents. Institutions are not for the normal child.

In the old days girls in such institutions were trained for domestic service, and after training were taken into big houses as servants, while the boys were apprenticed to various trades in which they found subsequent employment. Failures under changing conditions found their way back into remedial institutions, and were difficult to deal with, having been hardened by imposed discipline and starved of affection.

Workers began to realise the artificiality of the institutions and the necessity of approximating them as far as possible to the real home.

The cottage system in which small groups are placed under the care of a house-mother admitted with its smaller groups of more and better classification, unless institutions starting with small groups might be encouraged by their success to make these larger, which would re-introduce the old institutional feeling. For the small child a Babies' Home is needed with a Staff young enough to enter into the play of the children, and an atmosphere of freedom and love. Such a home would be used by psychiatrists.

Another Home is needed for maladjusted girls, who should be subjected to mental and psychological tests under a Child Guidance Clinic. In the institutions for normal children the normal life of a home should be carried on. Children should be allowed to attend the public schools, and in the Homes they should be allowed freedom of expression with scope for games, acting, and all kinds of play.

For the older girls there should be a definite training for special work, and the institution should maintain close co-operation with the psychologist. The girls should also be taught a sense of responsibility, and there should be planning for life, under which fall shopping, employment of leisure, creative activities, recreation, etc.

For after-care-clubs can play a great part.

Working on a knowledge of the child's past history and of the effect of environment on the child is of the utmost importance in diagnosis. All records of investigation should be available for the institution in which such a child is placed. Further, in every institution Staff conferences should be held, members should feel that for success there must be the greatest measure of co-operation, and it should be realised that the institution owes a debt to the child, not merely the child to the institution.

THE NEED FOR AN OBSERVATION CLINIC

DR. ADOLPHE SIMON

As soon as it is fully realised that a new and educational view-point has to be introduced into our penal system, especially in dealing with juvenile delinquency, the need for an observation centre becomes obvious.

Before passing sentence every Magistrate should hear an opinion based upon scientific investigations as to which punishment would be appropriate in the case in question. At present this is done in Johannesburg, Pretoria, and Capetown, but not in the rural districts where it is especially needed.

It is our duty to convert a special failure into an efficient co-operative member of our society. As each one has his own specific outlook on life, we cannot apply the same methods to all. We see this in our hardened offenders who, as long as they are in gaols and reformatories, are quite adapted to their surroundings, but prove when they have to face the ever-changing situations of life that they are not able or not prepared to do so.

Of course not, because the atmosphere inside a Government institution is an artificial one and not adapted to the conditions which have to be faced outside.

One can go on with a 'trial and error' system, with experiments. But the results are very uncertain and unsatisfactory. Besides, experiment with human beings is cruel. In an Observation Centre every case would be dealt with individually by scientific investigations.

In addition to serving its main purpose, an Observation Centre would be an excellent place for training social workers, prison warders, etc.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN SOUTH AFRICA

MR. C. OLIVIER

There are in reformatories at present 550 persons, 150 being Europeans. The female reformatory has been closed and the girls drafted into hostels. 2,400 children (1,000 European) have been committed under the Child Protection Act. The delinquent situation up to 1934 was controlled (under the Mental Disorders Act) by the Department of the Interior and (under the Children's Protection Act) by the Department of Education. Children neglected, not under control, or convicted of minor offences, can be committed to certified institutions or industrial schools. The latter, 250 in number, afford primary and trade instruction. The Department of Justice controlled the appointment of Probation Officers, also Reformatories, but the transference of the latter to the Department of Education has brought all inmates of institutions under the age of 21 years under one Minister; while under the Department of Justice the Reformatories were penal institutions. The officials, though conscientious, were generally not equipped for dealing with delinquents by modern techniques.

In Johannesburg the provision of hostels is a bright feature originating out of a successful sports club, started by the Anglican Church, which developed into a residential club. The hostels followed and committee members, avoiding the institutional spirit, acted as "big brothers" and assisted parents to inculcate the higher ideals and self-respect. Inmates attend schools or follow ordinary employments. Some pocket-money is available for the unemployed. The hostels have been very successful, and probation costs twelve times less than institutional detention.

The Probation Office collected £700 to afford assistance by service rather than relief. £550 has been invested in plant and to-day the monthly wage bill is £300 and the yearly turnover £5,000. 600 people are engaged in the work. Sundry relief amounts to less than £1 a month. A more adequate clinic is a great need though a clinic now exists and a psychologist is employed.

THE JUVENILE COURT, AUCKLAND PARK, JOHANNESBURG

MR. C. F. DU TOIT

The Juvenile Court at Auckland Park deals with all delinquents under 21 years of age hailing from the Johannesburg area. The locality itself is eminently conducive to a calm and thoughtful attitude, and the youthful offender does not rub shoulders with hardened criminals.

The Court work is based upon the axiom that the best place for a child is a good, preferably its own, home; and upon the knowledge that inmates of institutions are in danger of being mechanised and of losing, or never acquiring, sense of contact with the community in which they have eventually to live, also that the influence of the prison is often more mischievous than beneficial.

If the child's conduct has not been satisfactory whilst the home has been recognised as good, then the Court will still make the home the centre of its proposed scheme, introducing outside influences to enable it to achieve its proper aim.

If the home conditions are not good, the Court exercises its authority to commit that delinquent, either—(a) to some fit and proper person who is willing to take him into his home-circle; or (b) to an institution (under the Children's Protection Act), or to a hostel (under the Hostels Act), or to a reformatory, or to a gaol (only if over 16).

The usual choice is an institution, either under the Children's Protection Act or under the Hostels Act. Some of these institutions have as many as 200 and more inmates each, and there is, therefore, little prospect of individual care and attention—the great and indispensable need.

Furthermore, inmates as a rule have no opportunity of contact with the community, with the result that when discharged (after the age of 18 years) they are as incapable of mixing fittingly with the community as are any discharged long-sentenced prisoners.

The probable relapse presents to the Court a very vexed problem, as the delinquent is usually not considered to be amenable to further treatment under the Children's Protection Act, and the reformatory and the gaol are practically the only alternatives left. Hence the need of the greatest care in the first disposal of the juvenile delinquent by the court. This in no sense condemns institutions as a whole, to many of which their ex-pupils and the Court alike acknowledge deep indebtedness.

There is a very wide gap between the reasonably good home and the ordinary type of institution under the Children's Protection Act, and it is believed that the foster-home will in time more fully bridge this troublesome hiatus. It could not, however, in the present state of the law treat all the many ills which it seems to be expected to cure, particularly in the case of children of difficult parents easy of access. The gap would be bridged fairly successfully by a more liberal use of hostels, which have as nearly as most institutions the attributes of natural homes. Each hostel accommodates a maximum of 25 pupils, and is moreover under the care of a principal and his wife, who have been specially selected for the post and have proved themselves to be interested in the welfare of young people. But their numbers are too few, three for boys and two for girls, and, as they are, although generously subsidised by the State, owned privately and maintained by private enterprise, the Court is precluded from resorting to them too freely. Inmates attend the ordinary Government schools and soon enter into employment and earn wages during the terms of their detention.

Very bad types of delinquents are often committed to Reformatories. While ex-Reformatory boys are known to have made good, there is a very real danger that a reformable boy who enters the Reformatory will leave it irreformable. The prospect of a cure seems very remote. In the same way, as there is too wide a gap between the reasonably good home and the institution under the Children's Protection Act or the Hostels Act, the grading between the two institutions and the reformatory seems to be too rapid. Considerable amelioration is, however, contemplated in the nature of Reformatories.

The Juvenile Court at Auckland Park is a Court equipped with all the machinery of the law. It conceives the object of punishment, whether light or severe, to be to give the delinquent a moral uplift and to help him avoid the gaol and any degradation in his passage through the court which might leave him feeling himself an outcast.

The public in general, too, is awakening to the consciousness that the kind of punishment which aims at reformation of the delinquent *for the future*, rather than at his discomfiture *for the past*, is not the outcome of quixotic sentiment, and shows very great interest which it manifests in helpful and tangible ways.

RECOMMENDATIONS MADE AT A FINAL MEETING OF SOCIAL WORK SECTION

1. *Handicapped Child.* That this meeting of the Social Work Section of the Conference supports the recommendation of the Rural Work Section of the Conference, "that there is great need for consideration of the handicapped child, in rural districts particularly of children of low mentality, who complicate the teaching problem in farm schools", but would add that there is need for consideration of this problem in urban areas also, particularly with reference to such children of low mentality as are not certifiable under the Mental Disorders Act.

2. *Training of Social Workers.* This meeting considers that training in Social Work is needed in the fields of family case work, and probation and other forms of social work, and that positions would be available for trained workers in such fields. In view of this, it is desirable that the University Councils be asked to consider jointly the desirability, in addition to undergraduate courses in Social Studies, of setting up in the Union one School of Social Work, to which students graduating in the various Colleges and Universities, especially such students as have taken undergraduate work in social studies, can go for professional training in Social Work. Considering also that it is desirable that a clear distinction be made and recognised between undergraduate work in Social Studies and the work taken at the School of Social Work, this meeting recommends that the entrance to the School of Social Work should be graduation from one of the Universities, or its equivalent.

3. *After Care.* This meeting considers that it should be the recognised responsibility of the After Care Committees of Child Welfare Societies (and in their absence of Societies carrying on the work of Child Welfare locally) to develop in their localities "Big Sister and Big Brother" organisations to undertake the responsibility for individual cases of boys and girls, especially those discharged from institutions, needing such care.

4. *Problem Children.* This meeting recommends strongly that representations be made to the Commonwealth Fund for the setting up of Child Guidance Clinics in suitable centres in the Union.

5. *Central Registration.* This meeting supports the system of the Charitable Control Ordinance of the Transvaal, i.e. the institution of Local Boards of Charities for the co-ordination of all Social Welfare with a local Executive Committee and a Central Register of all cases known to the various organisations, such Register containing only identifying data for each case.

6. *Local Co-ordination of Social Effort.* This meeting considers that it is desirable that some form of co-ordination of Social Effort should exist in and between all local centres, and recommends to organisations engaged in such work that they endeavour to secure such co-ordination in their locality. Further, where it is impossible to secure such co-ordination locally, it desires to recommend that the Provinces exert pressure to secure such co-ordination in and between local centres.

PART II.

PART II

EDUCATION IN A CHANGING AFRICAN SOCIETY

INTRODUCTION

MR. J. D. RHEINALLT JONES

The main theme of the Conference—"Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society"—could not have been more appropriate to the needs of workers in any other field than in the field of Native education. During the last five years there has been more earnest discussion on the aims and scope of Native education than during the whole of the one hundred years or so which have elapsed since missionaries opened schools among Africans. The discussion has not been confined to teachers; the politician and the man-in-the-street have expressed emphatic views on the question, the emphasis too often being proportional to the lack of knowledge displayed. The educated African himself has entered into the discussion and, since he is a direct product of the education hitherto provided, his contributions have a special significance and value of their own. In the earlier years of these discussions, he was more eager to safeguard for his people the kind of education which had so obviously carried the White man to power and authority—and wealth. More recently, he has felt freer to examine that education with a critical eye and to compare it with the indigenous forms of education, which he himself has come to regard with more respect. The rapid changes of the social and economic life of the Bantu—accompanied as they are by distressful disturbances in the psychological and moral life—and the checks which have been imposed upon the free use in White employment of the education and training obtained from the school, have caused African leaders to puzzle out again the meaning of education. Meanwhile, they hold fast to what is, lest the worst befall—that worst being the Stygian darkness of the untutored life of the tribe, to which they fear their White rulers want to condemn their people.

Neither is the missionary nor the government school inspector content with the state of Native education, whether it be its content or its extent. Puzzled like, and no less than, the African leaders as to the meaning of the changes in Native life and the part which education should play in the situation, they are uncertain of the next steps in the educational advance.

Lastly come the anthropologists with their devastatingly depressing accounts of decay and degeneration in African life, caused by—well, a hundred and one forces, factors, influences, tendencies and the many other names they and we give to explain we know not what.

In 1932, a government commission, appointed to investigate the social and economic conditions of life among the Native people of the Union of South Africa, issued a report, in which a section was devoted to education. That this section has been severely criticised is true,

but the observations made are worth careful study, not for the skill with which an educational problem is presented nor for the solution offered, but because they express the misgivings of all careful observers of Native life regarding the suitability and effectiveness of education as provided in Native schools. All have misgivings—few agree as to the remedies. The Commission rendered a useful service by spurring those engaged in Native education to think further and deeper on the whole question.

Thus it happened that the Native Education Section drew men and women—African and European—to Cape Town and Johannesburg, from many directions, to an earnest study of Native education. It was estimated that at Johannesburg the section drew educational workers—missionary, governmental and others—from twelve different educational administrations, covering seventeen million native Africans.

In the Cape Town meeting the subjects were chosen to provide a survey of Native education as it is, from which to judge in how far it is meeting the needs of the African child to-day. This survey was most appropriate in that province of the Union which has the longest record and the widest experience in the field of Native education. Eleven papers were read and were followed by keen discussion.

At the Johannesburg meeting thirty-seven papers were read, and they covered a very wide range. Starting with a study of the pattern of the indigenous African society, the discussion moved, step by step, through a consideration of the changes in this society, their causes and the problems to which they give rise, to a critical assessment of education as an effective instrument for the adjustment of the African child within its changing world.

In order to secure coherence in the record, the papers read at the two separate centres, and the discussions thereon, have been brought together and arranged according to subject and logical sequence.

It has not been possible to publish the papers in full, but it is hoped that the summarised accounts given here will reflect accurately and adequately the essential features of the contributions.

The Conference has borne fruit in a quickened public interest in education. It has also made educational workers more alert to the dangers of routine—not only routine in action, but also in thought. It has shown all too clearly that African humanity is an uncharted sea, where the mariners have neither plumbed its depths nor traced its limits. For the educationist it is full of the possibilities of glorious adventure and of tragic disaster.

CHAPTER XV

THE CHANGING AFRICAN SOCIETY

The African Child's Heritage and Environment

The main theme of the Conference involved, for the section on African Education, a preliminary study of the pattern of the indigenous African life, and of the changes which are taking place in it, in so far as these affect the mind and conduct of the African child, and determine the calls which the situation makes upon education as an agency for the adjustment of the child to his society.

1. POSITIVE VALUES IN THE AFRICAN SOCIAL ORGANISATION

MRS. A. W. HOERNLÉ described the fundamental features of the social organisation of the Africans in South Africa (including the Protectorates), and pleaded for the recognition of the fact that this organisation has elements of positive value which must be used in education as in all other spheres of African development. Some of these elements are in consonance with the spirit of Christianity, even though they do not follow European forms of social organisation, which are often of purely local significance and are even in some communities out of harmony with the spirit of Christ.

The vast majority of the Bantu-speaking Africans in South Africa still claim tribal affiliation, even though nearly two millions are living scattered on European farms and almost another million are in the towns. In most of the Reserves the tribal organisation exists even where the local administration ignores it, and in many other areas it would not be difficult to bring it into active operation again.

In South Africa, the two main Bantu-speaking groups are the Sotho-Tswana (covering the people popularly called Basuto and Bechuana), and the Nguni or Zulu-Xhosa (covering the Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa, and other Transkeian and Eastern Cape tribes). There are about three million people in each main group. Culturally, these main groups represent two sub-types of one basic culture, and it is therefore possible to examine their social organisation through the main features of their common culture.

Formerly, within the tribe, basic unity was to be found in the village community, which was an aggregation of families related to each other patrilineally through the heads of the families. In the Nguni tribes, the children belonged to this lineage. But the wives of the family heads

and mothers of the children were strangers, belonging to different lineages and clans. This last fact is of fundamental importance in gauging the position of the wives and mothers in the family. While every wife, whether sole or one of many, had her own home in the family establishment, and this home had its own arable lands and cattle, she had to remember always that she was not really part of the unilineal kin. She had not free access to certain parts of the village, such as the cattle kraal; she had in many ways to show deference to the real owners of the village; and she was liable to be accused of sorcery if ill befell the family or village. Nevertheless, as the years passed, the wife's position tended to become more secure, and the wife of the head of the village and the mother of a healthy family achieved a very dignified and secure position. It must be acknowledged, however, that this initial insecurity and this stress upon unilineal kinship (and upon unisexual age organisation, as shown later) have been a source of great weakness in the family life.

This rigid difference between status by birth and status by marriage, so distinctive of the Nguni (Zulu-Xhosa) group, has been much modified among the Sotho-Tswana by the custom of permitting, and even, in certain cases, insisting, upon marriage between relatives. Especially suitable is marriage between the children of a brother and sister, or the children of two brothers.

The village system is being modified to-day by two factors—(1) the decline of polygamy and (2) village organisation independent of kinship ties. Polygamy is declining, not only because of Christian teaching, but also for economic and other reasons: the fact is undeniable. Further, the scattering of tribes—through war and other causes—has resulted in almost every district having representatives of two or more clans without common ancestry. Thus, the neighbourhood principle and loyalty to a common head tend to become the unifying factors, in place of the traditional kinship principle. This modification shows how the social organisation is adapting itself to internal and environmental changes. Nevertheless, clan membership, where it exists, is a useful and helpful influence. It is even seen operating in urban areas, where unemployed Natives are given succour by those of their kin who are in employment.

Another binding element in Bantu society is *lobolo*, the Zulu term now used very generally to designate the transfer of economic goods from one family to another in association with marital unions. The *lobolo* serves not only as witness of marriage, but also as pledge and proof of a series of privileges and obligations created between the two families. The *lobolo*, among other things, gives status to the wife and establishes legitimacy for the children.

Recent investigations have shown that the *lobolo* custom persists, even in the towns where the conditions are most unfavourable. It is regarded by most Natives as essential (even when surreptitiously practised) in most religious (Christian) or civil marriages, despite strong missionary antagonism. It has proved its ability to adapt itself to changed conditions and to withstand the active hostility of the missionaries.

The third social phenomenon to be selected for notice is the "age set" system, *i.e.* the grouping of members of the tribe into a hierarchy of age sets. This system was used in the economic, military and political organisation of the tribe, and served as an even more powerful means of binding the society together than kinship or territorial grouping. It also provides for the education of the young.

In their early years, children not only play with others of their own age, but also learn to undertake tasks suitable to their age, so that boys herd lambs, goats, calves and cattle, in this order, while girls undertake graded domestic and field work—all learning, by a system of apprenticeship to the more senior groups and by the general superintendence of their elders, a great deal about the pastoral life and the flora and fauna of their own district. The age groups develop both mutual controls and natural leadership, so that the system provides self-government and effective discipline within the age groups themselves. After puberty—at intervals of four or five years—some form of initiation into the adult group is provided (sometimes accompanied by circumcision). Without participation in an initiation school, entry into the adult group is impossible; but those initiated at the same time continue through life to be bound together in their age set. Originally, tribal labour and military organisation were based upon these age sets. European objections to “forced labour” and to any form of Native military organisation have caused the discouragement, and even suppression, of the age set organisation, with the result that the main agency for the training and disciplining of youth has in most cases fallen into desuetude. There is, however, in some tribes a desire to revive and reorganise these age-sets for the strengthening of the moral tone and sense of unity of the tribe.

This age set system was important also as a means of instruction in knowledge of sex and in sexual control. Mrs. Hoernlé went on to describe the method of instruction, and to plead for a more sympathetic study of the initiation schools and for the imparting of the deeper and more scientific knowledge of to-day to African youth, preferably through their natural African instructors. The age set system as found among the married women of some, at least, of the Nguni tribes seemed to her to offer an excellent medium for sounder instruction in pre-natal care and child welfare.

These illustrations show that there are features in the social organisation of the Africans which can be used and adapted to help them to adjust themselves to their contact with Western civilisation and White rule. To tell them that their social organisation is all wrong, their religion wrong, their morals wrong, and to destroy all that they have valued most seems to be quite the wrong approach. Mrs. Hoernlé concluded by pleading for the positive use of the values in African social organisation, and for taking advantage of the vitality of Native institutions, so as to convey, through them, to the Africans the fundamental values in our own civilisation.

2. THE DECLINE OF EDUCATIONAL AND MORAL FORCES

PROFESSOR I. SCHAPERA described important changes which are occurring in the educational system and moral life of a specific tribal group—the BaKxatla in Bechuanaland Protectorate. This tribe still retains very strongly its traditional forms of social and political organisation, but these also show many effects of cultural contacts through missionary effort, scholastic education, administrative action and, above all, the European economic system.

The BaKxatla chiefs have usually insisted that parents send to school all children who can be spared from cattle-herding and domestic work, but many parents complain that this deprives them of the help of their children, so that very few ever get beyond the lower classes,

and only about 20 per cent. are in school. Of these, over 80 per cent. are girls, as the boys are sent, for the greater part of their youth, to the cattle-posts far from the villages. The children at school are often worried by their parents, who think they should be at work, and put tedious tasks on them. They are called loafers and other names by their working brothers and sisters. The children themselves tend to envy those not at school. The conditions for progress at school are, therefore, not favourable.

All children from an early age, whether at school or not, undertake routine economic and domestic duties. (Dr. Schapera gave a comprehensive list of these.) At home the children also receive a good deal of instruction, largely unorganised, it is true, but nevertheless effective, in general behaviour and moral conduct (several examples were given). The rules of social conduct are impressed upon the child in the household of its parents, and parents are judged by their children's behaviour. A girl remains at home with her mother and tends to respect her more than her father, and there is a better understanding between them, the mother often being the girl's confidante on matters of love. A boy, on the other hand, spends most of his time at the cattle-post with his father, by whom he is taught the things proper for him to know.

A good deal of knowledge is gained by the boys in the way of play, especially at the cattle-posts. They have games and contests in which they develop strength, speed, daring, endurance and skill. Herding the cattle and hunting, they learn of the habits and characteristics of animals, wild and domestic. The girls at home, by minding the babies, learn the secrets of the human anatomy and the care of children, and acquire skill in domestic and garden work.

Listening to their elders round the fire in the evenings—their gossip, tales, political discussions, talk of animals and crops, and the marvels of magic or sorcery, and many other things—the children are educated in tribal affairs, law, customs and history.

Formerly the initiation rites (for both boys and girls) were in full operation. During the period (three months), the boys were instructed in tribal law, beliefs and etiquette, and also on sex, often in obscene terms. They were also subjected to disciplines. The girls were given instruction and training in suitable forms. The rites were abolished soon after acceptance of Christianity as the tribal religion; but a modified system of initiation (without circumcision) still exists. School boys are exempted from the initiation school. They, therefore, do not receive the modified form of instruction, and the deliberate and systematic educational force of the tribe has ceased to exist for them.

Parental instruction and discipline have been greatly weakened, as far as the children who go to school are concerned, by the fact that they remain in the villages without their parents for that part of the year when their elders are at the lands. The growing migration of the men-folk to look for work in the towns is also affecting adversely all the children, who are developing an unhealthy independence and irresponsibility which neither the old authority nor the new influences can check.

Little effort is made to shield the children from the influence of erotic dances and talk, and, from an early age, they become familiar with all the essentials of sexual life, sex play being indulged in freely. Thoughts of both boys and girls turn often to sex, and the sex organs are manipulated. The girls at puberty are warned and instructed by their mothers. Past the age of puberty, the boys (who will be incorporated in the next initiation regiment) and the girls indulge freely in

sexual intercourse. Pre-nuptial sexual intercourse has become an accepted institution.

Now, in the old initiation schools specially severe punishment was meted out to those known to have been unchaste or disobedient or insolent. Parents were thus able to warn their children to act with restraint. This punishment is no longer dreaded: parental control has lost its force and children behave irresponsibly, more especially in regard to sex. This applies to school children as well as others. Detailed information supplied by scholars shows that few of them were without sexual experience; whilst most of them had standing liaisons. Both boys and girls sing obscene songs.

The tribe now views these things with reluctant toleration. The schools have no control over their scholars' behaviour, and the teachers, almost without exception, are alleged to practice seduction of their pupils. The Mission tries to exercise control through its disciplinary laws, but even the most regular churchgoers among the younger generation do not consider sexual indulgence wrong—if not found out.

The positive influence of the Church is found in its activities into which the young people enter freely. Baptism and confirmation classes take up much time, confirmation feasts being eagerly anticipated. Religion brings colour into their lives.

The degeneration of the sexual life; the loss of parental control; the decay of family and tribal education and discipline; the growth of irresponsibility and licence: these call for the development of positive forces and organised activities such as are provided by the Pathfinder and Wayfarer movements.

3. EFFECTS OF LABOUR MIGRATION

DR. SCHAPER, in a second paper, described the effects of Labour Migration upon the BaKxatla. He estimated that 40 per cent. of the males of the tribe located in Bechuanaland Protectorate are away from the Reserve every year on Transvaal farms or at labour centres, to obtain the cash they need for taxes, tribal levies and their increasing wants, which can no longer be satisfied out of the produce of the soil. The period of absence tends to increase, so that to-day a considerable number remain away for two years, and some a good deal longer, especially artisans and teachers, for whom there are not many prospects at home. The loss of these two types to the tribe is serious, for they are the most advanced sections.

Formerly, young men, on their return from the labour centres, would hand over their savings to their fathers, who would buy cattle for their sons and, occasionally, give them a little cash for incidental necessities. Nowadays, more money is spent at the labour centres, where wages, in comparison with the cost of living, are low, and where money is easily spent. Parents complain that their sons seldom have any cash when they return. Even where a son has saved, he will only give a little money and spend the rest at the store or on beer.

The men working on farms in the Transvaal show the result of the training they receive in the good ploughs which are purchased in increasing quantities; but otherwise their agricultural methods show little advance. Those who find employment as artisans in the towns gain valuable experience, for which the Reserve provides little scope, and so they tend to remain away. Indeed, most of the occupations in which people engage outside the Reserve are of little use to them when they return

home. And so the Reserve becomes a home of rest for the men who return, and they do not exhibit the habit of regular industry which European employment is supposed to induce in Natives.

These absences have a bad effect upon the cattle and cultivation. The boys at the cattle-posts become restive and negligent, and they run away to the Transvaal to find more exciting work. The ploughing is left to the women and the younger sons, with unfavourable results on the crops.

Domestic life is being profoundly affected by the men's absences. Wives become defiant and often take up with other men, and indulge too freely in beer. The mother's behaviour affects the children, who become unruly, and labour migration has also opened the way of escape from parental control.

Most of the men settle down again to the routine tribal life, especially if they are illiterate. But some, especially those who have been away more than once, become dissatisfied and, while there is as yet no open revolt against tribal authority, there are symptoms of disaffection and impatience. The young men despise those who have never been away, and their moral behaviour is very lax. The young women too are moving townwards, partly because of the absence of the men, partly because of impatience of control, and partly because of economic pressure. They return insolent and wanton in character.

The individualistic outlook acquired by the men affects their attitude towards family duties at the cattle-post, and, while loyalty to the chieftainship is still strong, criticism of the chief is increasing. Calls for labour service are resented and evaded by departure from the Reserve.

Nevertheless, town life has no permanent appeal, and the attraction wears off. Complaints of ill-treatment at the hands of Europeans—low wages, the pass system, etc.—result in unfriendly feelings towards Europeans. Nor are they more friendly to Native agitators, nor even to Natives of other tribes than those of the Sotho-Tswana cluster. They keep very much to themselves. Tribal life may have its worries and troubles, but they are not nearly so exacting and repressive as those of the towns. There is more freedom and security in the Reserves.

The labour migration has some beneficial consequences, and, foremost, upon their standard of living. They are regarded as the most progressive tribe in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

While tribal unity has not been destroyed, tribal life is being disorganised, and this must eventually affect tribal unity. Labour migration is at present indispensable as an additional source of income; but its benefits are counterbalanced by its disruptive effects upon the life of the tribe. The necessity for it should be minimised by agricultural development.

4. THE DECAY OF A VILLAGE COMMUNITY

PROFESSOR W. EISELEN emphasised the difficulty of presenting a true picture of the living organism of African life through descriptive accounts of its structure. It is especially difficult to be objective, detached and observant enough when changes take place in the everyday life around one to which one is habituated. Not only were the Southern Bantu no longer homogeneous groups when the White man arrived in Southern Africa, but also since then many new influences have come into African life. These again have varied in kind and intensity from group to group. To minimise the dangers of too great generalisation he,

like Professor Schapera, confined himself to an account of one group whose history he knows well, and whose present condition he knows from personal experience and systematic observation.

This group consists of the survivors of (1) a Sotho tribe, called Bakopa, the greater part of which was annihilated by the Swazi in 1864, and (2) the Christian Bapedi (Sotho), expelled by the Chief Sekukuni in the same year. The Berlin Missionary Society bought farms near Middelburg, Transvaal, and placed the two remnants on the farms, which are now known under the one name—"Toevlug" (Refuge). By natural increase and by immigration from neighbouring reserves, the population reached the total of four thousand.

Important changes took place very soon. The Mission endeavoured to disturb tribal customs as little as possible, chiefs of the two tribal groups being recognised and used for administration and control; and being required to collect tithe for the Mission. In fact, however, the missionary was the chief, the others doing his bidding. A Sotho chief is the traditional tribal priest, so that, when the missionary became the spiritual leader of these Natives, their chiefs lost most of their influence. The disappearance, under mission influence, of the initiation school (where the young tribesmen are brought into blood-brotherhood with members of the chief's family) weakened the chiefs' power still further. Polygamy was prohibited and the *lobolo* custom discouraged. Child betrothal and cousin marriage were also discouraged. The men were encouraged, and even compelled, to do manual work (*i.e.* women's work), and remarkable progress was made in the agricultural development of the settlement. Great advances were made in the building of stone, square houses for the people themselves and in the erection of a mission school and other buildings. Two more farms were purchased from funds raised. Young Natives were given training as artisans, and a powerful water mill served the Europeans of the neighbourhood as well. Native handicrafts were also encouraged. By the 'eighties the settlement had an air of comfortable prosperity, and Sir Owen Lanyon was deeply impressed by the neat appearance of the homes and the tidy clothes of the people. The people were described as devout Christians.

To-day the community is no longer prosperous, except some four or five families. Gardening methods have not improved, no vegetables being produced and the orchards grown old; agriculture is at a standstill, and the commonage is over-stocked with inferior cattle; their houses and clothes show deterioration in standard; the people live from hand to mouth, many being deep in debt.

The religious life has weakened, the present generation being very irregular churchgoers and impatient of church discipline (often leaving their own church and joining another for this reason). Denominational rivalries cause loss of respect for Christian churches. While ancestor worship has passed out of their lives, they believe in witchcraft and have an intense fear of magic. The control and discipline of the initiation school on the sex life has given place to immorality, a fairly large percentage of the children being illegitimate. Nevertheless the *lobolo*, child betrothal and cousin marriages persist.

While the whole population is literate, the only books to be found in the homes are the Bible and the hymn-book: no interest in books has been created by the school.

What are the causes of this deterioration?

Dr. Eiselen did not offer more than three examples of disturbing factors, and these were: (1) The older generation had endured hardships; the younger has been brought up in easier circumstances and has thus

not acquired the moral stamina of the older. (2) The population is more widely scattered over the extended settlement, so that the precept, example and rule of the missionary are less direct. (3) The rapid and uncontrolled influx of European civilisation into the Transvaal: the influence of the mines and neighbouring European towns and the easy money they provide; the new luxuries, which can only be got away from the settlement and less scrupulous traders, lead to the loss of trade for the Mission store, which has had to close; the long absence of the men and reliance upon cash wages lead to neglect of the gardens and the homes, and to made goods supplanting the work of the artisans (the carpenter alone remaining to make coffins!).

Decay has followed the decline of the leadership of the missionary. Under the application of the principle of trusteeship alone can the Natives advance.

5. THE BELIEF IN MAGIC

DR. MONICA HUNTER'S opening paragraph gave the text for her striking account of the influence of belief in magic upon the life and thought of the Pondo, whose territory is in the north-east of the Transkeian Territories:—

"The economic life of the Pondo is being revolutionised. The majority still live in the reserve (Pondoland), but of these practically all the males go for periods to labour centres to earn cash to pay taxes, and to buy trade goods. Some have settled permanently with their families in the towns; some live on European farms as hired labourers. Economic changes are reacting upon the social organisation, and among those living in towns the ancestor cult, which is dependent upon cattle, is disappearing. *While other aspects of culture are changing rapidly, old beliefs in magic remain. They are modified only to the extent that new materials are used, and certain old methods are put to new ends.*"

Practically all Pondo believe that much illness is caused by witchcraft or sorcery, and that success in important enterprises—agriculture, stock raising, hunting, love-making, lawsuits, war—is largely dependent upon magic. Most church members, even if they refrain from consulting diviners, believe implicitly in magic, whether they live in the country or in the towns. Contact with Europeans has increased the variety of magic materials available (*e.g.* cattle dip and patent medicines).

Many Pondo attribute the supposed increased ill-health since contact with Europeans, to the prohibition of the killing of those "smelt out" as having familiars (*i.e.* practising witchcraft).

Belief in magic is an integrating force in a community (*e.g.* the chief has medicines to buttress his authority), and acts as a deterrent to misbehaviour. On the other hand, it causes fear and generates hatred (*e.g.* A new and aggressively active teacher's arrival coincided with the death, supposedly from sorcery, of two headmen. The teacher, knowing himself to be unpopular, wilted in fear lest sorcery be worked against him).

Accusations of witchcraft and sorcery are expressions of tensions and jealousies in social life, but they are also an aggravating cause of these (*e.g.* the belief of a daughter-in-law that her mother-in-law has caused the death of her child increases any existing tension). Accusations of witchcraft are almost always against persons with whom the injured has been in intimate daily contact and with whom friction is likely to have occurred.

The very forces which make for stability hamper initiative and cause socially valuable traits to give offence (e.g. the progressive farmers using fertilisers are often accused of causing harm to neighbours' crops, fertilisers being regarded as medicine likely to injure neighbouring crops).

It is always the selective element which is attributed to magic (e.g. "If one man's cattle die and those of his neighbours are well, his have been killed" by magic). Even where mechanisms of causation are understood, the tendency to attribute the selective element to magic remains. Typhus is carried by lice. Very good, but A and B both lived in the same hut: why should the infected louse have bitten A and not his brother B? Many people had influenza: why should X have died and not Y?

No person is accused by the diviner, whom the majority of those who have come to inquire (i.e. the friends of the aggressed) do not believe is guilty. The diviner soon eliminates those positively believed innocent. In the majority of cases the inquirers have already decided in their own minds who is guilty, and that person is soon discovered by the diviner through the hand-clapping system. [Compare this with the children's game of *Hunt the Slipper*.—Ed.]

Admissions of guilt by innocent persons (caused by the innocent's own belief in magic and the suggestions of his or her accusers) strengthens the general belief. The diviner's prestige also gives authority to his assertions of the presence of familiars (just as the White lay person accepts the *dicta* of the learned).

The death rate is heavy, and, since witchcraft or sorcery is believed to cause practically every death, tales of successful witches and sorcerers are constantly on the tongues and in the minds of the people.

Analysis of the grounds of belief in magic will not destroy the belief, but an understanding of these grounds is a necessary preliminary to any attack on the belief and to effective teaching in agriculture and hygiene. Again, scientific teaching of the mechanisms of causation may modify belief in magic: only complete understanding will destroy it.

6. DIFFERENCES IN CULTURE AND MORALS

PROFESSOR R. F. ALFRED HORNÉ, in an address on "Mental and Moral Characteristics of the Bantu" (the first part of which is dealt with under the heading "Educability"), discussed the problems arising (a) from the differences between traditional Bantu culture and the culture of Western Europe, which was brought into South Africa by successive immigrations of White settlers; and (b) from the varying degrees in which different groups of Bantu have become "detrified" and culturally assimilated to the Whites.

On both these points there is much confusion of thought, which makes for friction in everyday race contacts and for vacillation in the theory and practice of "Native education", i.e., in the education which Native children get in schools organised for them by Whites.

The following points deserve special attention:

1. The difference between modern European civilisation and the traditional culture of the Bantu is in many respects very great. But it is not nearly so great when we compare Bantu culture with the culture of our own Germanic ancestors in Tacitus' time, or with the culture of the Jews as reflected in the Old Testament (which, therefore, appeals to the Bantu much more than the New Testament).

2. This historical comparison suggests doubts about the truth of the view—fashionable in some quarters—that every culture is the

expression of a unique racial "soul"; that it is determined by "blood," i.e. by inherited racial qualities; that, therefore, the culture of one race cannot be genuinely assimilated, but at best only externally imitated, by another race; and that the effort of "Native education" to communicate our culture to the Bantu is in principle mistaken and produces only "sham-Europeans." Positively, the adherents of this view advocate that the Bantu should be allowed, or made, to "develop along their own lines," though they generally fail to tell us what these lines are, or are to be (e.g. are we to stop missionary work and try to undo the Christianisation of the Bantu?) And they ignore the even more important question whether such cultural segregation is really possible in present-day South Africa, where the Whites, as rulers, employers, missionaries and social superiors, have been, for more than a century, engaged in trying to re-mould the Bantu nearer to the White heart's desire. Actually, the result has been that, the more the Natives have come under the influence of White education, the more the demand for that education has grown. It is not the Natives who ask for development along their own lines: they are apt to resist even mother tongue education, in order to learn English and Afrikaans, and thus be able to hold their own in the White man's world.

3. In fact, we can make no greater mistake than to lump all Natives together, on the ground that they are alike in skin-colour and other physical features. The assumption that every Bantu "body" has, in the cultural sense, a Bantu "soul" is contrary to the facts. A relentless transmission of culture-elements has been, and is, going on from Whites to Blacks; disintegrating and destroying Bantu culture in some directions; enriching it and stimulating it to new developments in other directions. If by "*Bantu mind*" we mean "*Bantu culture*," then regard for undeniable facts compels us to admit that there are men and women who are Bantu "physically," but who have ceased being Bantu culturally or "mentally." In fact, there are Bantu in all stages of transition from Bantu culture and mentality to European culture and mentality.

As measured by this acculturation, the Bantu population in South Africa may be roughly classified into three groups.

(a) There are the completely detribalised and civilised "Oorlams," whose mother tongue (quite literally) is generally Afrikaans; whose clothing, food, habits of life, beliefs are—allowing for their low economic level—of the European type. Legally "Natives" and subject to the discriminations applicable to Natives, socially segregated from Whites, they none the less have ceased to belong mentally and culturally to the Native world. This is even more true of the highly educated Natives (still a small group)—those who have achieved University degrees in South Africa or overseas, and who follow their professions as doctors, teachers, ministers of religion, etc.

(b) Next, there are the semi-detribalised, composed mainly of individuals and families which have left the Native Reserves and settled, more or less permanently, on White farms as labour tenants and in the locations and slums of White towns and dorps, where they earn wages by unskilled or semi-skilled labour. By distance separated from the centres of tribal life, and exposed on all sides to the contact with White civilisation, Bantu mind and culture are, in them, slowly disintegrating, whilst at the same time their poverty (due to low wages), and the legal and social discriminations to which they are subject, exclude them largely from acquiring the best elements of European culture.

(c) There is, lastly, the still more or less completely tribalised group, numerically largest, and living in the main in compact bodies in the Native Reserves. Their culture has been described in other papers.

Educational policy must take full account of these differences in mentality and culture between these three groups. For the third group, a policy of maintaining many of the traditional features of Bantu culture is still possible, and may well be the right one. For the first group, such a policy is quite impossible. And the second group seems destined to go the way of the first—at any rate, those members of it who remain permanently resident on White farms and in White towns. But, even the third group cannot be in principle isolated from European culture influences: indeed, it is in its interest, as well as in the interest of the whole of South Africa, that it should learn the numerous valuable lessons which it can learn from contact with White civilisation. The native agricultural colleges, for instance, which seek to spread a knowledge of improved, and even “scientific” methods of cattle-breeding and tillage; or the new scheme for Native medical aids in the Reserves—these are not elements of indigenous Bantu culture (they are European importations): but the Bantu can make, and are making, them their “own.”

That part of culture which is called “morals” requires a special word. For, among Whites, the most contradictory opinions concerning the morals of the Bantu are found, the contradictions being due to the common human trait of generalising from narrow and incomplete experience.

Relatively few White South Africans are acquainted at first hand with the morals inherent in Bantu culture, and inculcated by the discipline of tribal life. Most Whites judge Bantu morals only from the maladaptations and transgressions of individuals who have lost their bearings in the strange White world and who succumb to unaccustomed temptations when released from the steadying influence of tribal society and its public opinion.

Failure to make this distinction, and to realise sympathetically the difficulties of a Native translated from the kraal into a White town, leads to much misunderstanding and false treatment of Natives by their White employers—a misunderstanding which all too often is aggravated by the employer’s ignorance both of the Native employee’s language and of the standards of conduct which he brings with him from the kraal. As a result, one may often hear Natives in general abused as lazy, dishonest, thievish, lying, ungrateful, disobedient, etc. Yet, for every item in this adverse judgment, it is possible to quote also the acknowledgment of other employers who praise the Native as hard-working, honest, truthful, grateful, obedient, etc. Many of those who are loudest in their diatribes against the laziness of the Kaffir forget conveniently that their own “house-boys” are expected to be on duty for from twelve to fourteen hours per day. The truth seems to be that the Bantu exhibit the same variations of virtue and vice as other races; that the character of the individual among them needs the same moral support from prevailing social standards, as amongst other peoples; and that they respond in the same way to a healthy or unhealthy moral environment.

Missionaries, and others, have in the past often failed to appreciate that Bantu society has its own moral standards and values, even if these differ in many respects from European, and from Christian, standards. Fortunately, there is now a much more widespread desire to understand the moral values of Bantu culture, and to avoid the mistake of thinking that they are necessarily worse than, or inferior to, European standards.

Most missions still oppose and condemn initiation schools ; but some missionaries have been experimenting with the attempt to bring into being a Christian type of initiation school. Albert Schweitzer has even argued in favour of polygyny as suited to a certain level of economic development. In general we are apt to forget that Christ came, not to destroy, but to fulfil.

The greatest difficulty arising from the contact of the traditional morals of Bantu culture with those of the Christian religion lies in the field of sex-morality and of the institutions through which sex-morality finds expression. Polygyny, pre-marital intercourse, and sex instruction in the initiation schools are all stones of offence to many Christian teachers. Yet that sane sex instruction is desirable and even necessary is nowadays coming to be widely recognised in our society, so that the objection to sex instruction in initiation schools should be, not against the *principle*, but at most against the *manner* of such instruction. Polygyny is dying out in any case, even more from economic causes than as the result of Christian teaching. *Lobolo* is not necessarily incompatible with a Christian marriage. And as regards pre-marital sexual relations, it should at least be remembered that, where tribal morality is a living thing, they are controlled by strict standards which forbid equally casual promiscuity and pre-marital pregnancy. Where, with the release of individuals from tribal restraints, these standards have broken down, the result has been the growth of Native prostitution (unknown in normal Bantu society), promiscuity, and illegitimate births. All these are familiar features of White society, so that it may fairly be said that the breakdown of tribal sex-morality has everywhere led to an assimilation to the most disfiguring features of the sex-morality of White society, with the additional feature of illicit relations between White men and Native women. The plain truth is that, whilst the professed ideals of White, and Christian, sex-morality are, no doubt, higher than those of traditional Bantu morality, at least Bantu society came much nearer to practising what it preached than does White society. And the tragedy is that, whilst having preached to them our higher standards, the Bantu have also begun to learn from our example our own lower practice.

7. THE ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

DR. J. E. HOLLOWAY addressed himself to the problem of adjusting a primitive, emerging race into a new environment created by changed economic conditions.

Two revolutionary movements of the last one hundred and fifty years have shattered the indigenous economic life. The first, frequently disregarded, was the turmoil caused by the wars of Tshaka. The second was the gradual infiltration of the White man, for which the first in many respects paved the way.

The old society was comparatively stable. There was plenty of land, either already occupied or available for occupation without much more trouble than that of trekking. The community knew its problems, and had evolved methods of dealing with them. Scarcity there was, but it was the scarcity imposed by Nature in the form of crop failures, pestilence among animals, or the late arrival of the summer rains. The scarcity induced by pressure of population was as yet no serious problem. The educational problem in such a stable society was simple : the young men and young women had to be prepared for well-known duties. accord-

ing to well-known and long-established precepts ; as the division of labour was simple and by sex, everybody in a sex had to be taught the same things—the young men being taught to herd cattle, to build the framework of the hut, to hunt, to dress the skins and to fight ; the young women being taught to till the fields, to cover the huts, to run the home and to rear children. Both sexes were taught appropriate conduct for all important occasions, and due respect for elders. Invention was restricted, lest new-fangled things offend the spirits of the departed. Altogether a simple society, in which the task of the teacher was not complicated by all the doubts and perplexities which give rise to educational conferences in our day !

Tshaka began the disruption. He professionalised militarism ; he disrupted and scattered whole communities.

The White man came in where Tshaka left off, introduced the further disruptive element of progress and the constricting element of growth of population. By occupying vacant areas he prevented Bantu expansion into pastures new. By conquering areas held by the Bantu he reduced the space at their disposal. This limitation of space has now become an absolute factor in our population problem. The White man introduced more subtly disruptive elements into the Black man's simple society. He enforced peace, stamped out overt witchcraft (without destroying the belief) ; by weakening the influence of natural scarcity he gave a further fillip to the increase of population. Animal diseases were minimised. Large numbers of labourers were transported to areas of economic exploitation, thus making available to them the materials of White civilisation. But little progress was made in adjusting their *ideas* to the new conditions.

The net result of the limitation of areas and the increase of numbers, unrelieved by improvements in the technique of working these areas, was heavy pressure of population on the means of subsistence, relieved by the drawing off of part of the surplus population to work in the industries of the White man.

Henceforward we have two, if not three, streams of development, (1) Natives living in their own reserved areas, and (2) Natives living in European areas—rural and urban. Two opposing principles—each important and far-reaching in its consequences—separate "Native" from "European" areas. (1) European areas are areas in which individualistic initiative and capitalistic technique have a free hand. (2) In Native areas communal ownership obtains.

The educational problem in the Reserves is primarily that of the adjustment of the Native to an environment based upon communal ownership, which, while not the best thing in itself, and hardly likely to continue indefinitely as an *enclave* in the midst of individualism, is however, the best the tribal Native is at present capable of working. The task is to educate the Native to reverse his traditional, unrestricted use of land and to adopt standards in agriculture and stock-raising (to which few Natives have attained) to enable him to make the best use of a limited area. Health problems are only a little less urgent.

Both problems call for a flank attack on superstition and witchcraft. This is of course the most difficult and most perplexing task of all. The starting point must be the daily life of the Native—not the alphabet, the book or the classroom, but the selection of seed, proper tillage and fertilisation of the soil, cleanliness and a proper regard for sanitation.

If education cannot help the Native to overcome the obstacles to his becoming a sturdy peasant, it is of little value to him. Once he has overcome these obstacles, he will have secured a certain limited economic advance.

The adjustment to their environment of the Natives on European farms is proceeding at a faster pace than that of the Natives in the Reserves. They are working under the direction of the Europeans, with the Europeans' better means of production and superior animals. Witchcraft has less hold on them; and they have made progress in the direction of civilisation. Their educational problem approximates more closely to the problem of the most suitable education for the White farmer.

The urban Natives (more particularly those who have grown up in the urban locations) are another stage away from the tribe. This population has entirely different educational needs from the Natives in the Reserves. They will continue to live in the towns and the educational needs of their children approximate very closely in kind to those of White town dwellers. Their education could, however, be made immensely more valuable if municipalities took more pride in their locations and provided young Natives with a better environment.

MR. P. S. TREGEAR'S account of the effects of mining developments in the Copper Belt of Northern Rhodesia showed clearly that there the flow of Native labour into the mines and to the urban areas is resulting in changes much less advanced but essentially of the same nature as those which have grown so complex in the Union of South Africa. The restriction of land, which has proved such a powerful cause of the "spill over" from the Reserves of the Union, is not found in Northern Rhodesia, and comparatively few Natives have severed their ties with tribal life. Immediate wholesale disturbance of tribal life seems unlikely, and, although the mine workers now remain at the mines for a longer period than formerly, they do not on their return to the Reserves appear to find much difficulty in fitting themselves to the old life. There are outward evidences of the adoption of new ideas—an occasional house of the European type, more often European types of clothes, but, in general, the workers slip back into tribal life quite normally. Nevertheless, the longer periods tend to make the return less easy, and the new conception of money and what it can buy is increasing the desire for the things prized by White civilization.

The future of mining is uncertain and periodic unemployment is to be expected. The worker must, therefore, if poverty and destitution in the mining and urban areas are to be avoided, maintain his roots in the Reserves. This will become more difficult as the worker and his family develop new social needs, which cannot be satisfied by the present subsistence cultivation.

The aim of education, Mr. Tregear argued, should be to develop new attitudes and skills in the rising generation, which will enable them to live full lives. For this, on a sound education should be superimposed training for the better cultivation of the land, and for the development of trades and callings not wholly dependent upon European employment. Given stability in the mining industry, there should be an increasing demand for Native artisans and tradesmen. With increased technical efficiency in the Native artisan, wages should rise, and with a more rapid circulation of money wider outlets can be found for Native tradesmen.

8. HEALTH AND DIET CHANGES

(a) RURAL AREAS

DR. BERNARD T. SQUIRES, speaking from first hand experience of a great Native Reserve—Sekukuniland in the Eastern Transvaal—, pointed to the deterioration in the natural food sources in rural areas, consequent upon closer settlement of the country.

At one time the country was covered with bush: to-day there is little left; it abounded with game: there is practically none to-day; the country was not so dry or eroded as it is to-day; and the old men say that "there was not so much sickness among the people". The country is overstocked with cattle, but the people eat very little meat. The dryness of the country, the poverty of the grazing and the immense over-stocking prevent the production and consumption of milk in any quantity. The people have transferred from a good mixed diet to a forced vegetarian one, in which raw foodstuffs are conspicuous by their rarity.

These conditions are reflected in the physique of the people examined by Dr. Squires. Most of them show evidence of lack of vitamins, except D (probably because sunshine plays such a great part in its production), rickets being a very uncommon disease. A large percentage of the adults suffer from chronic constipation, and its associated disorders, due, in great measure, to the vegetarian diet. Many of the women are always in a state of lowered vitality, and scurvy, due to lack of Vitamin C, is very common. The adolescents, boys especially, are often weedy and ill-developed. In infancy the children are put on a diet of porridge, for the mother's milk gives out after a few months, sometimes weeks. The children develop a chronic mixed *avitaminosis* (with its associated troubles) due to lack of vitamins A, B and C. As they get older the children are flabby, with no reserve of vitality, and in the common cases of broncho-pneumonia about seventy per cent. die. And so the record proceeds.

As to dental caries, the incidence is about fifteen per cent., and there seems to be no relation between the state of the teeth and the consumption of Western foodstuffs and sweets.

Syphilis is very widespread, mostly congenital. Malnutrition adversely affects the treatment of syphilis.

There is a vast field for research in the subject of malnutrition amongst Africans and its bearing upon public health in rural districts.

DR. HAMILTON DYKE said that on a mid-day inspection of a tribal school he found there a class of eighty children, aged from eight to fourteen. They were listless, apathetic and uninterested. Only twenty of them had had food before coming to school, the remainder would get their only meal that day—maize or kaffir corn porridge—on returning home from school. The teachers had not thought of applying their training in hygiene and physiology to observe the children's condition and to stimulate the parents to better care of their children.

A subsequent medical survey of this and other neighbouring tribal schools showed that, at the age of sixteen, the children were 22 per cent. below the standard average of physical fitness of European children of the same age.

An analysis of the medical examination of young men recruited from the tribe for work on the mines showed that 30 per cent. were totally unfit for such work.

These investigations showed the results of malnutrition in early childhood carried on in adulthood. The physical condition of the African people has deteriorated greatly during the past forty years. They have been deprived of their land and of much that gave them virility. They hold on to the old customs without having the necessary conditions, and adopt new ideas which are useless to them. Education has done little to enable them to weather the changes satisfactorily.

The situation calls for greater co-operation between the various agencies—governmental, missionary and others—concerned with Native welfare ; for more practical and vital teaching of hygiene in the schools, and for the training of Native medical aids and nurses to work in rural areas.

(b) URBAN AREAS

DR. A. B. XUMA opened his address with a protest against the practice of quoting morbidity and other vital statistics in official returns relating to the European section of the population only, as tending to undue complacency and an unwarranted pride. The absence of statistics for the Non-Europeans is due largely to inadequate medical and health services.

Formerly the people's diet was simpler, coarser, harder and better balanced, consisting chiefly of mealies and *amabele* (kaffir corn) grain. The mealie was eaten as a whole grain, the green ears roasted or boiled. Even when dry they were roasted or boiled or the shelled-off grain was boiled or parched. All this tended to exercise the teeth. The kaffir corn was also boiled. Sour milk was mixed with mealies or kaffir corn, milk being then abundant. During the green mealie season the people chewed a lot of sweet cane. They also ate fibrous roots and wild fruit and berries. Venison and other meat were eaten, the meat being roasted on an open fire, or boiled, and often cooked under-done, thus the proteins were not completely destroyed.

This diet tended to leave very little deposit on the teeth, which, too, were almost invariably rinsed with water after meals. Ash or wood cinders were used as dentrifice, the index finger being employed for the purpose. This made a smooth, non-irritating toothbrush on the gums.

Infants' food consisted chiefly of mothers' milk, being supplemented after six months by milk, chiefly sour milk.

In the towns to-day the diet tends to be softer and less balanced. It is true that mealies or kaffir corn meal porridge is the basal diet, but wheat bread is also largely used. Milk is too expensive, but tea with sugar, but without milk, is popular. Often porridge alone, without milk, tea or sugar, is a meal. Meat is also only occasionally available because of the cost. The diet is therefore unbalanced and poor in the right kind of proteins.

Generally speaking, the people show less resistance to disease and infection, and the physique tends to be poor and puny. The poorer diet, added to increased and more sustained physical labour, is sapping their strength. There is less open air exercise and the housing accommodation, even in municipal and industrial compounds, is very unsatisfactory. Clothing is often scant and unsuitable for the seasonal changes in weather, and insufficient to allow of change after a soaking by rain. The low wages and heavy transportation charges to and from work are responsible for the deplorably low economic condition of the people and, consequently, for their inadequate diet.

(A detailed discussion followed of the incidence and causes of the diseases to which the town dwellers are subject.)

The more important effects of these depressed health conditions, from the educational aspect, are :

(1) Child life suffers grievously from the low economic condition of the urban family and the ignorance of mothercraft.

(2) Tuberculosis appears to be increasing from the same causes.

(3) Dental caries also seems to be more general, but there is need for further research into the extent and causes.

(4) Obstetrical difficulties and gynaecological affections seem to trouble the urban women much more than was the case in the old rural life, if the testimony of older women is to be accepted. At any rate they are very numerous.

(5) The prevalence of venereal diseases causes great concern. Here, again, social conditions, such as the presence in urban areas of large masses of unattached men, play a large part.

(6) The onset of puberty appears to come earlier by about two years, due, possibly, to increasing knowledge in immoral ways. Lack of adequate school facilities and parental oversight (the mothers usually having to work) result in many children getting their education in the streets.

The size of the Native family in urban areas is smaller, due to (1) the pathological conditions described ; (2) the high mortality rate among infants ; (3) the instability of marital unions ; (4) the later marrying age among both men and women, caused, not only by economic pressure, but also by greater social ambitions and desire for further education and training ; (5) there is a prevalent impression that in the towns the people do not live as long.

There is real need for making more generally available to the people the benefits of health and welfare services, and for more educational propaganda. But real progress in health matters among the African people will come when there are enough Africans with the highest medical and nursing training to lead their people. A healthy African community is the best insurance for a healthy European community, since disease knows no colour line.

The cumulative effect of the papers in this series was depressing and distressing. In every instance and in all the aspects covered—social, religious, psychological, moral and economic—the structure of African society was shown to be in a state of more or less advanced decay, through the weakening or even disappearance of the positive, cohesive forces. In the considerable discussions which followed each set of papers in the series, no one denied the accuracy of the pictures drawn, although, as might be expected, the degrees of change were shown to have a wide range. Two African speakers did declare that Dr. Schapera's account of the degeneration of the sex life among the BaKxatla would not be true of their own groups, where the social conscience is still effective in this matter ; but there was general agreement that everywhere the sex life has become unbalanced. The grim reality of the African situation has never been so forcibly presented as in this symposium, and it has been a great gain to have the facts and their implications brought home to thinking minds.

Mrs. Hoernlé's urgent plea for the protection and use of " positive values " in the indigenous culture met with full sympathy, but Professor Hoernlé and Dr. Holloway made it perfectly clear that this is no longer possible for quite half of the Union's Native population. The

task of education will be made easier when this fact is recognised, so that discrimination may be exercised as to the education suitable for each differing group.

But the moral of the whole story is that education is not enough. The survey has shown clearly that powerful forces beyond the control of education are shattering African society. Among these forces are: the political authority of the European over both chief and people; the economic mastery of the European over land and labour; the ravages of disease, made more easy by poverty, poor diet and psychological disturbances. The missionary, in the course of the devoted service he has given the African people, has no doubt contributed by creating a lack of confidence in or even loss of respect for the indigenous culture in its spiritual and other forms; and the trader has no doubt made the people dissatisfied with the material forms of this culture. But the papers and the discussions all showed that these other factors are also very potent in creating the problem of the African. The loss of political authority, the disappearance of economic security, and the decline of health and physical stamina, no less than the destruction of the ancient faith in the power of the ancestral spirits, and the desire for a new faith and a new material world are responsible for the tensions observable in the African to-day and for the destruction of the old life. Tensions and disturbances were inevitable once world influences encircled and entered Africa, but we know that these tensions and disturbances need not have become so acute and so devastating had contributing factors been under control. Can they be controlled now?

Professor Malinowski emphasised Dr. Hunter's statement that resort to magic and witchcraft is an expression of these tensions. As conditions become more unfavourable, and new conflicts, new hatreds and new fears are created, there will be an increasing tendency to resort to magic and witchcraft. Magic and witchcraft can only be attacked, the African's mind and soul can only be emancipated by eliminating the sources of psychological conflict, by providing political and economic security, and by re-building his health.

For this difficult task education is not enough. This task requires the co-operation of all the forces available in the State—political, economic, hygienic, spiritual and educational.

CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION AS A RE-INTEGRATING AGENCY

PROFESSOR B. MALINOWSKI delivered several addresses on the relation of education to the problems of culture contact. Starting from the premise that "education is bigger than schooling," he urged that education is concerned not only with the development of the child's "biological inheritance," his mental endowment, but also with his cultural heritage and his place in society.

The rift between the classroom and the world outside is a serious enough problem in Western civilization: it is very much greater, and the problems to which it gives rise are immensely more difficult, where the schooling of an alien culture is mechanically thrust into a culture where education, as in Africa, has gone on for ages without professional schooling. To educate a primitive community out of its culture—that which embodies and correlates tribal beliefs, ideas, values, organisation and pursuits—and to make it adopt integrally the culture of a different race, and of a much more highly differentiated society, is a gigantic task. Yet it has in the past been undertaken with easy assurance, on the assumption "that what we feel necessary and right must be the best for the African", and that it could be done through the school.

The imposition of this extraneous type of schooling not only gives, but also takes away. It takes away the child's own tribal tradition, moral values and even practical skills, and leads to the disintegration of the primitive society, because it estranges a number of individuals from the traditions controlling the rest of the tribe.

With this educational problem of the introduction of European education to the Africans there goes another: how is the child to secure the place for which this education fits him, in the face of the race prejudice, laws and attitudes connected with the colour bar imposed by White communities to prevent social and economic equality and intermixture between White and Black? To educate a man is to raise, not only his knowledge and skills, but also his hopes and his ambitions, his claims for full citizenship and the sense of his personal dignity. Hence, with an inexorable determinism, education implies better conditions of life. It may be ungenerous to stint the Native of economic opportunities; it is perhaps necessary to deprive him of land and independence, and to limit his social scope. But it is unquestionably dangerous to expend all our generosity in giving him a goodly measure of education, only to deprive him of the fruits thereof by the force of law and political discrimination. That way tragedy lies.

There are three aspects of education which must be kept in mind in any educational system: the birth-right of the child; the moulding of his personality; and the place which society is prepared to give the individual so developed and trained as a member of the State.

The birth-right is a two-fold one: the biological—the child's innate endowment; and the cultural—its cultural heritage. Education from one culture to another involves not so much the comparison of the

innate endowment of one individual as against another, as of the average aptitudes of one type of humanity as against another. How far races do differ in this respect we do not yet know. There have been pseudo-scientific attempts to assess the differences by the measurement of skulls, when we know nothing, and probably shall never know anything, about the relation between brain structure and mental processes and between brain size and intellectual capacity. Also, intelligence tests, valid for one culture, do not necessarily apply to members of another, even if they belong to the same race. If we ever come to define the abilities of an individual, a group, a social stratum or race, it will only be by assessing its cultural achievements. "By their fruits ye shall know them." But even here we may fall into many errors. History shows that cultural potentialities and latent capacity must not be confused with fully developed achievement at any period of time. The test of integral achievement in culture is too complicated and too tenuous to be used in any way as a scientific argument for innate abilities of race. In any case, the science of the anthropologist does not allow him to grade humanity into races, inferior and superior, incapable of survival and capable of intellectual development.

The physical birth-right of the African child probably requires further intelligent study by educational experts well-trained in anthropology. All the available evidence, however, points to the conclusion that the African child responds well to the same type of schooling as the European.

What is his cultural birth-right? What is it that schooling takes away by introducing new ideas, new values, new ways and new manners? For the school does not commence work on a clean slate. In every race and every society a man is born to a certain status within his community. By the very fact of birth a child is given something more than his soul and body. In every case education links up with initial sociological endowment.

Colonisation of territory affects this birth-right of the Native. The new rule very often improves the lot of some, but invariably the conditions of the whole community deteriorate: Europeans have freed slaves; but they have deprived whole tribes of their full measure of liberty. In every part of Africa the child is born no more to a world of freedom where the integral territory belongs to him and his people, where he can choose among the careers which, though limited, were well adapted to his cultural interests and racial aptitudes. He lives in a world which is politically subject, economically dependent, culturally spoon-fed, and moulded by another race and another civilization. A considerable portion of his tribal lands has been alienated, the political independence of the whole society has been modified, and his traditional law, his economic pursuits, his religious ideas questioned.

Thus the African child's birth-right has been taken from him: what are we giving him in its place?

Professor Malinowski presented an indictment of the schooling given the African child by missions and governments. This schooling is dominated by the lofty and unselfish ideals of the Europeans, which are nevertheless out of harmony with the real conditions. His schooling has created a gulf between Christian and non-Christian, parents and their children, tribal authorities and their people; it has developed in the Africans themselves a contempt for their own culture and their own institutions, a contempt induced by their own weakness and inferiority in the face of the ruthless power and irresistible pervasiveness of European might.

How is the position to be met ? In the first place, it must be recognised that education must proceed along two fronts. Since the African's future dealings will bring him constantly into contact with Europeans, we must analyse in what way he must acquire some elements of the invading culture, so that he may have the maximum preparation for contact with the White community—with the new culture. Secondly, education must enable him to take full advantage of his cultural endowment, to help him to retain his respect for his own tribal dignity and racial characteristics and to assume his natural place in that society.

On the first point, Professor Malinowski outlined a curriculum of the instruction necessary. He would include : the European language of most use as a medium of communication between European and Native in the area—taught through the vernacular ; writing and reading ; arithmetic ; technical training ; elementary natural history ; elementary hygiene ; instruction in use and value of foods ; principles of household economics and household duties ; elementary book-keeping. He emphasised the importance of instruction in " European customs and manners, superstitions and beliefs," and also in civics.

While the slogan " Develop the African on his own lines " cannot be adopted if it means development on African lines only, it should be possible to interpret it as covering the second educational requirement mentioned earlier. That is to say, the African child should also be developed along lines which will not estrange him from things African or make it less easy for him to maintain his place in African society. The process of detribalisation, so often spoken of, has not proceeded so very far. The vast mass of Africans still live in an African world, from which they have to emerge, but partly and occasionally. Even highly educated Africans have not completely adopted the European social and cultural ways, but have had to preserve a two-fold attitude.

If all this is true, the best way to ascertain what remains of African culture, and why it has remained, is through the assessment of the old African moral values, social attitudes and cultural peculiarities. What has survived, has survived through the wider process implicit in education, which has very little to do with schooling. This process must be studied, so that we can appreciate it ; see what ought to be preserved ; where we have to act and where to abstain.

Examples were given of family and community duties, age grades, organisations, ceremonies and other agencies which still survive, though in a modified form, and which are part of the educational influences available for the task of educating the African on African lines.

The motifs which ran through Professor Malinowski's addresses and the points which emerged were :—

1. Education is bigger than schooling.
2. We are supplying the schooling somewhat artificially ; for full education the African child has still to rely on his own social and cultural *milieu*.
3. European schooling, if divorced from the African background, contributes towards the breakdown of tribal life and cultural continuity.
4. African education is not dead, even in " detribalised " areas ; it lives in family life, in the structure of kinship and community, in the special setting of native economic pursuits, old and new.
5. European schooling and African education have to be harmonised and carried on simultaneously, with conscious direction and adjustment. The alternative is conflict within the individual and chaos in the community.

6. The focussing of this adjustment lies in respect for African values and an equipment to meet the impact with European civilisation, as well as co-operation with the European community. Education must proceed on these fronts simultaneously.
7. The addition of European schooling as part of our culture impact raises the African above his own standard of living ; it develops his ambitions and needs, economic, political and cultural. To pour all the money, energy and zeal into schooling and "developing," without any wherewithal to satisfy the resulting claims, is the royal road to a social catastrophe.

"We have, however, started a process which cannot now be checked", concluded Professor Malinowski. "The Africans are on the move, They will not return to the old groove of tribal life, though they will not abandon all their heritage rapidly and completely for some time to come. Their capacities and desires have been awakened. They need more land than we have left them, more economic opportunities than we have opened up for them, and greater political autonomy. There must take place a revision of the colour-bar policy ; sooner or later better conditions in towns and more breathing space in the reserves will have to be given. These are the corner-stones of a sound educational policy."

"These conclusions obviously do not refer to South Africa alone or specially. The contact of race is a world-wide problem and its implications cannot be discussed with regard to one part of the world alone. At the same time, what happens in South Africa affects the events north of the Zambesi, arouses political passions in the West Indies and in the United States, and begins to attract the interest of one or two armed and organised powers who have taken upon themselves the leadership of the coloured races as against the white." Education must be placed within this wider context.

PROFESSOR VICTOR MURRAY was emphatic in his view that too great stress had been placed upon the value of institutions as such. The anthropologists had all deplored the disintegration which has taken place in African life, and when asked what it is that has been disintegrated, they had replied that it is the Native institutions. All institutions are invented by society to meet a need. When they fail to meet that need they fade away. To use education to preserve an institution which no longer adequately meets the needs of men is to fall into the worst type of formalism, for it emphasises the externals of society rather than the life within. Education is concerned with fundamentals, and particular institutions are not fundamental. It is much more important to develop a faculty of self criticism, so that the individual can see what is happening, and change with changing circumstances.

All men everywhere, in all societies, have the need for food, for sex satisfaction, for contact with the sacred, for the expression of the sentiment of pity, for the desire for security, for social life, and to be at home in the natural world. These are some of the fundamental needs, and education is concerned with meeting them.

Undue emphasis upon institutions leads to the ignoring of a very important fact—that every new experience is selective, it is a re-orientation of life ; one cannot act as if it had never been ; it leads to new affinities. All "Natives" are not alike and we cannot group them together and ignore their individual experience. The habit of thinking in terms of institutions makes it difficult to see distinctions within the

community and leads to the ignoring of the presence of Native criticism of these institutions.

The disintegration that most concerns us is the disintegration of loyalties. Men's loyalty to their chiefs, their fellow-men, has been undermined. So long as chieftainship was the symbol of a self-contained society, it could continue unimpaired, but when the society ceased to be self-contained it was bound to decay. Loyalty has a strong emotional element in it; it cannot be replaced by an intellectual thing. In the disintegration of the Roman Empire, it was the common Christian faith which led to a new society. Historically, loyalty to Jesus Christ was the greatest integrating factor in Europe along the centuries.

There cannot be true loyalty between two persons unless they are both loyal to something else. Once an old loyalty has been destroyed, we are driven back on first principles and on those fundamental needs of man which loyalties of all kinds help to meet. Our business, therefore, is to find a new centre of loyalty rather than to piece together the old in an artificial way. Education can help by giving scope for wider loyalties.

And where there is a conflict of loyalties there is tension, but tension in itself is not necessarily a bad thing. Attempts to shield the African, or anyone else, from the necessity of choosing for himself between conflicting loyalties is to do harm to his mental and spiritual growth.

Education is as much a disintegrating agency as an integrating one. It creates gaps. This is as true of the youth in England, who leaves his parents to go to college, as it is of the school Native in Africa. It is part of the price of progress. More education will repair the damage wrought by too little education; but education based on religion—not merely a creed or religious instruction, but “admiration, hope, and love” and personal loyalty to the person and spirit of Jesus Christ—will create better human beings who can help to create a better society.

After all, if education is to be an integrating agency, it will be Africans themselves who will do it—Africans like Dr. Henry Carr of Nigeria, who are at home in the Western culture and at the same time are thoroughly African, in full sympathy with their own people, and loving them. Thus education will become an integrating agency through the affections, and not through institutions. In this, as in other matters, “the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life”.

MR. H. JOWITT set out to present a view of Native education to-day as an integrative force, *i.e.*, as a means of building up a community of thought by education, formal and informal.

To begin with, the power of chiefs has been undermined by the imposition of alien authority and the migration of labour. Here, the education, in mission and government schools and at centres like Fort Hare, of the sons of chiefs has already contributed to the building up of a new cultural unity under the leadership of educated chiefs, like Chief Victor Poto of Pondoland.

An important example of the value of the educated chiefs and headmen is afforded by the Transkeian General Council. The Transkeian system is acknowledged to be in the forefront of achievement in Native policy, a compromise between direct and indirect rule. It would have been impossible without education. It called for the counsel of the more progressive; it required parallel demonstration work by their educated sons. Obviously a break with tradition, it has, however, been effective, and education has played its full part in the experiment.

Take next the liberation which comes from disintegration, and its significance for the African woman. She, the conservator of old usages, is definitely emerging, and is sharing in the emancipation of her sex. Emancipation is accompanied by grave dangers, in which she shares, but her status has been raised, and her own personality is the more respected. Legally, the tribal African owned his wife, and any adultery was regarded as damage to his property, for which he claimed compensation; her personality was disregarded in marriage against her will to an old polygamist to whom she had been pledged, or when passed by inheritance to a polygamous household. Christian education has changed this with a corresponding gain in dignity and human value.

The preservation of the family from degeneracy is of the greatest importance, since now, as never, it is the true centre of community life. The disruption of the African family is largely due to our exacting labour demands and our failure to provide compensating conditions. The safeguarding of the family is greatly assisted by a Christian education, which links the school to the home, which erects an altar in each, and which teaches not only activities of value to the family but also the spirit of service to make these effective.

It is frequently stated that prostitution is the only resource of the single woman, who did not exist in tribal Africa, but against this put the growing army of single women of good repute and unselfish service as teachers, nurses, social workers, domestic servants. Here also education has made its contribution to the building up of things and not to their decay.

Westermann has said: "There is nobody in Africa who has a serious belief in the future of indigenous religions; they have never had reformers or martyrs and will have none". Already the Christian church has had its African martyrs, proof of the reality of their convictions and earnest of the survival value of their faith. For the African there can be regeneration as well as degeneration. Instead of deploring that Bantu religion cannot be resuscitated, let us gratefully acknowledge that, through the Church and its educational service, it is being replaced by the one cohesive, dynamic agency which above all others will promote integration, by means of spiritual unity so essential to any cultural, social or economic unity.

Even the rudimentary kraal school, by raising the level of village culture, makes it easier for the people to remain in the village and to share in its development. Agricultural instruction helps to displace wasteful methods and increase production, emphasising the connection between the life of the school and the life of the home, and making it possible for the Native areas to carry a greater population. The evils of overstocking are checked by the demonstrators' assistance in castrating scrub-stock and improving herds, whilst education also weakens the emotional attitude towards cattle and makes it easier to hold organised stock sales for the benefit of the Native. And so one might multiply the instances of the way in which education is helping the rural African to build a better world out of the fragments of the old.

Professor Myers, the psychologist, contends that "integration is not the primary aspect of evolution," but that "what is primary is the 'carving of new parts out of old'". Thus, the function of education in this changing situation is to help the African to carve new parts out of old. And, as Westermann says, "even in elementary education he (the African) needs an understanding of the new forces that are transforming his country, and he must assimilate at least the elements of these forces in order to be able to use them. Therefore modern education is

bound to take its material mainly from European culture." He also points out that, to fertilise the old life, the African must learn to be at home in the new.

DR. P. A. W. COOK took a specific problem and addressed himself to it. The Bomvana tribe in the Transkeian Territories consists of some thirty-one thousand souls, of whom about twenty-six thousand follow the tribal customs, while the remaining five thousand have broken away from these, but only about two thousand of this latter group belong to the Christian faith. In 1930 over three thousand two hundred men went out of the territory to work on the mines. Both groups have reacted to the presence of the White man, each in its own way.

The tribal section regard the Europeans as being in an entirely different category from the Bomvana themselves. What the European thinks and does is of no concern of theirs. If manuring the land produces a good crop for the White man, this is no argument for the Native farmer to follow the same methods, any more than the success of birds in building nests is a reason why the Native should build his huts in the trees. This attitude nullifies the educational results which might be obtained from working on progressive lands. The tribal Native is an extremely inefficient farmer who cultivates for subsistence only, and many of the men must go out to supplement the income of the area; but their experience leaves them rooted to their customs.

The detribalised Natives have come to doubt the ability of their own people to guide the destiny of the tribe, and so they imitate European ways. They soon become bewildered and lead a life of frustration—mentally, morally and socially. There is no place for them in the social organisation, for they have rejected the fellowship and communal responsibility of their own local area; the pride and strength of the tribe are theirs no longer; they have no economic or spiritual security; their tribe sneers at them for cowards and ill-bred upstarts; they are not wanted in Elliotdale.

The problem is a three-fold one:

- (a) To enable the tribal community to maintain a full, sufficient and worth-while life in their own area.
- (b) To enable the detribalised community to satisfy its needs without leaving the area and to take its place in the social institutions of the Bomvana.
- (c) To create a spirit of self-help and to give confidence to advance.

How do the schools function at present in this situation?

- (1) They tend to accentuate the differences between the two sections.
- (2) They set out to create literate Christian Natives, without reference to the life these people must live in the area. They must go elsewhere to benefit from their schooling.
- (3) They are wasteful, because the chiefs and the bulk of the parents oppose them, and the school's influence upon the children is nullified.

How can the schools be used to reintegrate Bomvana life?

The power of tribal thought is so great among the tribal Bomvana that the whole people must be lifted up if the individual is not to be prevented from advancing. The support of the elders must be secured, and, for this purpose, a "Cultural Mission" (consisting of experts in education, sociology, agriculture, health and social work) should be sent to study the problems of the people, to understand their culture and

to suggest how it could be used, to discuss local problems with the adults, and to win the chiefs and adults for social progress. Following upon the work of the Cultural Mission, small schools could be set up to instruct the adults in whatever knowledge they desired, *e.g.*, English or Afrikaans, reading and writing, marketing produce, care of cattle, etc., and to encourage them to form associations for fencing land, marketing, co-operative buying, etc., etc.

The teachers would also prepare the children, not by the formal education of to-day, for the life they will lead in the community. They would be passed on in due course to the adult schools. The existing schools would not be abolished, as the detribalised Natives would oppose it as an unjust attempt to cut them off from higher education. Gradually, too, the "social" schools would be linked up with the system of secondary and university education.

It was noticeable that the two series of papers to which the Conference had listened had made the members keenly aware of the claims of African culture upon education. Throughout the discussion in the second series there was an eager anxiety to understand and appreciate the nature and texture of this culture and to learn how and where it can be used in the education of the African child under existing conditions. The harmonising of the apparently conflicting claims of African tribal life, and the new culture to which the school must introduce the child, was recognised to be a difficult task. The educationists were disposed to think that the anthropologists under-estimated its difficulty. Professor Malinowski had disarmed some opposition by his frank recognition that education must proceed along two fronts, for, while he warmly advocated education along African lines, he also made provision in his programme for the free entrance of the African child into the realm of the new culture. And, while many remained doubtful about the possibility of the use of certain specified features of the old culture, there was shown a willingness to do so if it could be done. There was a good deal of sympathy with Professor Murray's view that institutions which have lost the loyalty of the African must go; but there was also a feeling that he had gone too far, and that some effort should be made to protect African institutions from the violence of the storm which has attacked them—that, for example, family life should be protected from uncontrolled European industrial exploitation of the African labourer; and that not a little of the loss of loyalty was due to the African's unhealthy sense of inferiority and helplessness against the might of Western civilisation. Dr. Cook's account of the detribalised Bomvana afforded a good illustration of the African's feeling that the tribal institutions cannot protect or help him against the White man's power. However much the educationist may desire to use African institutions and cultural forms, he alone cannot overcome this lack of confidence. The larger question of political and economic status and security for the African people is involved in the matter; for, without a stable and sure foundation, African institutions cannot function freely and effectively, and they must decline in influence and power.

And this brings both the anthropologist and the educationist face to face with the statesman and the administrator, with whom lies the responsibility for political and economic policy. Will they be able to co-operate, and how far will the political and economic interests of the White man in Africa permit of the application of a policy which aims

at underpinning the political and cultural institutions of the Africans with the concrete pillars of status and security?

Meanwhile, the anthropologists are doing Africa and education a great service by finding out what is actually taking place in African life and thought, and shedding light by which the educationists may bring education into more living contact with the actual situation. To what extent education has already moved in that direction, Mr. Jowitt's paper gave some evidence, more came later. But, as one speaker put it, even taking over and using certain indigenous forms of education, e.g. the initiation school, will not be sufficient while there is lacking a philosophy into which they fit and which explains them. This is where the detribalised Native—especially the uneducated—is most at sea. The tribal Native is guided by the traditional philosophy as expressed in the tribe's cultural forms, e.g. in proverbs and songs; the detribalised Native has no use for these, because they belong to a world he has left behind. But the new world rejects him and imposes colour bars upon him, and he hasn't a philosophy which can sustain him in his no-man's land.

Can the new wine of Western philosophy be put into old bottles and mixed with the old wine of African tribal philosophy? Anthropologists said: Yes; the educationists said: Let us try.

CHAPTER XVII

THE AFRICAN CHILD AND WHAT THE SCHOOL MAKES OF HIM

1. THE CHILD AS HE COMES TO SCHOOL

MR. D. D. T. JABAVU presented the first full length picture we have had of the African child as he comes to school, and it is so natural and life-like a picture that it is given here as exhibited.

Introduction.—The child under discussion is one born and bred in the environment of South Africa. Of two types, the one belongs to a rural village, the other to a village attached to a European town (called a "location"). For every town "location" child we have ten rural children, and for each child attending school there are three not in school.

The rural child is a vigorous youngster, born of a hardy Spartan mother, who spends most of her day-time in the open air, either collecting wood for fuel, of which she carries a tied bundle, weighing from sixty to a hundred pounds, poised on her head; or drawing water from a distant well, brook or river and carrying four gallons of this precious liquid elegantly balanced on her head for a mile or so; or working in ploughed fields under the blazing sun; or else engaged in heavy manual work in and around her abode, which is a hut, rondavel or a rectangular mud-wall house. Fed on a diet, in which starch, proteids, milk and vegetables obtained without *ad hoc* cultivation predominate, she bears children gifted with sound teeth and a robust physique.

The town-location mother, on the contrary, is less strong, because her work is indoors at her household or in employment by Europeans. She enjoys but little of the invigorating open country air which surrounds her rural sister. For her the tasks of drawing water, transporting wood on one's head, or cultivating fields do not exist. She gets but few vegetables. Her diet does not conform to ideal standards, being the unvaried round of bread without butter, coffee, tea and the staple food article of maize with beans, and this is not calculated to endow her children with physical vigour, especially in the pre-natal stage.

1. *Physique.*—The rural African child starts going to school at six, or seven, or anything up to ten years of age. The irregularity is due to the fact that the parents often find their children indispensable for discharging minor home duties, such as nursing infants, herding young stock and running errands. Our rural child is physically equal to the inordinate feats of (i) walking daily to and from a school four miles distant from home; (ii) doing without food for eight or nine hours—the time between the departure from and return to its home. By contrast, the town child is handicapped, both before and after coming into the world, by a weak physique, due to the unfavourable circumstances of its mother as sketched above. Municipal officers inform us that, for various reasons, more than fifty per cent. of children born in town locations fail to survive the first two years of life. Although it is not possible to rely upon the

statistics of Native births and deaths in South African town locations, it is nevertheless obvious, even to a casual observer of the squalid conditions under which Native people in urban areas too often have to live, that the chances of survival, or good health after survival, are adverse. As regards health, then, the country village child is more favourably placed than the town bred one.

2.—*Apparel*.—The child, on first going to school, is, as a rule, insufficiently clad, so far as the winter season is concerned. In summer the climate is so genial that the question of clothing does not arise. But in winter the weather is treacherous in the mornings, even on sunny days, and on cloudy days it is as cold as Southern Europe. The children once inured to scanty clothing seem able to endure all the vagaries of the weather. One sees them not unduly uncomfortable even when playing bare-footed on snow and clad in single garments during a blizzard. In the matter of apparel, the country child is at a distinct disadvantage, while the town bred one has, during recent years, greatly benefited from the introduction of shoddy clothing stores and bazaars, and cheap Japanese articles.

3. *Food*.—The African child is by no means fed according to a routine approved by domestic science. The food of a rural home revolves around porridge, maize, curdled milk, bread, beans and pumpkins—truly body-building ingredients, even if limited in variety. These are spasmodically supplemented away from home by wild fruits and many species of herbs. Only the other day my seven-year-old daughter refused her lunch because on her mile walk back from school she had filled herself with the field berries we call *umsobosobo*, which flourish during the autumn season. The town child subsists from infancy mainly on carbohydrates, like bread, maize, rice with coffee and tea, and lacks the supplementary herbs that are enjoyed by the rural child. In towns everything depends on the earning power of the parents. Labourers' earnings average £32 per annum, and those of teachers, clerks and clergymen range between £40 and £90, the average family being five children. The type of food consumed by the little ones varies accordingly and is, on the whole, below minimal needs. Therefore the country child has a substantial advantage, notwithstanding the smaller money income of his parents.

4. *Pre-school Education*.—The teaching of the three R's by parents, both before and after starting school, is practically unknown in African families. Nevertheless every Bantu child on going to school for the first time has already received a home training, at the hands of its parents, that forms a useful preliminary equipment to enable it to benefit by further school training. Its home environment, too, contributes a great deal in the same direction, although one cannot do justice to that aspect of the subject in this brief review. Unlike the European child, he does not enjoy the facilities of elaborate mechanical nursery toys that start a Western youngster's education in the handling of machinery, such as miniature railroads, pianos, gramophones or mimic automobiles. He lacks the opportunity of attending a theatrical matinee, a cinematograph, a circus, a fair, a "merry-go-round," a Scouting parade for "tenderfoot" drilling, sight-seeing trips to zoological gardens, shop-gazing, and does not behold educative pictures on the walls of his father's house. To compensate him for this want, he has his corresponding lines of home training, namely, a thorough acquaintance with out-of-door sights of Mother Nature, games organised by his fellows, the learning of fables and folk traditions from his grandmothers at

evening time; a systematised training in attitudes and behaviour towards all elders and superiors—an education well worth copying, even by Western civilisation, for it indelibly impresses correct manners. The African child has no picture books nor kindred literature to habituate him into the reading of books before starting school, for the mere handling of books of pictures is admittedly an education; but he secures that which European children generally miss: close first-hand familiarity with wild animals, wild trees, wild edible roots; bird trapping with its attendant knowledge of the habits of birds; swimming in ponds and streams, riding on goats and calves with the consequent agility in horsemanship; and elementary knowledge in counting, gained from counting the number of cattle and sheep as they return to the fold at the end of the day. On the contrary, the town-bred child is at an advantage over the rural because he largely shares the benefits enjoyed by white children in towns, but correspondingly loses the rustic lessons of correct attitudes and respectful manners towards elders and superiors.

5. *Language*.—In our Reserves the African child knows only his vernacular tongue, but in many rural areas, on European farms or on Native-owned farms contiguous to White settlements he knows, in addition, English or Afrikaans, the name given to the Dutch language used in South Africa. The town child invariably knows two languages, his mother tongue and Afrikaans or English, whilst in and around Kimberley, Bloemfontein and Johannesburg, where the four Bantu races converge, he is often at home in six languages (English, Afrikaans, Sotho, Zulu, Xhosa, and Tswana) before he first goes to school. In these cases the Bantu child has a clear advantage over the European in his initial capacity for learning languages. Even the rural child with his one home language shows a readiness to acquire English or Afrikaans far superior to his White coeval; and because of this well-known fact it seems to me unreasonable to confine him, as many of our White rulers insist on doing, to the medium of his mother tongue for more than a year after starting school. He comes to school with an initial capacity for languages above that of the White child.

6. *Music*.—The child comes to school with a strong tendency towards singing and harmonising, gained from the musical habits of his parents. He is born in an environment where all people sing heartily during their work in the fields and all other manual labour. The Zulu men in Durban and Maritzburg sing beautifully when loading or off-loading packages from wagon trollies at the business stores. They will not ply their spades or pick-axes when digging up or levelling the macadamised roads unless they first appoint a chorus leader who will improvise a tune with a refrain, in which all spontaneously join, with appropriate words, often with sarcasm at the expense of the White employer whose tedious tasks are never finished. In the African nursery music never ends. Thus the four and five-year-olds, who have to nurse infants for their mothers, learn singing at a very early age. At the age of two years one of my daughters could sing six tunes correctly, a thing that is not usual, I am told, among White children. Many concerted games for children depend upon music. Therefore the African child comes to school with a valuable foundation for musical education.

7. *Handwork*.—Clay modelling is a regular vocation among the Sotho (Basuto) races, who produce elegant earthenware. All Bantu children are taught from a very early age to handle mud and clay and fashion it into imitation horses and cattle. The Tswana (Bechuana) races are adepts in wood-carving, and they teach their children the art

of modelling. The African child thus comes to school armed with a strong bias for handwork, ready to be guided into artistic work.

8. *Responsibility*.—The child of three or four years runs many errands, entailing a sense of responsibility. It is sent to its elders working in the fields, taking meals and messages without spilling or losing the food. It is taught to carry out specific daily duties which must be remembered without aid. Whenever it is given a present, it must seek its mates and share it with them, and this habit inculcates a spirit of liberality and eliminates all selfishness. The sense of responsibility is trained to the full before school is begun.

9. *Mental Ability*.—The child is taught to distinguish the colours of cattle by means of the copious vocabulary, especially in Sotho, wherein there are separate words to distinguish, say, a black cow with a white streak on its forehead from one with a number of such streaks over its body, or red cattle with a black spot, or a number of such spots; trees of various colours; herbs that are poisonous or edible—*amagontsi*, *inqoba*, *isipingo*, *umsobosobo*, *irabe*, *utyutu*, *moroho*, *itswele lomlambo* (that drives off snakes), the nettle that stings or does not sting; the grasses woven into strings or ropes; the stakes used for making enclosures; the drawing of diagrams on sand to illustrate huts and cattle enclosures; the trees that yield edible gums, and so forth. All these things have to be identified by specific names. This develops the powers of observation and distinguishing things to a nicety, and leads to the power of adventure and spontaneous action. All this constitutes a valuable equipment for anybody starting school life.

2. THE INFLUENCE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

What has the school made of this African child whom Mr. Jabavu presented at the school door?

MR. G. H. WELSH gave an account of what the primary school had done in the Union of South Africa in his paper, "The Influence of Primary Education on Native Life". He anticipated criticisms by stating them, prefacing the statement with the reminder that no European State in Africa had accepted full responsibility for the compulsory education of all its African children, and that any consideration of the results of education must not overlook this fact. This largely accounted not only for the poverty-stricken condition of Native education in Africa generally but also partly for the fact that only a minority of African children were to be found in school in any African territory, and that, consequently, the influence of the school upon African life was greatly restricted.

Criticisms of Native education, quoted by Mr. Welsh, are directed against—

- (1) Unintelligent teaching and parrot instruction.
- (2) The unfavourable effects of "mission education" upon the character of the Native: it "puffed him up"; made him disinclined for manual labour; rendered him selfish and egotistical; undermined clan restraints; made him an easy victim for agitators; vastly increased his power to do evil; and generally undermined his character.
- (3) Education had failed to remove belief in magic.

- (4) It was divorced from the environment, provided too much book learning, but too little social education, viz., health training, home activities, recreation, and agricultural and handcraft work.
- (5) The orientation was wrong, based upon the assumption that the Native must rise on the shoulders of the White man and in a non-Native environment. Natives were being educated for participation in an economic and social life from which they were barred.
- (6) No leadership was being developed, except for a small minority.
- (7) The product of the school developed alien interests and was unfavourable to the cultural advance of his own people.
- (8) The school had broken down the old tribal structure.
- (9) The educational system was an alien importation, which concentrated its attention on a few, tended towards detribalisation, and created in the African a contempt for his vernacular, for his own culture and for his life-forms.

In reply to this formidable indictment Mr. Welsh marshalled the following points:—

1. The curriculum (in the Cape Province of the Union) provided for instruction in two languages—the vernacular and a European language; arithmetic; history and geography, including nature study; hygiene; music; physical exercises and games; and manual work (comprising Native handicrafts and needlework and simple housecraft for girls, and gardening and elementary agriculture for boys). Languages and arithmetic took half the time, manual training about one-fifth, and religious instruction from one-to-two-and-a-half hours a week. As to the contention that the curriculum was too literary, critics forgot that only a hundred years ago reading and writing were looked upon as marvellous attainments by our own ancestors. The magnitude of the task of promoting literacy amongst the Bantu was greatly underestimated, credit seldom being given for the remarkable success attained in teaching the school Native to read and write not only his own language, but in addition a second and completely foreign language. The percentage of Bantu literacy had risen from 7·10 in 1904 to 12·51 in 1921, and it had since increased at a more rapid rate.

2. The charge that Native education was ineffective in influencing Native life, in eradicating superstition, in improving the conditions of the Native home and in promoting better methods of agriculture had to be considered in the light of the following facts:—In 1931, of an estimated school-age Native population of 450,000 in the Cape Province, 142,000, or 31 per cent., were actually in attendance at school. Official records indicated that the Native child who did come to school remained there for an average of 2·6 years, and that only 5 per cent. of pupils who enrolled in the first year of the elementary course ever reached the end of that course. Thus, out of every hundred Natives in the Province sixty-nine had never been to school, thirty-one had attended school for an average period of two and a half years, and only one or two had finished the course. The Cape Province figures, it was to be noted, were amongst the most favourable in South and East Africa. It was not therefore surprising that the influence of the school had been comparatively slight. Critics were apt to forget the pitifully unhygienic conditions of thousands of poverty-stricken homes in Europe, the indifferent methods of so many of our own European agriculturists—that

most conservative class—and the many fortune-tellers and other parasites who batten on the ignorance and superstitions of our own modern civilisation.

Considering the limitations of the educational force applied, the school had brought about remarkable changes in Native life. Over a period of thirty years, the Native Reserves had shown profound changes; better houses, greater personal cleanliness, more varied food, improved health habits and agricultural methods. For these improvements the schools and the teachers were largely responsible.

Undoubtedly the influence of education should be more widely extended, not only by increasing the number of schools and pupils, but also by enlarging the scope of educational effort beyond the four walls of the school. All this was desirable, provided it were done at a pace that would allow the people time to make the necessary adjustments. But would the State and the public be prepared to assume the financial responsibility involved? Criticisms which failed to take account of all the factors—including the financial implications—were of little value.

3. Replying to the criticism that education made the Native disinclined for manual labour, and prepared him for an economic life from which he was barred, Mr. Welsh pointed out that in the Reserves there was insufficient land for all, thousands having no land at all for agricultural purposes, and very few having sufficient to wring a bare subsistence from the soil. Again, there was little demand for the services of the trained craftsman. On the European farms the conditions of employment and the wages offered did not satisfy the "raw" Native, much less the Native who had had some schooling. In urban areas, the Native skilled or semi-skilled craftsman—and to become such even a Native had to have four or five years of post-primary specialised training—found life full of pit-falls, because of his colour; for the unskilled labourer wages were very low, and, in underground work on the mines, no difference was made between the wages of the "Red" from the wilds of Pondoland and those of a civilised, well-spoken Standard VI youth. In these circumstances it was not surprising that the Native with ability to read and write and some knowledge of English and of figures should experience difficulty in finding a satisfactory place for himself. And yet the Native was convinced that this knowledge was a life-line which one day might enable him to escape from the ranks of the unskilled, raw labourers and to establish himself in more congenial employment at better rates of pay.

What educator with knowledge of all the economic circumstances of Native life would condemn this view, or revolutionise the whole educational programme on the strength of some new prophecy of the Native's economic future in some dreamland of adequate reserves?

4. Turning now to the cultural effects of education. It was no doubt true that our education tended to cause the Native to depreciate his own culture, and every effort should be made to instil a different spirit. But was a distinctively Bantu culture in an Africa under White control anything more than a beautiful dream? When we considered the impact of the White man's religion which condemned polygamy, circumcision rites, the *lobolo* and a hundred other customs, and which taught the doctrine of the personal responsibility of each individual to an all-powerful God; the effect of the trader with his hundred and one new toys for personal adornment, amusement and home comfort, with his thirst for gain at the expense of his neighbours and his eager

pursuit of and pride in the accumulation of wealth ; the influence of the administrator, " the eye of the Government," with his amazing ideas of justice, his most unpleasant demands for regular taxes, and for a will-o'-the-wisp something called progress, involving continued effort in the building of roads, the dipping of cattle, and the destruction of trifling and quite friendly things like lice, flies and mosquitoes ; the impact of the teacher with his mysterious " talking papers " and his insistence on the White man's a's, z's, p's and q's, and that thing called English—the open sesame to new realms of experience and gain—must not the total effect of all these forces upon the primitive tribesman be to shatter the whole structure of Bantu tribalism ? For good or for ill, the Bantu had eaten of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of Western good and evil ; and nothing short of the disappearance of the White man from the African scene could, Mr. Welsh contended, prevent their ultimately being absorbed into the broad stream of so-called Western civilisation. The fact that during the transition period the Native often showed highly unattractive qualities and an excess of zeal in displaying his newly-and only half-acquired Western modes of thought, action and life should not blind us to the inevitability of the process. Our educational policy must be framed accordingly.

3. YOUTH AT THE TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE

MR. J. H. BOWES, in his paper on " The Influence of Training Institutions on Natives," gave a picture of the Native pupil, who, having passed through the elementary school, presents himself at the teacher training institution.

" Many of our students have their first real contact with Europeans when they come to the Institution. They are nervous and awed, and do not do themselves justice. Their own language is Xhosa, yet it is a standard in English that is required of them. Though they have for years been taught through the medium of English, their Native teachers have supplemented this by using a considerable amount of Xhosa. They have been accustomed, too, to the Native teachers' pronunciation and vocabulary, and cannot always follow the English employed by the European teacher. In addition to this, their mental disturbance, when removed from their home surroundings and plunged into an institution where everything—even the conditions under which they eat and sleep—is new to them, is far greater than that of a European boy sent to a boarding school for the first time. It is our practice, therefore, to form no definite estimate of the mental capacity of a student until he has been with us for six months. In my experience, the average first year student during the first few months of his institutional life is nervous, apprehensive, and not a little suspicious of his European teachers. He does not find it easy to regulate his life in accordance with institutional rules. His movements are restricted as never before. He is expected to answer promptly the call of the Institution's bell. He has not the same idea as the European of the meaning of punctuality, partly because his primary school teachers have not, and partly because hitherto the sun has been his clock. He does not quite realise that traditional sanitary habits, which have little menace in a widely scattered community, cannot be continued in a crowded institution. The teacher without experience of Natives, or who is not a particularly good judge of character, will often think him disrespectful or disobedient, when the trouble is that he does not quite know what is expected of him. Self-restraint has not been

one of his virtues ; and only fear of a beating, should he make a nuisance of himself, has caused him to put any curb upon his inclinations. Now he has to modify his manners, and restrain his desires, so that the wheels of the community may run smoothly. He has to sleep in a crowd, probably for the first time in a bed. It is little wonder, therefore, that he appears to the unsympathetic eye as rough and uncouth. Yet many of the Natives have instinctively good manners, and respond to courteous treatment with an equal courtesy. The student's previous reading has been limited entirely to his text books. He knows only his own location and a few miles round it. Even the most experienced of European teachers in training schools forget the limited background possessed by their scholars, and talk glibly of ships and the sea, of streets and lamp-posts, of tramways, theatres and telephones, only to find that they have no meaning for their pupils. Even if they have come across them in their reading books, little attempt has been made in the primary school to give the children a real concept of such things. *The children think that such things belong to school learning, but have no place in real life.* In teaching the shape of the earth, for example, the Native teacher will make his scholars learn mechanically the proofs of the earth's roundness till they can recite them glibly ; but, as he makes no use of visual demonstration or experiment, they consider these proofs as belonging purely to the realm of *school* and remain convinced that *in fact* the world is flat. As a result, our new students are avid for notes, and want to rely on a verbal memory."

"Few of the boys who come to us have a high standard of veracity. Most of them will lie to avoid punishment. A curious fact is that, if a teacher punishes a student for a fault of which he is guilty and of which the student knows himself that he is guilty, the student will harbour resentment, under a feeling of unjust treatment, unless he is first of all allowed his say. The standard of truthfulness is, however, improving, and it is no uncommon thing for a student to acknowledge a fault at once, even if he knows it will be difficult for the teacher to establish his guilt. A public feeling in favour of truthfulness at all costs is being aroused. Tale-bearing is not a weakness, and it is a very mean sort of Native who will give away another, unless under direct questioning."

Belief in witchcraft has weakened considerably, not a little due to the action of witchdoctors in keeping out of the way during the Influenza Epidemic in 1918. Among the boys coming to the Institution, superstition of this kind is nothing like what it used to be. At one time the girls of the practising school used to give way to hysteria—attributed to bewitchment by some lover. This has practically disappeared and the fact is explained by students "because education is having an enlightening effect and is driving such nonsense out of their heads".

Mr. Bowes then described the nature of the teacher training course, and how efforts are made to overcome the tendency to memorise rather than understand the instruction ; to make the instruction more real by the use of actual objects, by bringing into the classroom persons who can give, from personal experience, "corroborative detail" of places and things. Great emphasis is laid on preparation for the kind of life the students will lead when they begin teaching and for overcoming personal and professional difficulties.

Replying to criticisms of Native education, Mr. Bowes quoted from departmental and other memoranda showing what efforts had been made to make education in the schools more vital, and pointed out that Native bodies like the Transkeian General Council ask only for more education.

4. RESULTS OF AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

MR. G. PAPP, in his paper on "The Agricultural and Industrial Education of the Natives of the Union of South Africa", drew attention to the fact that it was the missionaries who, as far back as 1836, introduced the plough to the Bantu and that this not only changed Native agricultural methods but also introduced two far-reaching reforms, (1) the men were brought to the side of the women in agricultural work, and (2) it acted as a check on polygamy. The missionaries have been keen to train the Natives in agriculture, but they have had neither a conscious agricultural policy, nor a systematic organisation for the purpose. Besides, the Natives did not want it: they preferred scholastic training. It was not until 1913 that systematic agricultural development and training were initiated, under the auspices of the Transkeian Territories General Council (the Bhunga). Now, the Union Department of Native Affairs has an energetic section devoted to Native agricultural development. Both the Bhunga and the Native Affairs Department aim at adult education in agriculture, and this is achieved largely by training and employing Bantu young men as agricultural demonstrators, who secure the right from Native farmers in their areas to use certain plots of about two acres to demonstrate progressive agricultural methods. They also assist in the improvement of cattle, seed and water supplies.

The primary school cannot do more than stimulate in the child interest in agriculture and initiate him into simple intelligent methods; agricultural training is possible only with adolescent and adult groups.

This is true also of industrial training. But here the situation is far more difficult, for the industrial training of Natives brings education into difficult waters, where the interests of White and Black clash.

Industrial training was begun about the middle of the nineteenth century in response to the complaints of Government officials and the public generally that Native education was too bookish. The missions set about providing training in the White man's industries, neglecting the indigenous crafts in clay, grass and skin.

The missions had three aims: (a) improvement of Native life; (b) equipment of pupils as trained workers; (c) development of industries useful to the missions. The first aim, in so far as rural areas are concerned, has only been realised to a limited extent. There is little money in the Reserves, there is little division of labour, most men building their own huts and doing their own repairs. The industries have been too advanced for the way of life in the Reserves. The second aim has been more successfully attained in the towns, but there the Native craftsman has had to face the increasing competition of the White craftsman, whom the Native customer, particular of taste as he is, prefers, because the White man's work is better, it is more quickly and more reliably done. The White craftsman is financially stronger, too. The Native craftsman only succeeds when he undertakes the same work for less pay, in which case the customer is content with poorer work. And now organised White labour calls for protection. Is there any way of protecting the Native craftsman by reserving to him those industries which serve solely the needs of the Bantu population?

The case of the girls is even more unsatisfactory. The "industrial" course provides domestic training on a level with an English middle-class household. It satisfies the desire for refinement of the better-to-do Native girls, who do not wish to enter domestic service, but hope to marry educated Natives—ministers, teachers, doctors, clerks. It also

serves as good preparatory training for probationer nurses. Mission-trained girls are not popular in domestic service.

Spinning, weaving and knitting courses aim at giving the girls a useful home supplementary occupation; but it is not yet organised as a home industry. The girls wish to become teachers of their subject, while the aim of the training is to make them practical workers.

Altogether, the position of industrial training is unsatisfactory. Many think it should be discontinued as useless. They forget that, besides agriculture, handicrafts developing into industries are important means of social and economic development in any ethnic group. The teaching of handicrafts must be continued, to be the link between the old Native handwork and the new industrial organisation which must eventually come for the Bantu.

But there is a real need for a rural development policy which would aim at using the raw materials of the Reserves—clay for building and pottery; skins for karosses; grasses, wool, goat hair and other fibres for baskets, mats, carpets, blankets—to be worked up for the Natives' own use, and, as their skill improves, for sale by them. The Tigerkloof Institution has made a beginning, which, as in the case of agriculture, may prove to be the herald of a sound rural development policy, aiming at the creation of a healthy, thrifty, and industrious small-holder class.

5. THE INFLUENCE OF SECONDARY AND ACADEMIC EDUCATION

MR. JAMES CHALMERS, in a paper on "The General Results of the Spread of Higher Education," said that there is a general forward movement in favour of education among even the most backward section of the Bantu, due in no small measure to the effect on the males from the Reserves of working on the gold mines. Quite one-sixth of the population at any one time is at work in the mining areas. Large numbers of men and women also spend some portion of their lives in European employ.

The first effect of the presence of educated men on the mind and life of the community is to stimulate parents to give their children the chance of a good education, and to create ambition in the hearts of the children themselves. One result of this is the presence in secondary schools of a considerable number of pupils who are not fit to complete the high school course. Consequently, the sifting process is a severe one, and not more than 60 per cent. complete the Junior Certificate Course (Standard VIII), and of these not more than 70 per cent. complete the matriculation course. Nevertheless, the number in the Cape Province who pass these examinations has grown considerably. In 1913 five passed the Junior Certificate examination, in 1933 there were a hundred and thirty-six. In 1913 one passed the Senior Certificate, in 1933 there were forty-one. No Native received a University degree in 1913, but seven did so in 1933.

The demand for higher education is severely restricted by economic considerations. High school education is only obtainable at a few institutions, at a cost too high for the resources of the average Native father. Only a small portion of the cost of secondary education is met by the State, the rest is made up out of fees. The majority of the pupils in secondary schools are the children of parents who have themselves had a teacher's training or equivalent and whose homes have been influenced by their education. These pupils are much broader and more

liberal in their outlook than those of twenty or twenty-five years ago. The contrast between these pupils and the children who come from homes where the parents have had little or no education is very striking. The latter are much slower and more reluctant to accept new ideas or to part with views based on superstition or tribal practice.

Generally speaking, the Native pupil reacts most quickly to linguistic courses, and least easily to courses on the mathematical or scientific side, in which it is difficult to create interest; they seem too remote from the African's everyday life and experience. Even biology, where one would expect interest, fails to retain the interest as soon as accurate observation and exact judgment are called for. There are certain directions in which the pupil shows keen powers of observation, but others where his interest has never been aroused. The teacher needs to be alert to this fact. One often hears it said that the Native has a very legal and logical mind, and that he can weigh up evidence well and come to a right judgment. This may be true when he is dealing with circumstances and facts familiar to him through tradition or his own experience, but often one has presented to pupils scientific data, to find that the conclusion which a European boy would reach is unnatural and strange to the Native. But when there is care and patience in the teaching and when the pupil has an adequate foundation of knowledge and training, the progress and development of mind and personality are remarkable.

The average age of pupils in secondary schools has fallen in recent years. In place of the elderly and earnest stalwarts, we now have young boys, full of fun and mischief, who need more urging and more frequent discipline; but they are receptive and ready to accept new ideas.

There is less wastage in the university stage, as the unfit are eliminated in earlier years. At the end of his course, the university student has a much wider outlook and new cultural interests. He talks with clearness of thought, and has a dignity which, while differing in kind from the old natural dignity of the Chief, has the same quiet effect on those who come into contact with him. He shows quite a gift for philosophy and, in most cases, the weakness on the science and mathematical side is not so evident, suggesting that notions once foreign to him have become familiar enough to use freely.

What happens after the university? Now and again one finds a man who has failed to complete his academic course showing signs of retrogression; but Mr. Chalmers had known of no single case of a student who has completed his course who had not made good. When one looks at the kind of life they lead—doctors, teachers, chiefs, clerks, officials, clergymen—one sees that they live much fuller lives, their homes are comfortable and cultured, their children are cared for and guarded, their wives lifted to their proper place. This is really a new class in society, very small as yet, but growing in influence and power. The Native clergyman has hitherto lagged behind the others, but in more recent years the theological students have been better educated, and they are able to stand alongside the other students and to become more worthy and helpful ministers. The broader the foundation, the more advanced the training, the better and more useful the man will become.

One cannot help noticing how the attractiveness of the well-educated man increases. There is an interest about his personality that one does not see in the poorly equipped man. It may be, due to the greater sympathy of thought, a oneness of purpose with us, that we understand better, and are better understood by him; but the result is a fineness of moral tone that comes nearer our ideals. The man of real

culture is not estranged from the life of his people ; he is the pattern and example to which parents point for their children to copy. He is the hero, and many will follow where he leads.

6. THE USE MADE OF EDUCATION

The REV. A. J. HAILE's paper on "The Use Made by Natives of their Education in Later Life" embodied the results of several careful investigations which involved the following up of the after-school or after-college history of past pupils of institutions in different parts of the Union of South Africa. It should, however, be noted that the selective element entered into these investigations, inasmuch as the records are those of Africans who have followed some kind or other of vocational training beyond the primary school (*i.e.*, in most instances after Standard VI). Nevertheless, the records give valuable and essential information on the subject.

The first investigation quoted was that carried out in 1918 by the Rev. A. E. le Roy, of the Amanzimtoti Native Institution, Natal. This investigation covered 353 pupils of the institution who had left between 1912 and 1916, having passed Standard V or higher. He was able to say that 90 per cent. were making good, 37 per cent. were working in various capacities for white men, and since very few were idle or unemployed, the vast majority were working for or among their own people and for their uplift, mostly as teachers.

Mr. le Roy followed another line of investigation. He visited the employers of his old pupils in Durban, Maritzburg, Johannesburg and Pretoria, where they were employed as clerks and office boys, store and shop-boys, policemen, interpreters and assistants to craftsmen. 185 cases were investigated and the employers reported none as worthless, 7 poor, 14 fair, 80 good, 56 very good, 28 excellent.

In 1931, Mr. Haile himself undertook an investigation of the records of past pupils in the industrial departments of his own institution—the Tigerkloof Institution, British Bechuanaland—from 1904 to the end of 1930. They included masons, carpenters, tailors, tanners, leather workers. Out of the 234 who had completed their courses, 30 were known to have died and 204 to be living. Of the latter number 124 (or 60·8%) were working at their trades—105 on their own account or with other Natives and 19 for Europeans or Malays or Indians ; 30 (14·7%) were doing other work, *e.g.* assisting in stores ; 20 (9·8%) were "doing nothing" ; 30 (14·7%) could not be traced. Thus 51·5% of the trained artisans were working amongst their own race, and only 9·3% were working at their trades for non-Natives.

In 1933-4, Canon Woodfield, Principal of the Diocesan Training College, Pietersburg, Transvaal, examined the records of 144 teachers trained at his institution since 1922. He found 122 were engaged as teachers, 10 were married women and the remainder, except 2, were doing well in other spheres, chiefly as ministers or pursuing academic courses at the South African Native College, Fort Hare.

An enquiry into the records of the South African Native College in 1934 showed that, between 1916 and 1933, 423 students passed through the College. Of these, 9 could not be traced, 10 were unemployed, 139 are teachers, 106 ministers of religion, 57 secretaries and clerks, 22 agricultural demonstrators.

An examination of the record of the 263 members of the Bantu Men's Social Centre, Johannesburg, (a social and recreational institution)

provided the following list of occupations :—teachers 37, ministers 3, doctors 2, clerks 26, editors of newspapers 3, printers 4, carpenters 3, motor drivers 7, mechanics 6, business men 4, municipal sports organisers 6, police 4, supervisors of schools 4, commercial travellers 5, indunas 2, hospital orderlies 3, chiefs 2, interpreters 2, barber 1, shop assistant 1, cooks 5, domestic servants 3, labourers 88, criminal investigation detectives 3, juniors (boys under 18) 33, unemployed 6. Few of the labourers would have an educational standard as high as VI.

No special study was made of the after-careers of girls, but the great majority marry and maintain clean, respectable homes, and a number are now entering the nursing profession.

The government scheme for employing trained medical aids offers a new avenue of employment for African young men, and the Bechuana-land Protectorate Administration is employing a squad of trained masons and carpenters under a European foreman to erect public buildings in that territory.

As several papers emphasised, the quantitative aspect of Native education is mainly dependent upon the readiness or otherwise of the European-controlled State to spend money on Native education, and the inadequacy of the financial resources is a constant hindrance to possible qualitative developments. There is a sharp conflict, made manifest in the discussions at the Conference, between two views on the educational policy which should be followed in the circumstances. One speaker expressed the view that "the educated Natives are far more necessary and important to the advancement of the population than any other section. Train them so that they may be able to fight for their own people. Besides, the educated Natives teach the Europeans to appreciate the capabilities of the African race". The other view was that the most urgent need is for the spreading of the educational net over the whole population to ensure the clearance of "the cultural slums" of the Reserves through the education of the masses. "This is more urgent and important than the educational advancement of the few." Both views could be satisfied if the funds were available.

The correlation of vocational training with economic opportunity was another problem which baffled the Conference. In the Union, the position of the African with trade training obtained at an educational institution is beset with difficulties. The closer organisation of industry has made it a monopoly of the White worker, by requiring apprenticeship in addition to classroom instruction for entry to the skilled trades. The African cannot get apprenticeship because he is an African; he cannot become a recognised skilled craftsman because he cannot get apprenticeship; and he cannot get employment because he is not recognised as a skilled craftsman—a truly vicious circle out of which, for the moment at any rate, he can find no way. The mechanisation of industry, and the eventual disappearance of apprenticeship in consequence, may open the way—but not yet. Meanwhile, the institution-trained craftsman finds a living hard to get. The undifferentiated society of the Reserve has little to offer him, especially as he has no capital on which to build up any manufacturing business, and in the towns industrial legislation circumscribes his opportunities, and the Native public's preference for European made goods is difficult to overcome.

In these circumstances the more general the education the more sure the African is to earn a livelihood and to rise above the level of the unskilled labourer, and most members of the Conference seemed to have no doubt that the African values the education he receives.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE EDUCABILITY OF THE BANTU

This subject proved to be the most controversial of the African Education Section. The view that there are innate qualitative differences between the mental endowment of the European and that of the Bantu, had found little or no expression in the earlier discussions. The issue now raised was: What is the innate educable capacity of the Bantu child? It had been dealt with in the opening symposium of the Johannesburg meeting by Professor R. F. Alfred Hoernlé, and that portion of his address is placed here because it did, in fact, provide a sort of introduction to the discussion on this subject, and also because it refers to tests which can be compared with those described by Dr. Fick.

PROFESSOR R. F. ALFRED HOERNLÉ said: Before we can profitably discuss Native "mind" or Native "mentality", especially in comparison with "White" (or "European") mind and mentality, we must guard ourselves against a possible misunderstanding.

The way in which the mind of an individual works is a function of two variables, viz., his inborn mental endowment, and the patterns into which that endowment has been moulded by the influences, social and cultural, to which the individual has been exposed.

Any question, therefore, concerning the mind or mentality of an individual may refer either to his innate equipment of mental qualities or to the way in which he has been trained to use that equipment in the context of a certain culture. What is sometimes called the "mind" (or more commonly, the "soul") of a people or a race is mind moulded by culture, mind expressing culture, mind working according to acquired culture patterns. The Bantu mind, in this sense, means Bantu culture: Bantu religion, law and government, medicine and witchcraft, social organisation—the whole system of beliefs and valuations underlying, and expressing itself in, the behaviour of an individual-as-a-member-of-his-group.

That the mind of the Bantu individual (*Muntu*) is "educable" is proved by the way it "takes" the education provided by Bantu culture. The question of its educability, therefore, refers rather to the situation created by European conquest and over-lordship: Is the Native 'educable' in the sense that he can respond to, and make his own, the training and learning offered to him in schools of the White type? In general, is he educable in the sense that he can successfully assimilate European culture?

There are those who would answer this question with an emphatic "No".

But, again, the meaning of this negative answer may be ambiguous and we must distinguish. By "No" may be meant that there is a fundamental difference in innate mental endowment, such that European schooling and culture are intrinsically unsuited to inborn Bantu mentality. On the other hand, the "No" may be based on the view that the intrusion of European ways of thought and standards of life, of

European religion and science, into Bantu culture, is the intrusion of an *alien* culture, inassimilable by minds already indelibly dyed with their own culture.

Perhaps a third view should be added, viz., that, whilst the assimilation of alien culture elements by the Bantu is possible—is, indeed, taking place on a very large scale—the consequent disintegration of Bantu culture is wholly regrettable and disastrous.

Thus, the first two views agree in denying Bantu educability, in the sense here relevant, but do so on different grounds: the first, on biological grounds (or grounds of “race psychology”); the second on grounds of culture conflict. The third view admits educability in the sense defined, but holds that it is wrong actually to educate the Bantu according to European standards. It opposes the “Europeanisation” of the Natives, lest, becoming “civilised”, they should learn to claim “equal rights for all civilised men”. As this argument belongs to South African politics rather than to the science of education, I shall not discuss it further here.

As regards the argument from culture conflict, I am far from denying the many difficulties which arise from this source, especially when children, in mission or other schools, come under the influence of an alien culture by which the parents are themselves less touched, or to which they may be even hostile. The resulting conflicts of loyalty in the child's life may be very tragic; and no less tragic is the fate of the individual who ends by being fully at home in neither culture and an outcast from both cultural groups.

But, in the present context, I shall confine myself to the question whether there is any adequate evidence to show that the Bantu, *i.e.* Bantu children, are by innate mental endowment not educable in schools and institutions of the European type, conveying European culture; or, at any rate, that their educability is so greatly inferior to that of White children that it is a mistake to provide for them the same curriculum.

To the best of my judgment, no convincing evidence has so far been produced that the minds of Bantu and Whites differ essentially in congenital endowment. That there are differences, in some respects great differences, in the ways in which Bantu minds and European minds work, I admit. But I hold that these differences are due—mainly, if not altogether—to the influence of different cultures. They are not differences of innate mental equipment, but they are divergent developments of the same type of innate mentality under the pressure of unlike conditions. There is, on present evidence as I see it, no deep-going difference of *kind* of innate mentality, though there may be a slight difference of *degree*.

For example, it is often asserted that primitive man is born with keener senses than civilised man, and the Bushman's skill in tracking game is quoted in support. But the truth is simply that the Bushmen have learnt to use their senses more efficiently than we do, because their lives depend on it and ours do not. There are plenty of instances of Europeans who, by practice, have acquired the same power to discriminate and interpret small visual or tactual indications. So, again, it is true that non-civilised peoples give their minds more to the sensuous detail of the present moment; that their memories are more vivid with detailed imagery; that they use abstract thinking less than educated Europeans do. In the *milieu* of their own culture their thinking is more emotion-charged and emotion-determined, especially in dealing with natural phenomena, than is the thinking of a European who has been

taught to investigate natural phenomena with scientific objectivity and dispassionateness. But, even if, with M. Lévy-Bruhl, we distinguish the "alogical," or "prelogical," mentality of the primitive from our own "logical" and "scientific" mentality, we shall be committing a grievous mistake if we interpret this fact as implying that this is a *congenital*, or *racial* difference. It is rather a difference of *culture milieu*. That the latter is the true explanation is, surely, shown by the occurrence of "primitive" thought-forms among our own children, and among uneducated European adults. It is enough to remind oneself of the prevalence of the belief in witchcraft even in the most highly educated circles of European society, before scientific thought-patterns became predominant. Where Bantu thought-processes differ from ours in *kind*, it is due to their culture differing from ours.

No one can read the accounts of observers who, at first hand and from intimate contact and insight, have studied the working of the Bantu mind, e.g. Peter Nielsen in his *The Black Man's Place in South Africa*, or the Rev. Father Fraessle in his *Negerpsyche*, without realising that, when due allowance is made for the influences of social moulding, the innate endowments, the natural processes, of the mind of Bantu and European differ in kind not at all.

An education Conference will forgive me for adding that the results of such few intelligence tests as have so far been applied both to Bantu and Whites, in the effort to determine their respective intelligences, do not contradict, but confirm, this conclusion in principle. What seems to be the best and most trustworthy investigation of this kind, reported in the literature, is that made by R. A. C. Oliver, M.A., B.Ed., on White boys in the Prince of Wales School, Kabete, and Native youths in the Alliance High School, Kikuyu. His findings are published in the *East African Medical Journal* for September and October, 1932. Mr. Oliver shows himself keenly alive to the difficulties of such testing. An intelligence test seeks to measure "innate educable capacity," also called "general intelligence." But it is obvious that this cannot be measured directly, detached from what has already been learned. In other words, the test is applied to minds which have already undergone a lot of "education," both by way of general experience and by way of explicit instruction. In so far as both experience and instruction are already moulded and pervaded by the culture of the group, there is at once, in testing individuals belonging to two groups with different cultures, the difficulty of designing tests which in their content, or material, shall be fair to both groups. There is the further difficulty of making sure that the population samples which one is testing are fairly comparable. Mr. Oliver thinks that, in his tests, he has to a considerable extent guarded himself against both these sources of error: he does not claim to have avoided them completely. What he finds is that the average score of his Bantu youths compares with the average score of his European boys as 85 to 100—a difference which he rightly interprets as being, not one of kind, but merely one of degree, equivalent to being a little more quick-witted and a little more dull-witted. The best Bantu surpassed the average of the Whites; the worst Whites were below the average of the Bantu. And in each group, the difference between the highest and the lowest in that group was much larger than the difference between the average of the two groups. In other words, the two groups largely overlapped, and there was revealed no such inferiority of the Bantu as would justify the conclusion that they are congenitally unfit to acquire, or carry on Western civilisation.

This conclusion, if correct, is obviously of far-reaching, practical and educational importance. It implies :

(a) that no inborn deficiency of intelligence debars the Bantu as a "race" from making Western civilisation their own, so far as they may want, or be compelled by us, to do so. Indeed, anyone familiar with educated Bantu here in South Africa knows that these men, at any rate, have proved that it is not beyond the capacity of a *Muntu*, as such, to become a civilised man according to White standards ; to become, as it were, "White," all but the colour of his skin, and this, in spite of remaining excluded from White society and equal citizenship ;

(b) that those who favour for Native education a content, or curriculum, essentially different from the content of the education given to White children, cannot base their arguments on congenital differences of endowment, but must put forward either the plea that education according to the White pattern is unsuited to the circumstances of Bantu life under White rule ; or, else, the plea that it is destructive of features of Bantu culture which are worth maintaining. Either plea is debatable : but it would, in any case, be a gain for the discussion to be switched from attempts to demonstrate the inherent congenital inferiority of the Bantu to an examination of their disabilities under White rule or of the positive values inherent in traditional Bantu culture ;

(c) that the two favourite arguments by which South African Whites often seek to give a moral justification to measures of discrimination against the Bantu, viz. (i) that Whites, as such, are innately superior, and Bantu, as such, innately inferior ; and (ii) that White civilisation, as the product of superior congenital mentality, must be protected against being destroyed by the inferior congenital mentality of the Bantu, are, in fact, without foundation.

Actually, the recognition that there is nothing in the innate mental endowment of the Bantu which makes them incapable of acquiring Western civilisation, should cheer us by allaying our fears for the future of Western civilisation in this sub-continent. All we should have to do to make the future of Western civilisation safe, would be to share it as rapidly and completely as possible with our Bantu fellow-South Africans. But, unfortunately, this would involve political and social concessions to the civilised Bantu, which most White South Africans, at present, are not prepared to make to persons with a Black skin. The fear of having to make these concessions predisposes them to embrace, without critical investigation of its truth, the belief in the innate inferiority of the Bantu and their incapacity to become fellow-participants with Whites in Western civilisation. For, if this belief were true, it would afford a moral justification for racial discriminations practised on other grounds."

DR. M. L. FICK reported on an investigation into "The Educability of Native Children of the Transvaal Compared with Other Groups on the Basis of Intelligence Tests," and he gave a very different judgment. He said :

It is notorious that practically no data of a scientific and objective nature exists in regard to the intelligence or educability of the Natives. This deficiency, attributable to the inherent difficulties in testing Natives and to the failure on the part of those concerned with Native education to appreciate racial and individual differences, has left its impress both on the method and content of Native education in the form of various anomalies. The present study is an effort to obtain such scientific and objective data.

As the present study forms a comparatively small part of a project which was unexpectedly nipped in the bud some years ago, the groups of Native children under consideration are not as representative racially, socially and economically as originally contemplated.

In any case, the 532 Native children actually examined individually include a large location near Johannesburg, a large location near Potchefstroom (both areas of a heterogeneous nature), a rural area under the control of a mission and a large rural area where tribal control and kraal life still exist, the mission farm being superior economically and socially. And, as far as I was able to ascertain, the groups included in this survey were, if anything, superior to the Native children of the Union as a whole, with the result that conclusions drawn in regard to these groups will in no way under-estimate the ability of Native children as a whole, but will, on the contrary, rather do the reverse.

No Native children below the age of ten were included in the study. In this way I felt that every child would have been subjected to the equalising influence of the school. The European group, with which the Native children were compared, was slightly above the average for the Union. Due account of this fact will be taken in the estimates of the differences of the two groups.

In a paper read before the British Association in Johannesburg in 1929, I presented the results of group testing among Native children (Zulu). In spite of the fact that these tests were non-linguistic in directions and responses, the results were very little short of a debacle, less than 2 per cent. of the Native children reaching the medians of the European children, who were representative of the Union.

I attributed the poor achievement to (a) the noticeable inability of the Native children to grasp and carry out instructions when these were given to a group. I could not decide whether this inability was due to low mentality or environmental influences; and (b) the reputed inability of Native children to deal with pictures, symbols and diagrammatic representation of things rather than the things themselves. Many psychologists, of course, hold the view that inability to cope with situations other than concrete is symptomatic of a low mentality.

(c) The methods of teaching are far inferior in the Native schools. The methods are predominantly of the rote memory type. The result is that, when the child is faced with novel situations that require initiative or independent activity as in the intelligence test, it is confused and at a loss.

In the present study the first two shortcomings were remedied. Children were examined individually—by myself or under my immediate supervision—and a considerable number of the tests employed dealt solely with concrete material.

In the selection of the tests I consulted with individuals who were thoroughly acquainted with the language, culture and life generally of the Natives.

Unfortunately, our most reliable scale of intelligence proved to be totally inadequate. As many as 69 of the 77 items in the scale were totally unsuitable for Native children, and of the remaining 8, 4 were too easy for the ages under consideration. The result was that I had to resort to tests which did not constitute a scale.

The following were the tests finally selected for the investigation:—

1. Worcester Form Boards. A series of six form boards of varying difficulty.
2. Knox Cube Test. Four blocks are tapped in a number of ways and the examinee has to imitate the tapping.

3. Match Test of Malherbe. Matches are arranged according to various designs and later designs have to be completed after some clue has been given.
4. Porteus Maze Tests. The shortest path has to be traced through a number of mazes of varying difficulty.
5. A number of reasoning Tests.
6. A number of arithmetical problems.

The directions for the tests were all translated by authorities on Native languages, and were given by the principals of the various schools or, in some instances, by European missionaries well acquainted with the Native languages.

In four of the tests the responses were motor, and in the other two consisted of a word or a number, and could thus be readily evaluated without the danger of missing the nuances of the Native languages.

The same tests were given to a large number of European children, Indian and Coloured children. The median scores of the European children were adopted as the standards or criteria, and the percentages of the other groups reaching or exceeding these scores on each of the tests were computed. Below are the findings :

Test	Native %	Coloured %	Indian %
Formboards ..	4.1	15.11	15.7
Knox	13.23	20.07	36.4
Match	8.8	11.05	19.7
Porteus	10.66	14.9	20.8
Reasoning ..	13.85	25.47	16.95
Arithmetic ..	6.86	16.05	21.32

At a glance one is struck by the inferiority of the scores of these groups to the Europeans' scores, and by the comparatively greater inferiority of the Native children.

Of interest, too, is the fact that Native children do not evince any more marked inferiority in tests dealing with abstract material than in those dealing with concrete material.

The Indian children, compared with the Coloured children, display a superiority in all tests excepting in the Reasoning Tests, where they are decidedly inferior.

The tests exhibited too low intercorrelations to enable me to decide which ones singly should be adopted as a true index of intelligence. These intercorrelations, however, were sufficiently high in the case of four tests to enable me to pool the results for a scale. This was accordingly done after the tests were weighted according to their correlation with the Official Mental Hygiene Individual Scale.

To ascertain the validity of the pooled scores, *i.e.* whether they really measure intelligence—the only course seemed to be to correlate these scores with a known test, the other methods of testing validity appeared to be impossible. Accordingly, the pooled scores of 148 European children were correlated with the mental ages on the Official Mental Hygiene Individual Scale. This scale, like all scales of the Binet type, has been found to correlate highly with school ability, almost to a degree of infallibility. The correlation proved to be as high as .78 with P.E. $\pm .022$ in the case of this comparatively homogeneous group. Table 5. Such a high correlation warrants the conclusion that this battery of tests is a reliable and valid index of school work and educability in general in the same manner that the Binet type of test is, when properly standardised.

The distributions, medians and standard deviations of the pooled scores for Europeans, Indians, Coloured and Native children are given in the Appendix Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4.

The Native children display a marked inferiority to the other groups, and the European group a marked superiority to the other groups.

Expressing the achievement on the pooled scores for the three groups in terms of percentages, reaching the medians of the European group, I found the following :—

Coloured	..	{	10	12	14
			9.6	6	—
Indian	..	..	13.8	—	—
Native	..	..	4.8	3	2.2

The percentages reaching the medians of the European group, in the case of the pooled score, are decidedly lower than those in the case of the separate tests. This is due to the comparatively low inter-correlation of the separate tests.

The results are presented graphically in the diagram shown, which gives the medians for the various groups at the different ages. The results for the Beta Test presented in 1929 (reference was made to these above) are also shown graphically, and the marked resemblance is obvious. The Native children at the age of fourteen appear to be retarded about six years mentally in comparison with the European group. This European group I have stated to be slightly higher than the average for the Union. Accordingly, to be on the safe side, I conclude that the Native group is at least five years retarded at the age of fourteen, somewhat less at the lower ages and somewhat more at the higher ages. This divergence at the different age levels is, of course, in conformity with mental growth curves, and accounts for the uniformity of intelligence quotients as individuals get older. For the other two groups the retardation is less, and appears to be about three to four years, with a similar divergence at the lower and higher age levels. With such a mental calibre it appears that Native children on the average cannot proceed beyond Standard II or III of European difficulty. I have attempted to express the educability of the Native in a different manner. I have found by experiment a considerable number of years ago that individuals with an intelligence quotient of less than 80 cannot complete the primary school course on merit. This finding has since been corroborated in this country and in England. With the data available, I was able to compute the percentage of Native children of ages 10, 12 and 14, who would fall below the 80 I.Q. level, that is, who cannot complete the primary school course of the European standard. The Native courses are, of course, not keyed up to the level of the European—a fact which should be borne in mind by those desirous of making comparisons on the basis of the number of candidates who pass the various standards of similar designations.

These percentages were obtained in the following manner. A mental age of 9.6 would, in the case of the 12 year olds be the 80 I.Q. mark. A mental age of 9.6 corresponds to a score of 45 on the pooled scores for the European group. Consequently, all 12 year olds who have a score of less than 45, that is, less than a mental age of 9.6, will have an I.Q. of less than 80. According to this, 85 per cent. of the 12 year old Natives have an I.Q. of less than 80 and cannot complete the primary school course of the European standard. By a similar procedure, 87 per cent. of the 10 year old Native children and 89 per cent. of the 14 year old Native children have an I.Q. of less than 80. This yields an average of 87 for the three ages.

Taking into account again that the European group is slightly above the average for the Union, I conclude that at least 70-75 per cent. of the Native children under consideration cannot complete the primary school course of European standard.

Similarly, I have found that it is well nigh impossible for individuals with intelligence quotients of less than 100 to pass the secondary school course or matriculate. The 100 I.Q. mark falls at the median score for each age group of the European group. Consequently, individuals of particular ages, who score below the medians of the European group for those ages, will have I.Q.'s of less than 100. This means that the Native children who score below the European median for their ages have an I.Q. of less than 100. These were previously found to average 3.3. In view of the superiority of the European group, previously mentioned, I have to conclude that, at the most, between 4 and 5 per cent. of these Native children can complete the secondary school course or matriculate. In the case of European children this percentage would, of course, be at least 50 per cent. on the same lines. Children who grew up in rural areas and whose parents spent most of their lives there were compared with those who grew up in towns or in their vicinity and whose parents spent most of their lives there. The distributions, together with the medians and standard deviations for ages 12 and 14, are shown in the Appendix (Table 6).

The town group displayed a superiority, which, although not startling, is significant in the light of the P.E.'s of the difference of the medians, which are 1.8 and 1.9 for the two ages 12 and 14 respectively.

One is apt to conclude from this significant difference that Native children, who have been subjected to influences similar to the European children (as is more likely to be the case in the urban areas) do better in intelligence tests, and that the more there are of these influences the better Native children are apt to do in these tests.

These conclusions are, however, unwarranted in my opinion, because there is a selective factor at work in the case of town Natives. In any influx of this nature the poorest types are always left at home, that is, in the rural areas. In other words, I regard the town Natives as superior, not because they are in or near the towns, but rather that they survive in or near the towns because they are superior. I am speaking in terms of averages, of course. Exactly the same phenomenon occurs in the case of European, Coloured and Indian children.

One cannot deal with the mentality of Native children without broaching the mooted topic of arrested development—the idea that Native children abruptly stop in their mental growth usually after 14 years. The distribution of the various ages in the schools under consideration and typical of the situation in general, given in the Appendix (Table 7) and shown in Diagram, demonstrates too clearly the impossibility of obtaining evidence in respect of this topic. At the critical age (14) a terrific elimination occurs. A prominent writer some years ago disregarded this pitfall in proving the non-existence of this theory of arrested development. His estimate of the mentality of ages after 14 was based on the surviving bright pupils, the dull ones being eliminated and not taken into account.

My own opinion is that there is no such abrupt cessation in the mental development, and that the mental growth curve of Native children follows that of European children. When there is a sudden break in one at the higher ages there is a similar break in the other, and this sudden break can often be attributed to the nature of the test, which fails to register differences at the higher ages.

In one area I found no such elimination after the age of 14, but the cases were too few to justify any definite conclusions. In that case there appeared no indication of arrested development.

My own explanation of this idea of arrested development is that, since the average Native child's mental age is around 9 or 10 eventually, it progresses in the initial standards in school, whose work is mostly routine, and does not demand a high level of intelligence. When, however, the child reaches the higher standards, where the work becomes less routine and a higher intelligence is necessary, the child suddenly flounders, since its mentality is such that, on the average, it cannot progress beyond the initial standards.

I have expressed objectively and scientifically what the majority of those concerned with Native education have long realised in actual experience. Unfortunately, my findings could not be expressed more exactly; I have to resort to phrases such as "at the most" and "at least" constantly. The only method of obtaining more exact findings is testing larger numbers of cases from more areas on the lines I have indicated.

TABLE 1.

Distribution of pooled scores for European Group—also Medians (4 tests)

Marks	Age									
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
10-14			1							
15-19	2		1							
20-24	6	5	1			2				
25-29	7	10	2	4	1			1		
30-34	20	11	15	4	1		1		1	1
35-39	12	5	9	5	4	3	3	2		1
40-44	8	17	8	11	15	3	1	4	2	
45-49	3	12	11	10	11	6		1	2	1
50-54	3	8	12	11	16	8	4	3	2	3
55-59	1	6	4	9	9	13	10	4	4	3
60-64		1	4	2	8	12	8	7	5	2
65-69			4	5	10	8	8	11	9	3
70-74		1	3	7	4	7	9	7	12	4
75-79					3	9	6	12	3	5
80-84					2	1	2	9	4	2
85-89						2	1	7	4	3
90-94							1	3	1	1
95-99									1	
100-104									2	
No. of cases	62	76	75	68	84	74	54	71	52	29
Median	34	42.1	45.2	50	53.1	60	65	71.8	70.4	70.6

TABLE 2.

Distributions of pooled scores: 4 tests for Coloured Children

Marks	Age				
	10	11	12	13	14
5-9 ..	..	..	1	..	..
10-14 ..	..	..	..	..	..
15-19 ..	3	4	..	1	..
20-24 ..	2	2	3	1	1
25-29 ..	7	5	3	2	..
30-34 ..	8	4	4	3	2
35-39 ..	11	2	8	3	3
40-44 ..	7	3	9	7	3
45-49 ..	9	2	7	8	6
50-54 ..	4	2	6	4	6
55-59 ..	1	1	..	3	2
60-64 ..	..	..	3	1	2
65-69 ..	..	1	..	..	..
70-74 ..	..	..	..	..	..
75-79 ..	..	..	..	..	..
No. of cases	52	26	44	33	25
Median ..	37.2	32.5	41.6	44.6	47.9

TABLE 3.

Distribution of pooled scores for Indian 10 year olds (4 tests)

Marks	10 Year olds No. of cases					
10-14
15-19	3
20-24	7
25-29	9
30-34	14
35-39	22
40-44	12
45-49	14
50-54	6
55-59	4
60-64	2
65-69
70-74
75-79
80-84	1
No. of cases	94
Median	38.2
S.D.	22.4

TABLE 4.
Distribution of pooled scores for Native Children (4 tests)

Marks	Age							
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
5-9 ..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10-14 ..	11	1	4	..	3	..	1	..
15-19 ..	12	1	6	1	3	..	..	..
20-24 ..	20	1	11	2	2	2	2	1
25-29 ..	23	2	18	2	15	2	3	1
30-34 ..	24	4	27	2	19	6	7	1
35-39 ..	17	6	23	2	21	9	5	1
40-44 ..	5	2	24	3	23	8	2	6
45-49 ..	5	1	11	..	19	11	4	4
50-54 ..	1	1	4	2	13	6	3	3
55-59 ..	3	..	1	2	7	3	2	1
60-64 ..	2	..	1	..	4	2	3	1
65-69 ..	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..
70-74 ..	..	..	2	..	2	1	..	..
75-79 ..	..	..	..	..	1	4	..	..
No. of cases	124	19	133	17	133	55	32	19
Median ..	28.8	35.4	35.1	38.8	40.8	45.2	38	44.7
S.D. ...	22.2	..	22.2	..	24.2	..	..	..

TABLE 5.

Correlation between mental age and pooled scores: Europeans (4 tests)

Mental age in months	Marks																		No. of cases
	20	25	30	35	40	45	50	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90	95			
	24	29	34	39	44	49	54	59	64	69	74	79	84	89	94	99			
95-99	1																	1	
100-104	1		1															2	
105-109			2	1	2	2												7	
110-114	2	1				2												5	
115-119				2		1	2											5	
120-124			1		1	2	2											6	
125-129		1				2	2											5	
130-134		1			3	3	3	2	1	2	1							16	
135-139			1	1	1	1	2	2	1			1						10	
140-144				2	2		3	1	1	1	1	1						12	
145-149					1	2	1	2	3	4		2						15	
150-154							1	3	2	3	4	3						16	
155-159							3	2	1	3	1	1	1					12	
160-164				1		1			2	4	2	4		1				16	
165-169									1	1	2	2			2			6	
170-174										2		3					1	6	
175-179							1				1	1	1	1				4	
180										1		1		2				4	
No. of cases ..	4	3	5	7	10	16	20	12	12	21	12	19	2	4		1	148		

(Correlation)—.78 with P.E. plus-minus .022

TABLE 6.

Natives : Distribution of Weighted Scores

A.—Children who have been brought up in towns and whose parents have spent most of their lives in towns.

B.—Children who have been brought up in the country and whose parents have spent most of their lives in the country.

C.—Children in towns whose parents have spent most of their lives in the country.

Marks	Age			Marks	Age			Marks	Age		
	10	12	14		10	12	14		10	12	14
5-9 ..	1							10-14 ..	3		
10-14 ..	4	1	1					15-19 ..	1		
15-19 ..	8	2		10-14 ..	4	3	2	20-24 ..	3	2	
20-24 ..	11	2		15-19 ..	4	4	3	25-29 ..			2
25-29 ..	16	7	2	20-24 ..	6	7	2	30-34 ..	3	1	1
30-34 ..	11	5	6	25-29 ..	6	12	10	35-39 ..			1
35-39 ..	9	4	4	30-34 ..	11	21	13	40-44 ..		1	1
40-44 ..	2	10	7	35-39 ..	8	18	16	45-49 ..			1
45-49 ..	5	5	8	40-44 ..	3	13	15	50-54 ..			1
50-54 ..	1		6	45-49 ..	2	7	10	55-59 ..			
55-59 ..	1	1	3	50-54 ..	1	3	5	60-64 ..		1	
60-64 ..	2	1	3	55-59 ..	1		4				
65-69 ..		1	1	60-64 ..							
70-74 ..		1		65-69 ..			1				
75-79 ..			1	70-74 ..		1	1				
No. of cases	71	40	42	No. of cases	46	89	82	No. of cases	10	4	8
Median ..	28·8	38·7	45·6	Median ..	31·4	34·4	38·4	Median ..	22·5	25	40
S.D. ..	22·6	25·7	24·8	S.D. ..	20·9	20·0	22·5	S.D. ..	16·7	16·6	22·9

TABLE 7.

Distribution of Ages in the Schools under consideration

Ages	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
No. of cases ..	4	27	60	135	114	142	136	159	138	174	136	91	48	58	15

MR. G. R. DENT presented the results of an investigation conducted by him into the applicability of certain performance and other mental tests to Zulu children. As the main object of the study was to ascertain the suitability of certain standardised tests to Zulu children, and not to attempt any detailed analysis of intelligence or aptitudes as such, Mr. Dent decided to try out a number of tests upon a limited number of subjects, rather than to select a few tests upon a large number of subjects.

He pointed out that the majority of investigators who have published data on mental testing on the Bantu have used tests involving knowledge acquired in schools, and thought-material as represented by words rather than by objects. Tests which involve mere mechanical manipulation have not been extensively tried, and it is quite possible that reasoning based on objects present to sense may not correlate highly with reasoning

based upon the mental representation of objects. Spearman's investigation concluded that both involve education to some extent.

In order to confine the present investigation within reasonable time limits a chronological age group of from twelve to fourteen years was decided upon. For children attending schools it was a comparatively simple matter to confine the investigation to this age-range with a fair degree of accuracy, but for children in outlying rural districts the limits of error were considerable, owing to the fact that the Zulu people do not as a rule keep exact dates of birth. As far as was possible, however, the subjects tested were taken only from the age group mentioned above.

Performance and other non-verbal tests were used, in which the subject is required to re-arrange blocks of wood, pictures or insets. In each test a definite mental problem is presented, the directions being given either in pantomime or stated in simple language.

Tests of the type mentioned above were applied to 122 Bantu children in Natal and Zululand. In every case the tests were applied individually and all necessary instructions were given in the standard form in the Zulu language.

The reactions to the test material shown by the majority of the subjects were very satisfactory. They appeared interested in the problem set and to do their best to arrive at solutions. Not infrequently the problems proved too difficult, but in all cases some attempt was made and, if these responses are correctly interpreted, they must be regarded as meaningful.

A second object of this investigation was to study the effect of environment on the development of Bantu children, as evidenced by performances in these tests. For this purpose subjects were drawn from three different sets of environmental conditions:—

1. Urban school children.
2. Rural school children.
3. Children who had not attended any type of school whatever, and who had not come into intimate contact with urban life.

Data were obtained from approximately forty subjects per test for each environmental group. It is true that these numbers are quite inadequate as a basis for any generalisations, but, as all the work had to be carried on during vacation periods, it was found to be impossible to test greater numbers.

The Mare and Foal Test.—A good performance test must, among other things, present a new problem to the child. This requisite is certainly fulfilled when performance tests are applied to Bantu children, for they have never seen or handled material even similar to that used in the tests. This fact probably accounts for a certain awkwardness and hesitancy to commence with.

Mare and Foal Test.	122 Cases.	40 Non-School.	40 Town School.	42 Country School.
Average	42.3	35.4	45.3	46
Median	43.5	37.4	44.6	43
Standard Deviation ..	10.1	10.6	7.9	7.2
Pearson's V	23.9	29.9	17.4	15.7

After a consideration of the results when tabulated under the three headings, non-school group, town school group, and country school group, a considerable difference in the general performance is discernible. The scores of the non-school group were spread over the whole range, 12 to 60, whereas no subject in either of the other two groups scored below 30. The average score, the median score and the mode for the non-school group are all very considerably below those obtained for the school groups, where all three of these measures are practically identical. When the standard deviations are compared, however, by means of Pearson's Coefficient, the non-school group shows a greater variability about its central tendency than do the other two groups, and of these the country school group appears to be the less variable.

The median score for the non-school group was 37·4. 88 per cent. of the town school group and 90 per cent. of the country school group score at or above this median.

Thus it seems that, despite the simplicity of this test, it yet does serve to differentiate between these groups. This is possibly due either to the environmental factor or to school training, or to both. The non-school children were drawn from remote country districts where the homes of the people are more primitive than they are in the urban areas, and where such things as pictures and toys are rarely seen.

Thus a certain degree of learning in the interpretation of pictures must favour the urban and school child. In support of this statement it was noted that many of the non-school group subjects seemed to be guided more by shape than by the pictures, in the correct placing of the insets.

A further factor favouring the school child is simply that he has become accustomed to school routine and procedure, and in consequence does not waste quite so much time as does the non-school child, and he has also had practice in the art of listening to and obeying instructions under school conditions.

Healy Picture Completion. 1.

Healy Picture Completion. 1.	122 Cases.	40 Non- School.	40 Town School.	42 Country School.
Average	122·1	58·5	161·5	145·3
Median	101·7	40	100·5	113·9
Standard Deviation ..	91·3	51·3	91·2	92·3
Pearson's V	74·8	87·17	56·5	63·5

The picture completion type of test is one very suitable for Bantu children. All the subjects showed keenness and interest in the work, and moreover the majority of them seemed to have a fairly good conception of what was required. These remarks, however, are only justified by observation of the children at work, and also by questions asked after the completion of the test. The scores made by the subjects, if taken alone, would seem to indicate that the test is altogether too difficult, as is shown by the distribution when represented in graphical form, when the frequencies are seen to pile up too heavily on the lower scores.

The low scores, however, cannot be truly interpreted without some consideration of the picture itself and the knowledge which it demands. The scoring was done according to Pintner and Anderson.

The test presupposes a considerable facility in the interpretation of scenes depicted in pictorial form.

Some of the insets used, especially in the case of the non-school children, indicated that the children did not grasp some of the scenes at all. The procedure adopted by the child in these cases was to select from amongst the insets some object with which he was familiar and then to attempt to find some appropriate place for it in the picture.

The median score of the country school group, 113.9, is the best, though very little better than that of the town school group. 89 per cent. of the non-school group subjects score below this median.

Performance tests are less influenced by environment than is, for example, the Binet Scale, but the results obtained in this investigation indicate that, with subjects from a primitive environment, the environmental factor is of great importance.

The Mannikin Test

Mannikin.	122 Cases.	40 Non-School.	40 Town School.	42 Country School.
Average	2.9	2.5	3.4	2.7
Median	3.0	2.75	4.3	2.95
Standard Deviation ..	1.38	1.3	2.44	1.11
Pearson's V	47.6	52	72.4	41.1

Though no child at all failed to recognise that the pieces could be assembled to make some sort of a man, comparatively few in any but the town school groups managed to fit the pieces together correctly.

Feature Profile Test

Feature Profile.	122 Cases.	40 Non-School.	40 Town School.	42 Country School.
Average	3.3	3.1	3.7	3.1
Median	3.7	3.6	3.8	3.6
Standard Deviation ..	1.22	1.41	0.91	1.1
Pearson's V	37	45.5	24.6	35.5

Most of the children fitted the eye, nose and mouth correctly, but very few managed to complete the ear.

The town school group is again superior to the other two groups in this test, and also again the country school group is superior to the non-school group, though this latter superiority is not very marked.

Goddard Form Board

Goddard Board.	122 Cases.	40 Non-School.	40 Town School.	42 Country School.
Average	22.9	29	14.5	16.2
Median	23.8	27	21.2	23
Standard Deviation ..	9.6	6.7	7.6	10.5
Pearson's V	41.9	23.1	52.4	64.8

In this test, as in all tests when time is such an important factor, the Native child does not appear to score as well as he might do. None of the Zulu children appeared to work at what one might consider their maximum speed. This may be partly due to fear of making mistakes with such novel material, but also seems to be partly due to what might be termed a natural characteristic of the Zulu child. They were all deliberate and painstaking in their movements. The third trial was generally the shortest, but not appreciably so.

The average time for the town school group is 14.5, which is exactly half the time for the non-school group.

This appears to indicate that schooling influences the results in performance tests, in that it gives a certain training in quickness and co-ordination of movement.

Five Figure Form Board

Five Figure Form Board.	40 Non-School.	40 Town School.	42 Country School.
Average	18.4	33.1	28.6
Median	13.3	33.2	24.5
Standard Deviation ..	12.9	12.9	14.8
Pearson's V	70.1	38.7	51.7

Again the town school group shows a marked superiority over the non-school group, and also, though to a lesser extent, over the country school group.

The average score of the town school group is 81.5 per cent. and, of the country school group, 69.3 per cent. score above the average score of the non-school group.

Dearborn Form Board

Dearborn.	122 Cases.	40 Non-School.	40 Town School.	42 Country School.
Average	8.8	6.1	11.4	11.3
Median	10.3	6	11	11
Standard Deviation ..	4.4	3.61	3.8	3.1
Pearson's V	50	59.2	33.3	27.4

When the scores for the 122 cases were plotted as a graph it was found that this test had distributed the subjects in a manner approximating to the normal distributions curve.

A comparison of the three groups again reveals a marked superiority of the school groups over the non-school group.

The country school group median score of 11 is the same as the median score for the town school group, whilst 90 per cent. of the non-school group fall below this median. At the same time, a consideration of the variations shows that the non-school group is considerably more variable about its central tendency.

Cube Construction Test

Each model was constructed as a demonstration before the subject was asked to perform the test.

Cube Construction Test.	122 Cases.	40 Non-School.	40 Town School.	42 Country School.
Average	7.9	5.2	9.9	8.6
Median	6.5	4.2	9.3	7.6
Standard Deviation ..	4.01	2.5	4.31	3.4
Pearson's V	50.8	48.1	43.6	39.5

All the Zulu children appeared to find this a difficult test. None of the subjects appeared to be able to work out a plan of action beforehand, and then to follow it through, in the solution of his problem. The usual procedure adopted was to start building the model with the first available block and then to fit other blocks round this, so as to make a model similar to the given model.

The median score for the town school group was found to be 9.3. A total of 93 per cent. of the non-school group scored below this median, and only 35 per cent. of the country school group scored at or above this median.

Koh's Block Design Test

In actual practice it was found that designs 10-17 were too difficult for the subjects in this age group.

Koh's Test.	122 Cases.	40 Non-School.	40 Town School.	42 Country School.
Average	12.2	9	20.6	12.1
Median	11.9	6.13	14.5	11.15
Standard Deviation ..	7.5	6.5	11.05	6.21
Pearson's V	61.5	72.2	53.06	51.3

All the subjects experienced difficulty with this test. They seemed incapable of visualising a block in a given position without actually trying it there.

A comparison of the scores from the three groups reveals the superiority of the town school group. The average of 20.6 in this group is more than twice the average of the non-school group and is very nearly twice the average of the country school group.

The median score of the town school group was found to be 14.5 and 70 per cent. of the country school group scored below this.

The score of each subject was converted into mental age ratings according to Koh's table. The non-school group average was found to be 7 years 5 months, town group 8 years 7 months, and country school group 8 years 0 months, again indicating the effect of environment and schooling on the results from such tests. The lowest mental age obtained was 5 years 7 months, and the highest 10 years 9 months.

Correlation.—The co-efficients of correlation between the various tests are shown in the table.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
Mare and Foal		$+.36$ $\pm .03$	$+.49$ $\pm .05$	$+.62$ $\pm .04$	$+.25$ $\pm .06$	$+.44$ $\pm .05$	$+.28$ $\pm .06$	$+.46$ $\pm .05$	$+.56$ $\pm .04$
Picture Completion 1 ..	$+.36$ $\pm .03$		$+.44$ $\pm .05$	$+.37$ $\pm .05$	$+.54$ $\pm .04$	$+.11$ $\pm .04$	$+.64$ $\pm .03$	$+.35$ $\pm .05$	$+.42$ $\pm .05$
Mannikin ..	$+.49$ $\pm .05$	$+.44$ $\pm .05$		$+.38$ $\pm .02$	$+.38$ $\pm .05$	$+.28$ $\pm .05$	$+.56$ $\pm .04$	$+.41$ $\pm .05$	$+.23$ $\pm .05$
Feature Profile 4 ..	$+.62$ $\pm .04$	$+.37$ $\pm .05$	$+.38$ $\pm .02$		$+.37$ $\pm .05$	$+.89$ $\pm .01$	$+.55$ $\pm .05$	$+.42$ $\pm .05$	$+.45$ $\pm .05$
Goddard 5 ..	$+.25$ $\pm .06$	$+.54$ $\pm .04$	$+.38$ $\pm .05$	$+.37$ $\pm .05$		$+.39$ $\pm .05$	$+.55$ $\pm .05$	$+.45$ $\pm .04$	$+.28$ $\pm .06$
Five Figure Form Board	$+.44$ $\pm .05$	$+.11$ $\pm .04$	$+.28$ $\pm .05$	$+.89$ $\pm .01$	$+.39$ $\pm .05$		$+.39$ $\pm .05$	$+.64$ $\pm .07$	$+.63$ $\pm .07$
Dearborn 7 ..	$+.28$ $\pm .06$	$+.64$ $\pm .03$	$+.56$ $\pm .04$	$+.55$ $\pm .05$	$+.55$ $\pm .05$	$+.39$ $\pm .05$		$+.41$ $\pm .04$	$+.30$ $\pm .05$
Cube Construction 8 ..	$+.46$ $\pm .05$	$+.35$ $\pm .05$	$+.41$ $\pm .05$	$+.42$ $\pm .05$	$+.45$ $\pm .04$	$+.64$ $\pm .07$	$+.41$ $\pm .04$		$+.71$ $\pm .03$
Koh's 9 ..	$+.56$ $\pm .04$	$+.42$ $\pm .05$	$+.23$ $\pm .05$	$+.45$ $\pm .05$	$+.28$ $\pm .05$	$+.63$ $\pm .07$	$+.30$ $\pm .05$	$+.71$ $\pm .03$	

The generally low values for these co-efficients may be due to several factors. The comparatively small numbers of subjects tested, or elements in the selection of the subjects, may be important causes. The low correlation co-efficients do seem to indicate, however, that the tests do not reduplicate one another to any great extent.

In order to investigate further the value of these tests when applied to Bantu children, a battery of these tests was applied to a group of 26 country school children.

The scores from the various tests were converted to T scores and then final scores were arrived at.

These scores were then compared with scores obtained by the application of the Army Beta Test, and also with the examination marks gained in the Natal Education Department Std. IV examinations.

The correlations obtained were as shown in the following table.

	1.	2.	3.
Test Battery 1		+ .56 ± .09	+ .58 ± .08
Army Beta 2	+ .56 ± .09		+ .375 ± .09
Examination 3	+ .58 ± .08	+ .375 ± .09	

It should be mentioned that the Army Beta Test was administered individually, and also almost twice the prescribed time limits were allowed. This has had the effect of giving abnormally high ratings for the Beta test.

Finally, a "Fidelity of Report Test" was applied to a group of 66 subjects.

The results from the town school group were better in every way than the results from either of the other two groups. The median scores were:—Non-school 19.6; Town-school 23.3; and Country-school 22.

The correlations between this test and the performance tests are shown in the following table.

Mare & Foal	Picture Completion 1.	Mannikin.	Feature Profile.	God-dard.	Five Figure Form Board.	Dear-born.	Cube Construction.	Koh's.
+ .32 ± .05	+ .41 ± .05	+ .20 ± .09	+ .45 ± .05	+ .31 ± .04	+ .27 ± .06	+ .28 ± .06	+ .31 ± .05	+ .32 ± .05

Summary.—As has been briefly noted when each test was described, significant differences are discernible in the performances of the three groups tested.

One factor undoubtedly contributing towards these differences is the effect of schooling on two of the groups. This is not an effect of

training in these particular types of problem, but rather an effect of an attitude carefully produced in the school child. He is taught to sit at a desk in school and to concentrate on the problem in hand, and he is accustomed to obey detailed instructions. Also, owing to the periodic visits of the Department Inspectors, he has grown accustomed to doing these things at the request and in the presence of a White man.

All these factors together produce a much more favourable attitude of mind in the school child than is present in the non-school child, who generally regards the examiner with a greater degree of awe.

Another important factor contributed by the school training is that of speed. Throughout this investigation it was noted that on the whole the speed of the non-school group was considerably less than that recorded for the school groups. The mistake of under-valuing the effects of group attitudes must be avoided. To the Bantu child speed has very little significance, and it is only as the result of acquaintance with modern civilisation that this attitude is at all altered.

A further important factor responsible for the observed differences may be indicated by the term, environment. Children from a progressive community are much more likely to adapt themselves to test conditions than are children from a backward group. The actual home surroundings and the attitudes of the kraal inmates are bound to affect the children growing up in these surroundings.

All the tests used, with the possible exception of the Mare and Foal and the Mannikin, are regarded as having discriminative value with European children of the age group 12-14, and it has been shown that they do also discriminate between Bantu children of this age group. This discrimination, however, has been shown to be, to a large extent, a matter of differences in environment and educational opportunity.

Any detailed comparison of the performances of Bantu and European children was not possible in the scope of the present investigation, but one may perhaps be permitted to make a few purely tentative suggestions based on the results obtained.

The range and variability of performance on the different tests, as applied to Bantu children, indicates that there is a decided similarity in the extent and variety of abilities between European and Bantu children.

It has been shown that social environment and general development play a very important part in the degree of proficiency shown by pupils in these performance tests. In fact, it seems that the mentality of the Bantu is not essentially different from that of other races, but rather that those differences which are discernible at present may all be accounted for by a thorough investigation and understanding of the Bantu institutions and mode of life. It may be said with truth that the range of abilities and also emotional responses is more restricted, owing to the altogether simpler mode of life and environment. Beyond this, however, it does not seem possible to go at present.

In conclusion, Mr. Dent stated that, in so far as the data collected warrants them, the following provisional deductions may be drawn.

- (1) Performance Tests of the type used in this investigation are applicable to unselected groups of Bantu children, and the results obtained are discriminative within each environmental group.
- (2) Probably different standards and norms from the accepted European figures are necessary in order to evaluate the scores correctly. These standards and norms should be different for each environmental group.
- (3) The results obtained from the tests are appreciably influenced by factors of environment and schooling. In all the tests

used, significant differences were discernible in the scores made by the three environmental groups. It is suggested that these differences are in large measure due to complete unfamiliarity with the material of the tests on the part of the non-school group, and also to the factor of speed.

- (4) The results obtained from a battery comprised of these tests may be regarded as fair indications of the abilities of Bantu school children. The test battery was found to give satisfactory co-efficients of correlation with both the Departmental Examination and the Army Beta test. It would indeed have been surprising if higher degrees of correlation had been obtained. The special abilities involved in these three methods of measuring ability in general are probably widely different.
- (5) The reactions of the children tested and the scores recorded by them indicate that, if judged on the accepted standards, the Bantu children are retarded as much as four or five years in their mental development. In this connection, however, the importance of the environmental factor cannot be too strongly stressed. It has been shown that very significant differences are found between the three environmental groups tested, and it was suggested that possibly the total environmental factor may be largely responsible for the differences found between European and Bantu children.

Mr. J. J. Ross, in dealing with "Mental Traits and Attitudes towards Learning," drew attention to the part played by memorisation in tribal life. For transmitting and communicating their cultural heritage the Bantu had to rely upon verbal memory, thus we find a wealth of folk-lore, proverbs, riddles and songs where there was no written literature. Even the detribalised Bantu rely to a great extent upon verbal memory.

And since the traditions of the tribe had to be transmitted from one generation to another with as little change as possible, the memorisation was mechanical, not reflective. Reflective memory was not stimulated and encouraged, because life was highly socialised and governed by custom and tradition. The necessity for the exercise of reflective memory occurred but infrequently.

This mechanical memory has been exploited to the full in Native schools. The attitude of scholars and parents, and even of teachers, towards the new learning the White man has brought was to regard it as the source of the White man's power and his "medicine." This "medicine" must be stronger than the magic of the Black man and must, therefore, be acquired as quickly as possible. Imitation and memorisation were the quickest means of doing so. It was important that as much as possible be memorised, for their own magicians ensure the goodwill and help of the mystical forces and ancestral spirits through the repetition and cantation of long, sonorous formulæ. Any Native school to-day will show what a vast amount of material is memorised by the children without understanding. The teacher still regards these feats of memorisation with pride.

Errors in Native education have arisen, not so much from the content as from the methods used in our schools, the worst of which has been this reliance upon memorisation.

Regard for education as magical power is giving place to a view of education as a means of earning a livelihood and, with the increasing difficulties in earning a livelihood, has come dissatisfaction with education,

and even loss of faith in it. It has, therefore, become necessary to develop a new and better attitude towards education by linking it more fully with the whole of their life.

The subsequent discussion showed that the audience was sceptical of any definite conclusion at this stage of intelligence testing among Bantu children.

DR. K. CUNNINGHAM, in opening the discussion, referred to Dr. S. D. Porteus' investigations among the Australian aborigines, and raised the question whether individual tests were suitable for a people, the solution of whose problems were normally the collective responsibility of the group. He thought that the difficulties surrounding the application of the same intelligence tests to different racial groups were almost insurmountable. Had any attempt been made to use Native material in tests upon White children?

Several speakers referred to the importance of recognising and appreciating Bantu conceptions. Their idea of symmetry differs from that of the European; they move more naturally from right to left; they have a greater appreciation of the circle than the rectangle. Native puzzles are incomprehensible to White children. Have these facts not an important bearing upon the validity for Natives of tests framed upon European ideology, even where they are non-linguistic.

The difficulty of separating the environmental influences from the innate intelligence varies according to the type of Native tested. Dr. Fick's and Mr. Dent's investigations covered categories of Natives whose environmental circumstances—cultural and other—differed very considerably. All tests so far made have certainly shown considerable differences in performance between White and Bantu groups, but none appears to have been able to separate the environmental factors.

The difficulties of the White investigator among the Bantu are very great, and the greatest of his problems are how to dissolve the inhibitions which his presence and prestige impose upon the child, and how to avoid projecting his own racial prejudices in the application of the tests.

The discussion seemed to produce general agreement that—

1. There is a real need for the tests and for testing the tests.
2. Further efforts should be made to eliminate the environmental factors, but sound knowledge of the cultural environment is fundamentally important for the investigator. Trained Africans might be used.
3. Helpful comparisons might be made from the results of the application of tests with Native material to White children.

SUMMARY

The discussions recorded so far had provided a series of analytical studies of

- (1) the indigenous African society and the changes wrought in it through the intrusion of the alien and powerful culture of Western civilisation;
- (2) the effects of Western forms of education upon the African child and upon his "cultural inheritance";
- (3) the ability of the African child to benefit from this education.

The Conference now considered the lines upon which the results of the analysis could be used in the formulation of educational policy and be given practical application both within and without the school.

CHAPTER XIX

EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PRACTICE

1. DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT OF NATIVE EDUCATION

MR. H. F. G. KUSCHKE opened a discussion on this subject, and at once attacked the view that there is an essential and fundamental difference in kind between the mind of the Bantu and that of the European. Bantu reasoning, he held, is as logical as the reasoning of the European. If the two arrive at different conclusions because they begin with different premises, that is no reason for assuming that the Bantu mind is different from that of the European. As for intelligence tests, they are inadequate as a means of comparison, because they are tests of experience not tests of innate intelligence. In them the Bantu cut a sorry figure, if they are tested on European experience. Bantu culture is unlike that of the European, hence there must be a dissimilarity of experience.

Whatever differential treatment there must be belongs only to the classroom. The teacher will differentiate in his presentation of the subject matter of his lesson according to the cultural background of the pupils ; but, as racial groups acquire more and more knowledge, cultural differences must disappear and differential methods of instruction will become more uniform.

Unfortunately, differential treatment has been extended, not only to the content of education, but also to the organisation, finance and control of education. While differentiation in content and approach was sound, over-emphasis of these differences has led to the separation of the administration and finance of Native education from European education. While it has been advantageous to have Native education under the guidance of men with special knowledge and with special responsibility, this differentiation has had the effect of perpetuating the idea that Native education is inferior and of less importance. Differentiation in finance has operated hardly upon Native education, as the comparative figures show :—

European population of the Union of South Africa	..	1,850,000
of which about 4 per cent. pay income tax totalling	..	£1,650,000
on taxable incomes totalling about	.. ..	£60,000,000
Native population is	.. ..	5,600,000
of which 22 per cent. pay poll tax totalling	.. ..	£1,226,000
out of a total income of less than	.. ..	£40,000,000
Expenditure on European primary education is	.. ..	£6,750,000
Expenditure on Native education (except University) is		£600,000
European education is compulsory and free.		
Native education is voluntary and fees are paid.		

Often the argument is heard that no more money can be spent on Native Development because the Native costs more than he brings in. The Native Economic Commission has assessed the State expendi-

ture incurred on behalf and because of the Native population at approximately £4,500,000 as against a contribution towards revenue by that population of about £3,500,000. Considering that the total State expenditure is in the neighbourhood of thirty million pounds and that the Native population is four times the European population, the expenditure incurred on behalf of the Natives is moderate indeed.

The Economic Commission attempted an impossible task in trying to separate indirect taxation derived from Europeans and Natives. Would the Chamber of Mines be prepared to state how much of last year's profit was due to Native labour and how much to European labour?

The differential treatment of Native education goes further. European education is compulsory and free: Native education voluntary and to be paid for. European pupils can get books for nothing: Natives have to buy them. European schools are well housed in government buildings: Native schools in churches, houses, huts, sheds and shanties, kept in repair with great difficulty by missions, Churches and the Natives themselves. Opportunity for all European pupils to find their bent and to shape their destiny: restrictions on every hand for the Native youth to find scope for his talents.

No one suggests that everything can be changed in a day or a year. While we subscribe to differential treatment outside the schoolroom, unsatisfactory conditions must prevail. We should have the courage to design and carry out a plan of reconstruction over a period of ten, twenty or even a hundred years, a plan which will sympathetically consider all just and reasonable demands made by all sections of our population, a plan which will not try to interfere in any artificial way with the development of any race and which bears the hall mark of sympathetic justice.

Someone has said: "Faith, hope and courage, and the greatest of these is *courage*. That is what we need, courage to break with our own prejudices, courage to face public opinion, courage to act according to the teaching of our Lord: 'As ye would that men do unto you, do ye unto them also.'"

MR. G. H. FRANZ said that differential treatment in Native education must derive its authority from the existence of real differences, due either to environment or heredity or both. Any attempt to differentiate educationally between individuals or groups where there is no difference in fact is fraught with many dangers, both to those attempting it and those subjected to it. On the other hand, failure to differentiate where there are real differences must lead to a disregard or transgression of basic educational principles. Differential educational development involves the free application of educational principles to meet different needs.

Differentiation in education therefore does not necessarily imply unequal treatment, as so many think. This is to confuse equality of treatment and uniformity of treatment. Recognition of differences in gifts, endowments, aptitudes and capabilities is essential for the development of educational method. Insistence upon uniformity implies either ignoring existing differences or failing to recognise values in one or other of the groups concerned. This must result in the creation of a sense of inferiority in the group, thus destroying self-reliance and endangering self-respect—with unfavourable results on its development.

Are there differences to be reckoned with in Native education ; if so, what are they ?

Amongst European children there are differences between groups of children which have to be recognised. The rural child, for instance, has quite a different world, environmentally and even traditionally, from the urban child. The child's ideas and their expression are gleaned and garnered from the particular world around him. The wise educator will therefore (1) make sure that the child is fully conscious and cognisant of his own environment, and (2) lead the child along known paths into pastures new. He will bring knowledge to the child through the use of the child's own experience. In these ways extreme abstraction and mere memorisation are avoided and the assimilation of knowledge ensured.

If we find this clear difference between children of the same race, and have to differentiate in our educational methods of dealing with them, how much greater must the differences be where the children are of different races, and how much more careful must the educator be in the choice and use of his methods.

And there are differences between groups in each race. While the detribalised urban Native is fundamentally the same as his cousin in the Reserve (and superficial differences should not blind us to this identity), the educator recognises that the urban child is growing up in a different environment with different material and social needs and with different terms to express his ideas. Both are *Abantu*, but each requires his educational food served to suit his own needs.

The urban Native child grows up in an environment that is more or less European, and his material needs are certainly similar in kind to those of the European. What his spiritual needs are it is difficult to tell, because time, thought and energy consumed in the satisfaction of his material needs leave little margin for spiritual matters. His Reserve cousin, on the other hand, is growing up in a natural material environment and in the spiritual environment of his own group, and has more leisure for the satisfaction of the spiritual urge. For this reason one must go to the rural areas to discover what the *Umntu* really is.

Two cases have been presented in antithesis. These extremes are however linked together by several degrees of development and of environmental conditions. Thus we have (i) the Native areas where the shortage of land has forced adjustments in the social life, (ii) the rural mission station where the community life is not controlled by the hereditary chief and his council, but, where successful, is based upon the voluntary readiness of individuals to serve under the guidance of the missionary ; (iii) the Native-owned farms where probably the Native Commissioner rules ; (iv) the European farm where the school is dependent upon the relations between the European farmer and the Natives on his land ; and (v) the urban areas, where the Native finds it difficult to preserve his self-respect because of the social conditions. Each of these communities has its own conditions and its own problems. Education must be adapted to each separate group, if injustice is to be avoided.

Two schools of thought have sprung up in regard to Native education, and their disagreement has been due to the fact that one views the educational needs of the Native child from the urban point of view ; and the other from the rural. The urban view is that eventually European civilisation must predominate in Africa, and the Natives should be led into this civilisation as quickly as possible by sacrificing their own culture. The rural view is that, as European civilisation is a dis-

integrating factor in Bantu life, education must regulate its influence and minimise its dangers.

Instruction and training in the school tends to separate the Native from his group and to make him a hanger-on in the European group rather than the natural leader of his own group. This leads to racial discrimination against Natives and to a loss of faith among the Native people in qualified men and women of their own race. Mr. Franz held that the training given is too often unsuitable, because it is based upon European conditions of life, and makes those trained more suitable for European service, and thus more liable to "colour bars". It also makes them disinclined to serve their own people.

The discussion showed that there had now been reached fairly general agreement with the view that, while there is no such thing as a "Native" mind that is distinct in kind from the human mind, as exemplified in the European, and that therefore there is a fundamental identity between European and Bantu which education can use, yet there are such profound differences in the "cultural inheritances" of these racial groups, and also such great differences in their social and economic status that education must differentiate in the methods, if not in the nature, of its preparation of the children for life—the sort of life they will be free to enter. But so rapid are the changes in the environmental situations in Africa to-day that the task of education is made most difficult. Education for life—but what life? Even as the worker must become adjusted to changed industrial conditions, if he is to maintain his place in industry, or the subsistence agriculturist must change his method of cultivation, if he is to survive in a money economy, so education must equip the pupil to take and keep his place in the changing African society. Differentiation there must be, if education is to be intelligently directive; but differentiation at the expense of the adaptability of the African in a changing society would be disastrous for him and for African life.

2. THE MEDIUM QUESTION

During recent years discussions have grown more frequent and more heated on this question. To what extent should the vernacular be used in Native schools? Should a European language be introduced at all into the primary school? If so, when and how should it be admitted? Are the vernaculars capable of use beyond the elementary school courses? Will the use of the vernaculars deprive Africans of admission to the wider culture and opportunities of Western civilisation?

MR. W. THURLBECK'S paper was based on his experience as head of the teacher training department of the Lovedale Institution, and, more recently, as an inspector of schools. He explained that, in the Cape Province, the home language is the medium of instruction up to and including Standard III, except in schools where there are several languages, when a compromise takes place. After Standard III it is permissible to introduce an official language as the medium of instruction, and the progress in this direction depends upon the teacher in charge

of the classes. In some schools instruction to Standard VI is mainly through the Native language, while in others an official language is largely used. After Standard VI all instruction is through an official language, which is usually English.

English has been used from the establishment of Native schools, because it was the language of those who gave the instruction and there were no books in the vernacular. It was only later, as the missionaries learned the vernacular, that they were able to publish books in that tongue. Also, the Africans, like the Natives of Britain during the Roman occupation, are eager to learn the language of a superior civilisation. They regard attempts at forcing the use of the vernacular as designed, like the restrictions in the economic field, to prevent the Africans from taking advantage of their learning and industry. They are suspicious and bewildered. Where would the British people have been to-day if they had been left to "develop along their own lines"?

Those who fear the disappearance of the Bantu languages because the Africans learn English might be reminded of the fact that, despite the Norman conquest and the use of Norman-French, English did not die out of England, but became a stronger, more flexible language.

It is contended that the instruction through English results in an inferior standard of instruction in Native schools. The teaching up to Standard III, which is through the mother tongue, is little if any better than in the higher classes. In the higher classes in schools, where most of the teaching is done through the mother tongue, the standard of work is no better than in those schools where English is largely used. The fault is not in the medium of instruction, but in the quality of teachers. Nor is the poor quality of teachers the fault of the training schools. It is due to the system which expects a Native, with three years' training after Standard VI, isolated from all cultural influences, to keep mentally alert and to teach his pupils to think. The African has to rely almost entirely upon the school for his education, as the cultural influences so freely available to the European are too remote and expensive.

There are practical difficulties in the use of the vernacular for instruction in history, geography, nature study and hygiene, as many terms are found in these subjects which are not found in the vernacular. English terms must be used, and are indeed better understood even when, technically, a Bantu equivalent can be found.

But the most important consideration of all is that the door of cultural opportunities shall be kept open, so that those who can may use the European culture as a means of enriching their own language. Just as the forty-seven translators of the Bible into English were as much at home in the languages of Greece, Rome and Palestine, so Africans will be able to use English to build up a literature in Bantu languages.

MR. D. G. S. MTIMKULU presented the African's view of the question.

Instruction in the mother tongue is an obvious psychological necessity for all children, since it is the language in which the child thinks and in which its whole mental structure has been built up since infancy. In Native schools this necessity is even greater, since a European language is a foreign medium to the teacher. The results of the failure to use the home language are to be found in a lack of alertness and self-activity among the pupils.

Why has there not been a more general use of the home language as the medium of instruction? The chief reason is the opposition of the Bantu themselves. They have changed their outlook during

the last eighty years. They now know the value of money and economic pressure forces them to work for the White man and, in the struggle for employment, they come to the conclusion that knowledge of one of the official languages is essential. The worker must know his employer's language, and the vast majority of the Bantu to-day do work for the White man. They believe too that the White man earns big money because he is educated.

Another reason is that the Bantu fear that the continuance of so many Bantu languages will keep the tribes apart and restrict friendly intercourse. English provides a *lingua franca* by which all the tribes can understand each other. A common knowledge of English or Afrikaans immediately puts one at ease when amongst people of a different tribe. There is a sense of one-ness and of friendliness. This is one of the reasons why the Bantu prefer to conduct their meetings in English. They don't do this merely to ape the White man, as some people think. The harmonious relations existing between the various tribal groups in our institutions, where the students are compelled to speak English, are an excellent example of the effectiveness of this plan.

The lack of text books, vocabularies and attractive literature for juveniles has also been a handicap to the use of the vernaculars.

A final solution of this question cannot be got until Bantu society has become more stabilised, until we are sure where we are going. At present our European friends are all anxious to tell us whither we should go, but their counsel is various, and so we remain bewildered.

In the meantime, it should be possible to use the home language in the schools throughout the rural areas. The Welsh researches show that, in the rural areas of Wales, the unilingual child is superior to the child who has been taught through the medium of the foreign tongue. They also show that "the change from the mother tongue to the second language can best be made at the age of nine....., at which age the child reaches that cycle of precision in the development of his interests which is marked by a greatly increased capacity for language". (Saer, Smith & Hughes: *The Bilingual Problem*.)

The conditions under which the Bantu live probably delays this age of transition in our children by one or two years. The average Muntu at the age of ten or eleven is in Standard II. Thus the second language might be introduced for the first time in Standard III and taught by the direct method.

About ninety per cent. of Bantu children do not reach Standard II, and the few years they spend at school are wasted in trying to master the foreign medium, and many lose their grip of it in a few years after leaving school.

One is struck by the dislike of Bantu parents for such new subjects as hygiene and nature study. Their quarrel is not with the subjects themselves as with the waste of time they entail, since the children have so little to show for them when they leave school. For the majority of parents, the surest sign of a good education is good English (the goodness in many cases depending on the length and sonorousness of the words used). If a child has passed Standard I, he will be tested to see if he can read the Bible, and, at the next visit to the shop, he will be expected to make fair use of his knowledge of English and arithmetic when misunderstandings arise with the shopkeeper. The parents now find that the children are not proving equal to these tests: their father's generation was much better. And the new subjects are to blame.

The complete removal of English at this stage will not make things much worse, so far as the parents are concerned, while one great

gain will have been secured: the vast number of children who leave school at the earliest stages will be able to use what they have been taught at school. Another result will be that parents will keep their children at school longer to learn to read and write English, thus ensuring better education for the children. As English is spoken in the higher standards, the children in the lower will pick up English words and phrases on the playground before they begin on formal instruction in English.

From Standard III the foreign medium would be used increasingly, and after Standard VI the vernacular would disappear as medium, and the children prepared for the more specialised kind of service in which they would be employed after leaving school.

Whether the second language should be English or Afrikaans should depend to a great extent on the locality. In the Orange Free State and South Western districts of the Cape, Afrikaans would be more suitable than English, whereas the reverse would be the case in the Eastern Province and Natal. But, for more advanced education, English would give the pupils access to the wider world.

Thus provided for, bilingualism would not be a handicap, but an opportunity, enabling the African to view things not only from his own point of view, but from the other man's—the White man's—also; a very desirable accomplishment in a country where White and Black have to live harmoniously side by side. Our education would thus more thoroughly equip the Bantu to make their contribution to the national life of South Africa.

MR. J. H. FARQUHAR dealt with "The Educational Importance of the Vernacular", and drew attention to the swing over in educational opinion regarding the place and use of the vernaculars in education. Macaulay's emphasis upon the importance of making the Indians English "in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect" has given way to the view that the suppression of the vernacular is dangerous both to the governed and to the governing people. It is now more generally recognised that the personality of the African is rooted in the past of his own race. He has a social heritage different from the Europeans, he has different ideas and a different outlook. Unless we are prepared to recognise this past, we shall act unjustly towards him, and our educational system will be unsound. Language is one of the links with the past, it is a part of the environment, and "the dependence of the mental process on its antecedents, immediate and remote, is educationally sufficient to demonstrate the obvious importance of the vernacular, for not only is the past called into play of necessity, but it largely conditions the future".

Up to the time of going to school, all life, its objects and experiences have been reduced to meaning in terms of the mother tongue.

In the Reserves or Locations (not the town locations) it will be unnecessary for the African to know any other tongue for a considerable time, if at all.*

By far the greatest percentage of school pupils are enrolled in the lower classes, where inevitably the bulk of their instruction is through the mother tongue.

The average school life is extremely short. Some authorities put it down at two years.

* Compare this statement with Mr. Mtimkulu's that the majority of Natives in the Union at some time in their lives must work for Europeans.

Pedagogical methods in the use of the vernacular deserve consideration. In the first place, the teacher must select, simplify and grade, not only his material but also his own language to suit the needs of the various groups within the school society, otherwise the language used will not be meaningful, the concepts will be vague, and the aim of enabling the children to understand their own surroundings in a fuller way, before leading them on to themes based on a wider environment, will not be fulfilled.

The vernacular must be regarded as a tool subject, capable of conveying accurately and meaningfully matter that is familiar to the tribe or race. The language as a subject must also be regarded as worthy of extension and development.

"During a round of kraal schools this year I made a point of asking the children to sing. The European songs or their translations were sung in a harsh, lifeless and unintelligent way. I pressed for something belonging to them, and they sang a tribal song. The whole atmosphere was changed, faces brightened, voices were lusty, time was good, bodies swayed and there was the whole irresistible, haunting rhythm of African music. Again, contrast the intelligence side of the English reading lesson with the telling of legends round the camp fire."

There is a mistaken idea that the African child never makes mistakes in the use of his mother tongue. African teachers apparently act on this assumption. They object to vernacular work because it is their own language, implying that they do not need either to learn or teach it. This attitude is maintained in oral and written composition.

African children are no more language perfect than the children of any other race. It is necessary, therefore, to deal more adequately with the vernacular not only in the kraal schools, but also in all other types of schools, staffed partly by Africans. In fact, it is through the fuller treatment, particularly in the training schools, that the educated African can remain in living contact with the masses, and that Western knowledge can become a means of promoting the sound advancement of the whole people. The growth of vernacular literature will also depend upon the stress given to the subject throughout the courses. There is a definite relationship between the *Isibongo* and the development of African poetry and music. Oratory and dramatics tend to disappear, and there is a golden opportunity to win back the lost ground. Thus the way for fuller development and expansion is opened up. But, apart from these higher reaches and the production of accredited literature, there is an even greater call by the masses of Native children for a series of graded readers for elementary work.

To lift the vernacular in the regard of the teacher and pupils, it must not only be used as a medium but also as a subject, throughout all types of schools, its richness, flexibility, expressiveness, musical qualities and its capacity for development being emphasised, so that eventually there may be created a literature by the Africans themselves.

There are difficulties in the use of the vernacular, the main one being due to the multiplicity of dialects. In Southern Rhodesia the four main Shona dialects have been unified. They showed over eighty per cent. agreement. It is always permissible to allow for local variations in the conversational language, but the conversational language will tend to approach the written language, so that the schools will help in the process of coalescence; selection and perpetuation.

The treatment of minority language groups is another difficulty, but, even if they have to be taught through a Bantu language not their

own, it is nearer in vocabulary, structure and cultural background than a European language.

The creation of new words to express new ideas is still another difficulty. In Southern Rhodesia an expressive word for the motor-car is *hamba kobvu*, which describes a vehicle without animals, driven by fire, travelling on wheels and moving with a swinging gait over the rough veld, much as the tortoise waddles along. One writer would discard such words, because they are merely labels for some newly observed object and are not a help to an understanding of the object. He admits that such words are expressive, and therefore they must express some understanding, and no word yet has a complete or identical understanding for each of us. Such complete understanding is unnecessary, just as an explanation in English for many of the technical terms is unnecessary. African speech forms are essentially descriptive, onomatopoeic, and individualistic and such forms as *hamba kobvu* are therefore legitimately worthy of inclusion in the vernacular. Most Africans appreciate the value of metaphor in the embellishment of their thoughts, while the naturally versatile mind of the race is reflected in language made picturesque by the use of exclamations. The Bantu vernaculars are also readily receptive of words from other languages, at which observers like Livingstone have marvelled.

There are however distinct limitations when new fields of knowledge have to be covered. In arithmetic it is difficult to deal with large numbers, and, while the simpler processes of addition and subtraction can be conveniently handled, fractions and proportions seem impossible through the vernacular. Perhaps African teachers in time will provide a suitable terminology. Subjects involving the use of specialised technical vocabulary present great difficulties, but for these (such as hygiene, nature study, history, geography, scripture, science, drawing, possibly music, industry and commerce) equivalents may be found by using existing words in the vernacular, or by adapting words from a European language. In the last resort, it is not the word but the meaning that is essential.

In conclusion, let it be said that the retention, development and expansion of the language, the richness and efficacy of the meaning will depend upon the co-operative work of Government officials, educators, and missionaries with trained African teachers and the products of our African schools. To quote Westermann (*The African To-day*): "In the last resort, the fate of the African depends not only on the will of the White man, but upon what the African makes of himself. Should leaders arise who are conscious of their responsibility, who can succeed in making their responsibility a vital force in those who follow their leadership, then the African will emerge from the upheavals of to-day as a new human being, and the co-operation of the white and the black will be a blessing to both."

PROFESSOR G.P. LESTRADE, in his paper on the "The Cultural Function and Social Value of the Mother Tongue", said that language has one important point on which it differs from other cultural factors, and that is its power of reflecting all the other factors, and of summing up the various factors beside itself which make up a culture. Language plays a most important part in the mental conditioning of the individuals forming the society in which it is spoken, and to that extent links the individual firmly, fundamentally and irrevocably to that society. Not only does it give the individual the equipment to enrich himself within the cultural environment, it also limits him to a certain extent in his

absorption of and participation in other cultures. Whether or not these effects of language work together for good is still a debatable question, but among those best qualified to judge there is a growing opinion which holds that they do. There are still, of course, those in the minority who maintain that the African should be weaned from his own culture and should be made over as quickly and as successfully as possible into a product of his European overlords. But complete assimilation of this kind is impossible, and even the possibility of a relatively large amount of assimilation is highly problematical.

There is a peculiar and intimate relationship between speech and idea, both, to a certain extent, condition each other. In its very words, their phonetic form and aesthetic effect; their natural meaning and emotional association; in its grammatical categories and the manner in which words are assigned to those categories; in its syntactical structure of words and phrases; its stylistic structure in the joining of phrases into sentences; in that very special distillation of its individual spirit which we call its idiom, a language presents to us, with an accuracy and delicacy peculiar to itself, a certain outlook upon and expression of reality, a people's conception of the nature of things and their relationships to each other, and of how this nature and these relationships can be expressed and transmitted. In this notation, as it were, we find expressed in the literature written or unwritten living in the language, a whole body of notional and emotional stuff, a whole presentation and criticism of environment and experience, a whole achievement in the reaching-out after the truth, the beauty and the goodness of things, which are the glory of literature, whether written or unwritten, simple or sophisticated, rich or poor.

But language is limited by the inability of any society to grasp and interpret all the facts, all the values, all the relationships of human experience beyond its own, and society, except in rare cases, presents the individual from the day of his birth with one language, his mother tongue, either to the exclusion or to the practical negligibility of any other language, putting it constantly before him and exercising him in it during his first most impressionable and habit-forming years, making him, almost to the same extent as he grows into and becomes rooted in his mother tongue, unfit to learn any other language to quite the same degree of perfection. "The language learnt before five years of age," say Saer, Smith and Hughes in *The Bilingual Problem*, "and the power thereby gained of adjusting the mind impressively and expressively to the environment, is the rock upon which thereafter all conscious thought is erected as a superstructure." They might well have added that it is a rock upon which no superstructure not rooted in itself can stand.

How far is this linguistic conditioning permanent and immutable? It is possible for an individual, to a certain extent, to learn other languages than his own, to enter into their dimension of logic, to get to handle them with a certain amount of intelligence and ease; but the change involved is comparatively small, and it is doubtful how far the intellectual emancipation gained compensates for the intellectual disturbance caused.

The actual extent of the change depends upon the age at which one begins to learn the secondary languages, the conditions under which one learns them, and the amount and kind of opportunity one gets of practising them; and the influence of the primary and fundamental language is so strong that, under whatever optimum conditions the secondary languages have been learnt and practised, their formative value

is discounted by the fact that they never become as inevitable and natural as the mother tongue, they continue to be something accidental or abnormal. The price to be paid for emancipation from fundamental conditioning may be too great, for many psychologists believe that the simultaneous presence in the individual's mind of different systems of analysis and expression of experience contained in the various languages give rise to psychological disturbances. While not accepting the more extreme view on this point, the argument is not without considerable significance.

It is important to keep in mind, too, the fact that languages are capable of extreme variation in type, differing from each other in all essential features. These differences may be so great even in languages which are relatively close to each other in nature as to constitute, for all practical purposes, differences in kind. The differences may be much greater between languages which are poles apart in vocabulary, morphology, syntax and idiom. It has been shown that in languages which belong to the same family and share the same structure (as in the case of English and Welsh, or French and Flemish or English and Afrikaans) bilingualism in the fullest sense is impossible and only attainable to a very limited extent and at the risk, if not certainty, of a heavy price; how much more complicated is the problem in the case of the African languages on the one hand and the European languages on the other, languages which represent extremes of variations sufficient to constitute them into virtually different systems of logic?

The lesson to be learnt from all this is that in the African's mother tongue we have the mental foundation upon which the African's mind should be built, and that though his mental horizon may be enlarged by introducing him to other languages, these cannot take the place of his mother tongue, and any attempt to make them do so is fraught with the greatest danger to the African.

The African's linguistic passport through life has no mean validity, and no denizens of other continents need look down upon African citizens franked with this seal. African languages are capable of a very great deal of expressiveness, flexibility and real beauty, besides being capable, to an extent not shared by many other languages, of expansion both by adaptation of elements imported from other languages, and, what is more important, by increase of resources from within themselves. Africans, in fact, have no reason whatever to be, as unfortunately many of them are, ashamed of their linguistic heritage: they should rather be very proud of it, love it and cherish it; and we, our brothers' keepers, should do all in our power to save our brothers' souls alive to them by helping them to preserve for them the speech of their people, which is their own speech.

THE REV. A. A. LOUW, JR., in his paper on "The Relationship between the Teaching of the Vernacular in the Schools and the Growth of the Church", held that religion is a vital element in man's nature, and that the school which excludes from, or even neglects religious instruction in the curriculum will never succeed in reaching the whole man, and through the individual, a very vital part of the community life.

Now, while the Christian Church is universal in character, it is more truly universal when it enters into the idiom of the people's soul. Each race has its peculiar genius, and it is from this genius that the Church has received its enrichment. Without Africa's peculiar contribution, the Church would be lacking in completeness. There are spiritual

values in African life that are well worth preserving and that will be a worthy contribution to the universal church of the future. What that contribution will be is not known yet, and it can only come if Africa is permitted and encouraged to assert and develop unfettered its own personality. The conception of the Christian Church is a foreign one to the African, and it can never become truly African unless it is linked to the African's past. The link is found in the vernacular. If the vernacular is lost, the people lose continuity with the past.

What is the secret of the entry of the Church into the life of the people of Africa and its ability to touch its deepest strings? It is found in the fact that Christianity has been presented to the people in their mother tongue. The Church has long since discovered that the highway to the soul is through the mother tongue. If the Church is to become fully indigenous in Africa, and is to mature successfully, it must become thoroughly African, and, to become thoroughly African, it cannot be divorced from the vernacular.

Similarly, the medium used in the schools must inevitably affect the growth of the Church. The deepest and most lasting impressions come through the mother tongue, and the child of to-day will be the Church member of to-morrow. Through him the Church must grow. Let the language of the school be other than the language of the people and of the Church, then school and Church must inevitably drift apart. This would be disastrous.

While Africa needs all the good things, Europe and the older civilisations can give it, these can never become truly African until they have passed through the mill of the African mind and received the stamp of African personality. Without this, they will never lose their foreign taste and colour. And, although opportunities for the African to master a European language and in that way to enter freely into a wealth of knowledge must not be restricted, yet for many years, perhaps for all time, the masses of Africa will have to receive whatever intellectual and spiritual treasures the older countries can give them through the vernacular only. Education to the point where the African can fully assimilate intellectual and spiritual values has, so far, been the prerogative of the privileged few. Even so, it is doubtful whether the European language can be an effective medium for religious instruction and religious expression. The school must preserve and develop the vernacular to keep pace with the mental growth of the people so that it may be an effective medium for imparting knowledge, spiritual and other, to the masses without the school walls. It is specially desirable that the vernacular be used for religious instruction throughout the school and that it should be given its due place and emphasis in the teacher training schools.

There is great need of vernacular literature. Africa wants literature, not merely translations, even where made by Africans, but literature springing from African soil, breathing forth the African atmosphere, composed in true African style, gripping the African soul. The unification and standardisation of the stronger African dialects is most desirable and can be done without injury.

The vernacular is likewise very important in building up in the mind certain "structural mental patterns". Especially is this the case in the matter of religion, where the foundations of all subsequent religious experiences and impressions are laid in the tender years. If religious instruction is given in any other than the mother tongue, the child is liable to enter life with religious misconceptions which will be a perpetual handicap, and very difficult to get rid of.

The introduction of the Bible as a school text book is a debatable question, but with reasonable care it should prove a gain. Not only will the child have the opportunity of early access to what is, in most cases, the best literature in the vernacular (even though it be a translation); it will be of value to the growth of the Church as its potential members become familiar with the language and accents of Scripture in their most impressionable years.

If the Church is to be, in a sense, a projection of the school, it is obvious that worship, fellowship and Christian service should find a place in the school. Religious instruction which does not issue in worship misses its mark. Reality in worship is attained only when all the activities of life are expressed in terms of relationship to God, manifesting itself in adoration, song, prayer and intercession. For these the mother tongue alone suffices. True worship, too, must not only be individual, it must be corporate, engendering a sense of fellowship and service. Genuine fellowship can best be experienced and mutual service best be rendered through the mother tongue, which is the most cohesive factor in a race.

Thus, there should be adopted towards the vernacular an attitude of sympathy and reverence, regarding it as the people's spiritual heritage, exalting it to the position to which it is entitled, and instilling in the African child a sense of pride in it. If this is done, a link will be forged with the child's past, with his race, with his Church, which will prove well-nigh unbreakable, no matter how severe the strain put upon it by the forces of a changing society.

The REVEREND K. T. MOTSETE pleaded for the right of the African to free access to European languages. In his paper on "The Cultural and Economic Importance of European Languages in Native Education" he pointed out that, since the European is the chief employer of the African, knowledge of the employer's language is a prime necessity for the African worker. Those who can speak the employer's language usually get preference as "boss-boys" or foremen with higher wages. Some African teachers learn Afrikaans and thereby find employment in Coloured schools at higher salaries, even going to the length of passing themselves off as Cape Coloured or Eur-African.

The political supremacy of the White man makes it desirable that the African should know the "official languages" of his rulers. Their commercial value, too, is important, for trade is carried on in them. They, too, serve as a medium through which Natives of different tribes and languages may have inter-communication and thereby learn to know each other and to co-operate with each other. The African National Congress, the African Eisteddfod and the Bantu Trade Exhibitions are made possible by the use of English as a *lingua franca*.

On the cultural side, European languages provide the "open sesame" to all higher education and professional callings, not only because the vernaculars lack the necessary text-books and literature, but also because they have not yet developed scientific and technical terms.

An African's ability to speak a European language often humanises him in the eyes of Europeans, who, when they hear an African speak in their language, find him to be a human being with feelings and aspirations not unlike their own. They then become more sympathetically disposed.

Most African writers will gratefully admit that their works have been largely inspired by the literature of the European languages; and our religious literature has been built up through translations from European writings.

Those educators who hold a purely utilitarian conception of Native education are wont to decry the inclusion of the classics, *i.e.* Latin and Greek for the Native. But the Native being also a man, "cannot live by bread alone". There must be room for some idealism in his education if the Native schools are to send out workers as well as leaders to their own people. No leader can lead without "the vision beautiful" challenging his best effort, that is, without idealism. The number of Native students who take some classical language in their course of study is proof enough that the Native does want the classics.

Now, the relation of the ancient classical languages to those considered at the time as barbarous tongues offers an interesting analogy to the modern situation. The writers of the classical period looked down upon such languages as English, German or Dutch, in the same way as these modern European languages are inclined to regard the Native African languages, namely, as the languages of an inferior, because less civilised and subject people. For does not Cicero, in a letter to his friend Atticus, describe the inhabitants of Britain (who were mainly of Nordic descent, mark you!) as being so ugly and unintelligent as not fit to be servants in the house of a gentleman of Rome? Caesar's opinion of the Gauls and Germans previously had been similar.

But to-day the wonderful scientific and artistic progress made by these erstwhile despised people, and the world-wide empires they have built, have given a lie to the theories of these ancient aristocrats obsessed with the idea of racial superiority.

From the classics a Native is struck by the fact that, what is called European culture and civilisation is, strangely enough, not of European origination, but that the nations stand in a sort of apostolic succession as recipients and transmitters of this culture. Egypt taught Mycenae and Greece, Greece taught Rome, and Rome the Western European nations, who in turn passed it on to all parts of the world, so the African Native is at present the last of the line. What a position of honour, and what a hope too for the African! For, if Herr Spengler, the authority on the rise and decline of cultures, is right, then the African is only at the beginning of a great future; with him "the best is yet to be", while some people are awaiting the setting sun of their last winter day, and after that the dark! But some say Spengler is wrong.

Now, just as the English or Germans, with all the influence of Greece and Rome, remained English and German, so it is quite possible that after all the contact with Western culture the African will remain African, developing culturally as an African.

Again, the way Latin and Greek are still influencing the mind and thought of the boys and girls in our secondary schools, shows how the soul of a people, as expressed in their language, can outlive the nation that used that language and still mould the thought of future generations of other nations and races. That is, no language is the sole property of a particular nation, but a common possession of humanity.

PROFESSOR C. M. DOKE's paper on "The Standardisation of Bantu Dialects and the Development of Literature in the Vernacular" showed clearly that a great deal of work remains to be done if Bantu languages are to become effective instruments for the cultural development of the African people. The first steps to be taken should be in the direction of the classification of the speech forms in each Bantu area, and the standardisation as languages of those dialect groupings as constitute linguistic entities.

The task will not be an easy one, since in some areas no little confusion has been created by the independent labours of missionaries in separate and strictly local dialects, resulting in the development of literature, e.g. Bible translations, in each of the local dialects. In other areas a mission, covering a wide field, has carried a literary form in which early work was done, and imposed it upon tribes to whom it is really a foreign language.

Dr. Doke then analysed the various language clusters in the Union of South Africa and showed how they might be classified.

There are strong movements for the unification, not only of dialects, but also of language clusters, as, for example, Tswana and Northern Sotho. The motive is economic. In order to develop a literature there must be a reading public, there must be a sufficient number of people who can and will buy books, and very little can be done for populations of Bantu, which muster less than a million. This is creating a desire on the part of allied languages, those belonging to a common cluster, to pool their resources and to create a common, worthwhile literature. The attempt to develop Ndebele literature for a population of 140,000 must give way to the use of Zulu, which serves over two millions.

How are we to determine what should be the literary media in doubtful cases? It is important to ascertain the natural tendency with these languages and dialects and to guide and assist that. No hard and fast rules can be laid down; each situation calls for its own special study; each should be treated on its merits. Certain factors, however, can be helpful as guides. It may be found in a particular area that one of the dialects of the cluster far outstrips all others in the number who speak it; in the respect paid to it by the members of the whole cluster; and in its own inherent virility, as shown in the relative culture and intellect of the speakers, the literature already produced, and the growing number of its speakers who are using it for literary expression. Such factors would seem to point to the immediate choice of this major dialect to be the literary medium for the whole cluster.

On the other hand, an investigation may reveal that two or three group-forms within the cluster have more or less equal claims to consideration. An example was provided in Southern Rhodesia, where there were four groups—Karanga, Zezuru, Manyika and Nda. Of these Zezuru seemed to be the most central as regards phonology and vocabulary; Karanga had the greatest number of speakers, while Manyika had the greatest number of publications. It was obviously impossible to impose upon the whole area any one of these as the literary form. A very high degree of grammatical structure and, except for the case of Nda, an extremely high percentage of common vocabulary was found. The recommendation, which was accepted, was that these groups be unified under the name of Shona, the grammar being standardised on the basis of Karanga and Zezuru, the vocabulary being inclusive of Zezuru, Karanga, Manyika and Nda, and a common, unified orthography being employed.

The co-operation of the Bantu themselves is important. Fortunately, an increasing number of Bantu, sufficiently advanced to be able to make valuable contributions to the discussions and the settlement of these problems, are now to be found. The success of any scheme of standardisation will be proportionate to the co-operation and keenness of the people themselves.

For the development of vernacular literature an established and settled orthography is essential. In the past several forms have been used, even within one cluster. If one orthography is fixed to serve

a unified language it should be as carefully and exactly settled as possible ; and the principles laid down by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures provide a sound and satisfactory basis for Bantu orthographies.

While a good deal has been done and is being done in Bantu languages in studying and recording grammar and vocabulary, little attention has been given to style and idiom. So many of the Bantu texts collected contribute little to the literature. They lack felicity of expression and most are prosaic in the extreme. The right type of collector must be found and used.

Encouragement should be given to Africans to study the idiom and composition of Bantu languages, and for this Africans must have pride and faith in their own language.

The papers, and the discussions which followed them, revealed far more agreement than might have been expected from controversies on this subject which break out from time to time. A useful survey of the actual situation, in regard to the use of the vernacular in schools in each of the African territories represented at the Conference, was obtained orally, and it showed that everywhere the vernacular is used in the earliest standards, although there is considerable variation in the stages at which a European language is introduced. The economic importance to the African child of some acquaintance with the White man's language exerts a powerful influence upon educational policy. From the pedagogical point of view, this influence is undue and unsound, but, for the African parent, the bread and butter aspect is ever before him, and he becomes resentful when instruction in the European languages is withheld from his children.

Several speakers also emphasised the influence upon African parents and teachers of their lack of pride in their own mother tongue ; indeed there is more than a lack of pride, there is positive conviction that it has no educational value for their children.

Professor Bovet commented upon this feature of the African situation, and pointed out that in Wales and Catalonia there is found a strong desire for the use of the mother tongue for emotional expression, and that in Belgian schools instruction in a language other than the mother tongue would be resented greatly.

Political considerations also affect the African's attitude. Fear of unfair discrimination, so often experienced in political, economic and social spheres, lead him to believe that his salvation lies in emphasising his identity with the ruling race—in language, in cultural tastes and in social habits, in just those things where differences are quickly felt and tend to cause revulsions. Attempts by European educators to use and develop the vernaculars are regarded as motivated by unfriendly political considerations and designed to close the doors of cultural and economic opportunities.

All these psychological factors in the African's attitude towards the use of the vernaculars in the schools made themselves felt in the discussions, and they cannot be ignored. They can be overcome by patience and a sympathetic understanding of the people, and also by ensuring that the doors of opportunity are kept open for those who can enter.

The most encouraging feature in an unsatisfactory situation is the growing readiness of Africans themselves to use the vernacular as the

medium for literary expression. There are signs that the supply of suitable reading and illustrated matter, prepared by Africans themselves, will soon exceed the means of publication.

3. THE CONTENT OF AFRICAN EDUCATION

The Conference, having painstakingly sought to obtain a clearer view of the world into which the African child is born and in which he must find his place, and having attained to a fuller appreciation of the forces, both favourable and unfavourable, both old and new, which education must either use or overcome for the free development of the child, now turned its attention to a study of the means which education should adopt for its task, and to a consideration of the nature and range of the instruction which the school should provide to prepare the child for the life which lies before him.

PROFESSOR W. EISELEN followed up his account of the social and economic position of the mission community of "Toevlug" in the Middelburg district, Transvaal, by an outspoken criticism of the results of the education provided in the schools.

The Toevlug community have for over two generations enjoyed security on their land, the spiritual and moral guidance of their missionaries, and the privileges of compulsory education. These advantages have not, with few exceptions, led to the formation of a respectable, well-to-do, progressive community. Soil cultivation has, it is true, improved by the use of the plough and manure, but water-rights have been neglected, except for the cultivation of wheat. The same old Bantu crops—mealies, kaffir-corn, Native pumpkin and a little sugar cane—are grown year after year. No attempt is made to plant potatoes or vegetables. The fruit trees planted in earlier years, under missionary stimulus, have not been replaced by new ones, and the people have shown no capacity to combat fruit diseases and insect pests. No advantage has been taken of the existence in the neighbouring town of an easy market for their agricultural and garden produce. Production remains at the bare requirements of the family; even so, they sell to the trader at low prices what they have to buy back later at higher prices. Their stock farming is uneconomic, the cattle being too numerous and too poor in quality. Milk supply is small and neither butter nor cheese is made.

Nevertheless, their standard of living is higher than that of the tribal Native. They build more ambitious houses—three or even five rooms—for which they buy doors, windows and furniture from European traders. Enamel, porcelain and iron-ware have practically replaced the old Native pots, and the clothing is European. Their homes are not as neat as those of the heathen tribesmen, and their personal appearance is unsatisfactory. Their needs being higher than their economic position as agriculturists warrants, the men must needs go to work for periods in towns or on White farms, and the women provide the most secure form of income by washing for the Europeans of the neighbouring town.

What has been the school's contribution? The children are kept in school from eight years of age until about sixteen; but twenty-five per cent. remain in or fail to reach Standard I, seventy-five per cent. pass Standard I, thirty per cent. pass Standard II, ten per cent. pass Standard III and higher standards. The vast majority thus receive only the rudiments of education, and that which they receive is practically valueless. It is true that school attendance is irregular, the

equipment bad, and the children suffer from malnutrition ; but the chief causes of the ineffectiveness of the school are an unsuitable school curriculum and poorly trained teachers (although all have teaching certificates). The teachers are bad teachers because they do not know what they are really driving at. They teach the children what knowledge they themselves have acquired, but they have not been told, or at least well told, that it is their job to prepare the children for a useful, better, fuller life. The general effect of Native education has been to prepare the Bantu to become the hired servants of Europeans.

"What curriculum do I advocate ? I would aim at enabling the Bantu to become a self-contained, respecting people. I would have the three R's, elementary history and geography, nature study and religion, all taught in the vernacular. Next, I would provide for Bantu subjects—Bantu history, Bantu folk-lore, Bantu songs, Bantu tribal life. These would develop Bantu national sentiment, so sadly lacking to-day. I would too, include in the curriculum the early history of European peoples, to illustrate the rise of civilised peoples from humble beginnings. The arithmetic taught in the vernacular should be practical enough to train the children in the use of money : how and what to buy, how and when to sell the produce of the land. If they learn these it will be easy to teach them how to save.

"On the practical side of the curriculum, I would include gardening and elementary agriculture, with, for the boys, craft training for home use, and for the girls housekeeping and needlework ; for both sexes I would provide instruction in hygiene and Native art. Many of these subjects would be taught at the children's homes, and the parents drawn into the instruction. But, for all this, enthusiastic teachers, convinced of its value to their people, would be essential. Training colleges must cultivate the spirit of social service in the teachers."

The teaching of an official European language should begin in the fourth or fifth year, and the language increasingly used as the medium of instruction.

It is not surprising that the Bantu have become nervous of references to Bantu culture, for few Europeans have hitherto seen anything in it to claim their interest, much less their respect. It will only be when Europeans respect Bantu culture that the Bantu will be convinced that it can have a future. Fortunately, the Universities have given the lead, and several schools are teaching Bantu languages. The time may come when every European high school will offer Bantu studies.

What is and what might be were brought out in MR. H. R. STOREY's paper, in which he dealt with conditions as found in the Native primary schools of the Cape Province.

If the subjects taken in European schools were placed in one column and those taken in Native schools in a parallel column, they would look very much alike ; but this impression would not be a true one. Since 1922 important changes have been made, despite the conservative reluctance, even suspicion, of parents and teachers. The curriculum to-day differs from the old in several ways ; the medium of instruction in the lower classes must wherever possible be the home language of the pupils ; the Native language as a subject is strongly emphasised ; the importance of oral language work in both the vernacular and the European language is stressed ; hygiene, with special reference to the needs of the Native people, has been introduced ; arithmetic and other subjects have been simplified ; manual and industrial training is compulsory. Manual and industrial training consists of Native craft work up to Standard III and gardening or elementary agriculture, for boys,

above that Standard (or even below, where possible), with a second branch of manual work of varied types to suit all tastes, all aptitudes and all local conditions. For girls, needlework is compulsory, where there is a female teacher; and in addition a second branch of hand-work selected from, cookery, laundry work, housewifery, etc.

All the courses have been revised, and considered with due regard to the problems and difficulties peculiar to Native education. Special importance is attached to home language, religious and moral instruction, hygiene and manual training. Languages and arithmetic receive half of the school time; manual training, hygiene and recreational activities about one quarter; and religious and moral instruction about two hours.

There are weaknesses in our primary course:—(1) There is still too great a tendency to tie the primary school course to the needs of those pupils who will proceed to the teacher training school. An effort has now been made to correct this in the new training school courses. (2) Parents and teachers have in the past regarded manual and industrial training in the primary school with deep suspicion, and teachers have tended to give less than the times indicated to the "practical" subjects. But in recent years there has been a change of attitude; the people are coming to realise that these subjects have definite educational value. Manual training in primary schools should be directed to the stimulation of interests, it cannot be vocational. (3) While needlework is taught in every school where there is a female teacher, there are very many schools under male teachers only, because parents will not allow their daughters to go to remote parts where there is difficulty in finding suitable homes. The girls in these schools receive no training in needlework. (4) Lack of funds holds back instruction in simple housecraft. Where it is taught, every use is made of simple utensils, made by the pupils from scrap material with cooking over open fires. Vegetables from the school gardens, eggs, mealies, milk, fowls, etc., supplied by the children, and ingredients purchased from the proceeds of school concerts and the sale of articles—in these and other ways housecraft is carried on without much financial help from the Education Department. (5) Gardening is carried on with difficulty. Nevertheless, good work is done and schools enter for the competitions at Native agricultural and industrial shows. The training schools have taken up gardening with enthusiasm, with excellent results. (6) The practical teaching of hygiene is vitally important, as typhus and enteric are appallingly rife, and sore eyes, scabies and other skin affections are distressingly common in the schools. As there is no medical inspection of Native schools, added responsibility rests on the teachers. The teachers are more alert and resourceful, but they need more practical assistance and this means money. (7) Hand-work is poor, although one finds Natives who are very clever with wood and wire. (8) Singing takes a lot of time; but the children enjoy it and so does the teacher, and enthusiasm is capitalised to obtain additional material for the school work. (9) A good deal of time is wasted on unsuitable English readers. There is urgent need for a series of books on the lines of Michael West's readers, but adapted to Native needs. (10) Arithmetic makes serious inroads on school time. This worship of arithmetic is a mystery. If we could get teachers to believe that in this subject they should be almost entirely concerned with fundamental rules and their application to matters within their own experience and with practical work in measurement, much valuable time would be saved and the teaching would be much more effective. (11) The teaching of Eng-

lish, apart from reading, is mainly oral work, below Standard IV at any rate. Although it is not well done except in the lowest classes, there is some effort to teach with an eye to the use of English in daily life. Fortunately, the teaching of formal grammar is dead. (12) History and geography are and should be taught, but Native legends, traditions, folk-lore and customs, tribal history and local history and biographies of African as well as Europeans connected with South Africa's story should be used; stories from world history should also find a place, and civics in the higher standards. Geography is badly taught; it should be drastically revised (a syllabus was outlined).

Mr. Storey then proceeded to emphasise the community activities in which teachers should engage, emphasising especially the effects of aloofness on the part of teachers, caused by a sense of superiority over the people, and stressing the need for increasing the number of social workers in the Native village.

Too much of the teaching in Native schools is unreal, without significance; it fails to stimulate thought and arouse enquiry. This is not so much in the higher mission schools or in the lowest classes, where young women teachers are seldom dull, and the classes rarely inert. The great weakness is in the middle standards, and this is due to lack of confidence, bred of lack of knowledge.

"The Kraal School is open for three and a half hours per day for one hundred and eighty days per year. Let us assume that a pupil attends school for four years and let us assume also that his waking hours are fourteen per day. Then the number of hours during which a person of twenty-one years will have been under classroom instruction is two and a half per cent. of all his waking hours. This applies to the pupils in almost twelve hundred schools in Southern Rhodesia."

In this way, MR. G. STARK impressed upon his audience the fact that "the school is but an incident in the community" in many areas of Africa. In such circumstances not only is the school strictly limited in its capacity to instruct; it is also strictly limited in its power to influence the lives of its pupils. The statement quoted above also emphasises the necessity for the school to secure the co-operation of forces and agencies outside the school, if the school's influence is not to be nullified by the environment outside.

In the situation we find in Southern Africa (where one race is in a position of superiority over another race), the school has a large part to play in laying more stress on the essential unity of mankind and less on the differences between races. But, as J. H. Oldham says in *Christianity and the Race Problem*, "The immense contribution of education lies far less in the introduction of material bearing on race relations into the curriculum or in formal teaching of any kind, than in the power of education to mould character and to create an attitude towards life".

In the school's task of creating a correct attitude towards life, it is not so much the content of the curriculum with which we should be concerned as with the emphasis which should be given to the various subjects in the curriculum and the teacher's method of approach to these subjects.

An examination of the curricula of the schools in the various territories shows that there is no lack of content. (A lengthy list of the subjects included in the code of Southern Rhodesia was given.) Now

a list of subjects may mean much or it may mean nothing. It may be full of meaning to the child or it may come under that class of school instruction of which the Native Economic Commission (of the Union) said: "A good deal of what is taught in Native schools is mere parrot work." And so, in the last analysis, the problem of the curriculum is really the problem of obtaining a teacher who will use the right approach to any subject to suit the needs of the pupils. There must be differentiation between the needs of the children in the Reserves, and those of town children, but, for both groups, the school must be the means of helping them to a mastery of their environment and of widening and extending their horizons.

We hear much of an overloaded curriculum, and if the curriculum is regarded as a collection of "subjects" there is much cause for alarm. But, after all, there are no limits to the amount to be taught to the African, for are we not seeking after the trinity of Goodness, Truth and Beauty, and, even though we had only one "subject" in the curriculum, if we sought this trinity in earnest, we should soon find that we were encroaching on other "subjects". Life itself is not to be divided into water-tight compartments, but if our curriculum is to meet life situations it will be found that one subject dovetails into another, so that it will be hard to say where one leaves off and another begins. What is really vital is that, in our teaching, meaning is given to what is being taught. What we want is a way of looking at life, and to obtain this we must understand as many aspects of life as possible. That is the excuse for having that great list of "subjects" in the curriculum.

In its efforts to create the right attitude in the teacher, Southern Rhodesia has provided for training in community service during the three years of the teacher training course. First of all, every training school is encouraged to find ways in which students may engage in "personal service", that is to say, the student is expected to undertake some work for the good of the community, as distinct from his own personal advantage. In the second place, we have encouraged "group service", in which students combine for community service. And thirdly, we have encouraged training for "leadership", through which the student has opportunities for taking a leading part in activities and showing self-reliance and initiative. This form of training is not "assignment" parcelled out to the student, but depends upon his own suggestions, and efforts under the guidance of the Principal or class-teacher. These forms of training have already yielded most encouraging results.

In these ways, the teacher will not only assume the correct attitude towards the community and its life, and thus influence his pupils in the same way, but will also create it in the older people of the community, who will thus be brought into more living contact with the school.

MR. G. H. WILSON expressed the view that in African education the sound principle of proceeding from the known to the unknown had been misapplied:

Whether it was because those who first went about Africa to advise us noticed that there was a lot of Africa and comparatively few Africans, or whether it was for some more subtle reasons, they decided that Africa was an agricultural country, that the African was by environment an agriculturist, and that the proper education for him must be agricultural. They also noticed that they couldn't understand a word a Native spoke; so they said that was the vernacular, and that Native education should be in the vernacular. They also said that because the African was superstitious his education should be based on religion.

This last *non-sequitur* has had excellent consequences. But I want to consider the argument for agricultural education as typical and specially important for our present problem. "Africa is an agricultural country; the African is by environment an agriculturist; the proper education for him should, therefore, be agricultural." You must, in other words, teach the African precisely the one thing he already knows. That this was, indeed, what we were saying has been proved by the work of an Ecological Survey in Northern Rhodesia, which reported as follows:

"During the first year's work of the Survey, a detailed investigation was made of the possibilities of direct correlation between vegetation types and agricultural practice. This correlation has now been established by abundant evidence. In particular, it was found that Native agriculture is built up upon a very definite method of choice of land, which is expressed in the use of certain trees and grasses as indicators of soil potentialities..... The Native in fact employs what may be termed 'intuitive ecology', for the uses which he allots to different types of bush as a matter of custom or instinctive observation answer to those which an ecological survey deduces from scientific examination of the bush.....

"Barotse agriculture would call for no intervention but for the fact that there is an urgent need for the development of a cash crop or of some product capable of export...."

The same report showed that it was those areas where acres had been most impressively broadened, and methods apparently most "improved" which now presented the most imminent agricultural problems.

How does this affect our theories about the proper content of rural education? One conclusion is obvious, that we must cut out a good deal of this educational beating-about-the-bush, which does education no good and can do the bush a lot of harm. On the positive side, the Survey has shewn that a body of tradition exists in the field of practical knowledge—corresponding to the tradition in the field of morals described by previous speakers—which is capable of expansion into scientific knowledge, and which seems to provide a real basis for the development of the scientific attitude.

We are presented also with certain indications of sound procedure in re-attacking the problem of rural economy and rural education. We must try not to argue from partially true generalisations to generalisations which do not necessarily follow in the full social context, and from them to practice which is unnecessary and dangerous: if we are to follow African lines, we have got to read very closely between the lines. In our approach to rural economy, we are doing five things, all very closely connected:—

(i) We are studying the African facts respectfully and scientifically in detail for what is an absolute contribution to the science of agriculture and sound rural economy—sound, that is, not purely because it is in the environment, but because it uses the environment well.

(ii) We are trying to make sure that we do not allow or encourage the loss of what is sound practice in the environment; we are upholding the African method—again not so much because it is African as because it is a good way of doing these things in Africa.

(iii) At the same time, we are urging economic development within the limits of sound agriculture, and in addition, because of the consideration of marketability and the tremendous importance of not raising false hopes, within the limits of sound economics so far as we can understand and foresee.

(iv) For introducing anything new we may and shall, wherever possible, use the old systems, but only in conjunction with a careful attention to detail ; we shall use the old system in detail as part of our method.

(v) As a corollary, in the circumstances where they are unfortunate, we may be able to use details from the old systems to remedy some of the damages of the new.

The parallels for education in the stricter sense are not complete, but they are helpful. In preserving African music, for instance, in our schools the point to emphasise is not so much that it is African as that it is music, a contribution to the world's music, and that it is capable of further contributions. From this point of view African music has been sadly neglected as compared with African literature, especially when we consider that it uses a medium which is more close to being universal ; unfortunately, it would be stupid to give it the place in our curricula that it deserves until we have had the advantage of much more expert work on it like that of the Rev. A. M. Jones of Mapanza. In the meantime we shall have to be content with the maxim : The African is musical, therefore teach him hymns.

More generally, the conclusion is that it is not our duty to take over from Native society the education of children in things which Native society can teach children better than we can : we must study not to supplant the indigenous culture with our idea of it, but to supplement it where we can.

And here we must take into account what Natives want, if only because they are taxpayers whose representations, therefore, however ill-conceived, on the sort of return they want in the way of assistance, development or amenities, ought at least to be considered.

What Natives want, so far as we can see, is education, chiefly English and the English sort of education ; and what they seem to be thinking of is English and that sort of education as a means to improving their economic and social position. Now, supposing we made it our rule that we should give Natives the education they want, we should still be justified in pointing out, for instance, that you cannot get English quickly, that the best way to learn English is first to learn to read and write your own language and then to learn to speak and read and write English ; we could point out more generally that if you are to be educated there is much to do and you cannot do it in a little time ; we should be justified, that is, in instructing on points of method about which we know, in interpreting the Natives' will to them so as to make it more effective ; but we should have to be careful to keep our interpretation close to the original—a difficult job, because Natives both may not know very well what they think, and may know much better than they are prepared to tell us.

Now, I do not hold at all that we should indulge in false modesty and escape our responsibilities as rulers and guides by simply giving the Native what he wants ; he does not entirely want us to ; we have here an appeal on which we must judge. Should we then develop African education on the lines the African wants ?

(i) Taking as a guiding principle the conclusion we came to above, that it is our duty not to supplant the indigenous culture with our idea of it, but to supplement it, it is obvious that Natives should have some idea of what is needed to supplement what they have.

(ii) Broadly speaking, what Africans want is all that we *can* give ; it is right that education should proceed from the known to the unknown,

but the emphasis should be on the unknown, especially when the known is precisely what we know very little about.

(iii) Even in so far as the Africans' view of the proper content of education is inadequate—there is this medicine they want us to give them, this "stuff" that they want us to "put across"—we should still as educationists base our education of Africans on the subject of education on their ideas of education.

The point is that children simply refuse to be interested in so many of these subjects and activities that we think they ought to be interested in. However well we train our teachers, we have got to make up our minds to African education being rather old-fashioned—Herbartian is, I think, the word—for some time; and we have to recognise the fact in drawing up our syllabuses.

(iv) We can now go beyond the "interpretation" suggested above. The Africans' theory of education is capable of being developed into a system of general education linked up with the indigenous education and with the growing needs of the community, on condition that we first demonstrate our boasted but not always evident capacity for disinterestedness and willingness to help by working on the basis of what Africans want.

Only a small percentage of children at present attend school; we cannot make education compulsory; so we are forced to consider that we cannot have popular education if the education we give is unpopular.

(v) Development within the limits of economic probabilities should be pursued candidly, and of all developments the development of education itself is the most important, because, though we may work for the development and stabilisation of rural industries, a capacity to read and write and use figures, however pedestrian it sounds, and a capacity to understand and use English, and some degree of intellectual training are conditions of success in any such stabilisation—and a necessary part of the equipment for meeting the instability that cannot be avoided.

(vi) The main differentiation between the content of Native and European education, if we follow the Africans' line, will be the early introduction of a second language—English. The Rev. K. T. Motsete has already advanced the main arguments for this; in Northern Rhodesia the multiplicity of vernacular languages is a special consideration; for a long time English will be the only means by which people will be able to get a great deal of the information they want, either for themselves or to pass on verbally in the vernaculars.

All this applies equally to rural and urban communities and schools. Far too much has been made of the differentiation between rural and urban communities, and half-way-house communities; if we are to differentiate, I should say the correct division would be between (1) people living in tribally-controlled villages, (2) people living independently on their own farms, (3) people working on mission stations, (4) people working on European farms, (5) people working in towns, and (6) people working in mines—and probably some more. The first four are, I suppose, rural; yet the conditions vary vastly; the second type, and sometimes the third, may differentiate themselves far too outstandingly from the first; whereas, as Mr. Tregear and others have shown, there are close relationships and frequent interchange between the first and the last—they are not so much two communities as the same people in different places with their hearts always a little in the other place. We have to be frank and educate children to fit into either. Who are we to talk as if everyone should go back to help their own folk? Or stay there? Is that what we are doing?

Education itself is limited by finance ; therefore, as well as for educational reasons, our schools will mostly be day-schools in villages. And a good school is as good an attraction as we can invent for influencing people to stay in their villages. What Africans ask for above all, and rightly, is not that we should make our education truly rural, but that we should make our countryside well and truly educated ; that should be our chief work and pride.

The discussions revealed the great difficulties encountered in all efforts to correlate class-room instruction with actual conditions outside. Some of these difficulties were held to be (1) the short school life of most African children, which prevents anything but the most rudimentary instruction being imparted ; (2) the limitations of the teachers, whose education and training in many cases are inadequate to enable them to make intelligent and effective use of any plan of correlation ; (3) the conflict between the immediate social needs of the child's present life and his eventual economic needs after he leaves school—often in an entirely different social and economic environment ; (4) the great difference between the "purified atmosphere of the school" and the mental and moral life outside. And of these difficulties the greatest was felt to be the inadequacy of the teacher. Curriculum plans depend for their success, not so much upon the content of the curriculum as upon the teacher's ability to use and adapt the teaching material to his hand.

4. RELIGIOUS AND MORAL EDUCATION

Keen interest was shown in this subject, and there was a large attendance when MR. S. R. DENT opened the discussion with a paper in which he argued in favour of religious instruction being given in the school. While recognising some of the dangers of formalised religious instruction, especially in unsympathetic hands, he claimed that the religious sentiment exists in every child, and that it would be unjust to deprive him of the benefit of instruction and guidance in the development of this vital part of his personality. Is not the child also entitled to benefit from the accumulated religious and moral experience of the ages ? Surely to be "heir of all the ages" means more than the material inheritance of mankind. Why should the Bantu child be deprived of his right to share in the spiritual inheritance ? Moreover, the Bantu are a deeply religious people, and there is a great deal in the indigenous religion which provides healthy roots for religious and moral growth. The Bantu believe in survival after death, for the unseen world is for them often more real than the seen ; they are familiar with the idea of sacrifice, of sacred places, of religious festivals, and of religious sanctions, and, behind it all, they are dimly aware of God. But their religion has features which hinder moral and spiritual growth, and others which have no survival value, so that it is necessary to discriminate between what can be used and what should be allowed to pass away.

Mr. Dent also urged that the State education departments should control religious and moral instruction, prescribe the syllabus, and guide the teachers in the methods to be used. The strongest argument for this is to be found in the numerous divisions within the Christian Church. The school must be a unifying influence and should emphasise in religious instruction those elements in Christian teaching

which are common throughout the Christian Church. There should be full co-operation between Church and State in working out a syllabus acceptable to all.

Religious and moral education should not however be limited to a Scripture lesson; it should pervade the whole curriculum, all the life of the school. It is thus desirable that religious and moral teaching should be in the hands of the teachers who instruct in the other subjects, and it is also imperative that the lives of these teachers should be consonant with their religious and moral teaching.

What are the fundamental elements for any scheme of religious and moral education? Mr. Dent suggested three:—(A) The doctrines of the Fatherhood of God, the living presence of Christ, and the immortality of the soul; (B) the practice of worship and prayer; (C) the recognition of the historic fact, the absolute quality of Christ's scale of spiritual and moral values, as revealed in His teaching and in His life; and the necessity of winning the children to accept these values for themselves.

A. *Fatherhood of God*.—Professor Bovet (in *The Child's Religion*) traces the religious sentiment to the filial sentiment, and, indeed, in the early stages he identifies the two. In Bantu society the filial sentiment is a factor of considerable importance in cementing the life of the tribe. The head of the Kraal is the father, and, as such, he is entitled to and receives the respect of his family, and the families of his sons, who all form part of his Kraal. This is the unit of the tribe, and the filial sentiment is its life-blood. An extension of this sentiment embraces the Chief as the father of the tribe. Thus the idea of *Nkulunkulu* as the Great Father of the nation, and even of all mankind, does no violence to the Bantu child's conceptions (if it is not already one of them). The vague idea of the *Nkulunkulu* should be made more definite, real and vital through Christ's view of God the Father.

The predominant characteristic of the Bantu filial sentiment is respect, in which there is more than a dash of fear. Now, while fear may have some biological value, it chains and fetters the mind and spirit of man, and has no place in Christ's teaching about God the Father. The Christian religious principle is love, and it is the school's task to create in the minds of the children the faith that God is love, and to permeate school worship, school prayer, Scripture reading and the school life with it.

Nor should the doctrine of the immortality of the human soul and the living presence of Christ be difficult to instil into the minds of children in whose tribes the cult of ancestor worship has long existed.

B. *Worship and Prayer*.—If religious education is to be real, it must find expression in worship and prayer. These are practised in Bantu religion, and Bantu children naturally recognise the sanctity of the school worship period. There are, however, certain considerations to be kept in mind.

1. School worship should always be conducted in the vernacular. Worship in a foreign, little understood, tongue lacks understanding, and is unreal.
2. Wherever possible a building (i.e., church) or grove of trees should be set aside for morning worship and be available for the private devotions of teacher or child. The Bantu are accustomed to the idea of sacred places, sacred trees, etc.
3. Incongruities should be avoided. Undue haste, the reading of notices, the handing out of letters, interruption of prayer to rebuke, disturb the harmony of worship and prayer.

4. It is wise to introduce change and to avoid tediousness. Young children are as liable as adults to be bored, and boredom is the death of the religious spirit.

C. The Historic Facts and Christ's Scale of Values.—Religious and moral education should be directed to the creation in the minds of the children of the right attitudes in respect of their spiritual and moral relationships; it should also aim at developing in them a clear appreciation of the supremacy of such spiritual values as love, generosity and integrity, not only over undesirable qualities, but also over such lesser values as material wealth and popularity, an appreciation which should lead the children actively to prefer the supreme values and to practise them in their lives.

A child's recognition of spiritual values is helped or hindered by his conception of the character of God. The character of God is variously delineated in the Bible, and it is not an easy task to reconcile some of the Old Testament accounts with Jesus' Father of Love. This difficulty causes some educators to throw over the Old Testament altogether for use in the school and to confine their attention to the New Testament. Is not the better way to begin with the life and teaching of Jesus, so that His character (which typifies the character of God) may be impressed in clear terms upon the mind of the child? He can be presented as the good son, the strong and generous elder brother, the kindly friend, the teller of beautiful stories, the good shepherd. It is important that He should be shown in as natural a light as possible, for to portray Him as a youthful know-all, free from inner struggle and temptation, is to rob His life of its inspirational value. To older pupils Jesus should be shown as the hero of heroes. This is an emphasis which stimulates admiration in youth; and admiration is the basis of that personal allegiance to Christ which stirs and keeps alive the desire for goodness.

Professor Victor Murray has suggested that the Old Testament be approached through the prophets, for they were the men who pointed the way to spiritual living, and opposed the sins and abuses of the Kings and people of their day. The Old Testament life and characters are not unfamiliar types to the Bantu. Carefully selected stories and character sketches would enable the children to test life and conduct in the light not only of Bantu ideas and characters, but also of their knowledge of God as obtained through the life and teaching of Jesus: they would learn to weigh men and things in the scales of eternal spiritual values.

But, if religious and moral education is to attain its end, recognition in the children's minds of the supreme worth of spiritual qualities must issue in a burning desire to achieve spiritual quality in their own lives. Here again, as in other spheres of education, we are dependent upon the teacher and his attitude towards the things he teaches. To make virtue desirable the teacher must himself be quietly virtuous, for children imitate where they admire, and they also obey more readily. Their allegiance to the spiritual is more easily won if the beauty and attractiveness of Jesus is revealed to them by one who himself sees them and reverts them.

The teacher can help his pupils to express their spiritual and moral life in conduct by constantly providing them with opportunities for showing right sympathies and doing good deeds. Each opportunity should be regarded as a challenge, whether it occurs within the school (e.g. when a boy finds himself beaten by a rival in examination or election

as captain of the football team) or outside in the community (as, for example, when a woman is found too ill to attend to her gardens or care for her child and her husband is away).

There is no reason why the best principles of modern pedagogy should be ignored in this subject. Human intelligence is no less God's gift than the Bible itself: it is hardly a compliment to the Giver to refrain from employing the gift in His service and for the understanding and appreciation of His greatest gift. All the methods, all the equipment used, say in history or geography, should be available and used in religious and moral education. Scripture is usually the duller subject on the time-table: it can be made as delightful and attractive as any other.

DR. EDGAR H. BROOKES said that religious education differs in some respects from other aspects of education, at any rate as education is too often conceived. It may be a mistake to consider any part of education as a "subject": it is certainly a mistake to treat religious education in such a way. While it is desirable to have fixed periods for moral and religious instruction, religion, if it means anything at all, must be a spirit permeating the whole life of the school or college. Religious education is more than a study of dogmas, however necessary, and documents, however sacred. It involves worship and conduct, and these are not to be limited to any "subject" or period.

The ultimate goal of religious education is to create mystical experience, or, if we are afraid of that term, to lead the child into personal contact with God. If we do not sincerely believe this to be possible, there is no point in undertaking religious education at all.

Although this goal may not be reached with all, all may be helped to clarify the principles of right and wrong in relation to daily conduct, to form methods of thinking and to build up traditional associations, which may be of great value in later life.

There is no conflict between the former and the latter aim. We should aim steadfastly at achieving both. The former transcends and fulfils the latter: it does not destroy it.

Religion, at any rate as understood in Christian thought and experience, involves a synthesis of worship, study and practical application in the moral life. Not only should all three elements be present in the religious education of the school or college as a whole: as far as possible, they should all be present in each "period" of religious instruction.

Worship, the intellectual approach to religion, and the problems of moral conduct should not be divorced in the mind of the teacher or the taught. It should be the most natural thing in the world for teacher and class to discuss in the period of religious instruction, practical questions of conduct and of the life of the institution, as tested by Scripture and Christian principles.

As in every other part of education, the student should do his part as well as the teacher. Worship should be common, and individual students, as well as teachers, should take their part in it. The sacramental side or worship, in music and art and drama should not be overlooked. Bible study should allow for question and answer from both sides. Moral education should not consist merely of lectures by the teacher, but of mutual sharing of moral difficulties, temptations and experience. To make this effective, the teacher must find time for individual work, even if he has to take the Kingdom of Syllabuses by violence.

Would it sound very daring to suggest that not only the teacher and the student should play their part in religious education, but that God, too, should have a role? The recognition of God's presence and of the Holy Spirit's guidance should mean more than a perfunctory Collect, or a dreary extempore prayer. The Church is recapturing the Ministry of Silence. Whether or not we agree with all the methods and doings of the Oxford Group, we must be grateful for its insistence on the individual and corporate "Quiet Time", not only for worship but for direction on problems of conduct and action, followed by "sharing". This method should be more widely used both inside and outside the religious instruction period.

The teacher cannot teach more than he knows: hence successful religious instruction depends on the consecrated personality of the teacher, and on his life, not only in the religious instruction period, but throughout the school activity.

Two lines of thought arise from this:

- (a) Contacts of European teachers with Non-European teachers and pupils, as tested by the standards of courtesy, charity and brotherhood given us by Christ.
- (b) Teaching methods in relation to religious belief, e.g., the whole conceptions of "punishment" and "discipline." Christianity stands neither for retaliation nor for a lax and benevolent toleration of wrong, but for forgiveness bought by sacrifice. Do our views of discipline square with this?

In religious education we must beware of the doctrines of neutrality or the common minimum. The teacher must give his all and his best. Here is a strong reason for preserving missionary control of Native education, provided that it is really Christian and really alive.

In conclusion, this discussion supplies yet another illustration of the folly of treating Non-European and European education as things apart. All the main points made are in principle identical for European, no less than for Non-European education. The teacher must take account of different backgrounds of tradition and association—that is all.

The biggest danger to religious education in South Africa is not Non-European: it lies in the increasing "paganisation" of European society.

It was clear from the discussion that the aridity of religious education in the schools caused great anxiety. The divorce between worship and instruction; the inadequacy and unreality of both; and their sterility in influence upon personal and community life; these seemed to weigh heavily upon the minds and hearts of those who spoke. Some blamed the teachers, the poverty of whose spiritual and intellectual equipment was deplored; others blamed "Western civilisation" which, they held, has done so much to destroy and so little to build up the religious and moral life of the European as well as of the African.

It was noticeable that in this discussion, too, there was far greater recognition than ever before of the positive values in African life and thought, which can provide the ground-work for spiritual and ethical development. The reality to the African of the "unseen" is demonstrated whenever he speaks to the ancestral spirits: it is the simplest and most natural conversation, real and direct. Where Christian conviction is the result of a personal, religious experience, the African finds no difficulty in maintaining this simplicity and directness. It is, therefore, in the reality of personal religious knowledge and experience that we must

look for the vitalising force in the religious life of the African people. Both papers had laid special emphasis upon this aspect of the problem, and the Conference agreed.

5. OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING

MR. OSCAR E. EMANUELSON analysed the economic position of the Native in the Union of South Africa and found that any system of occupational training must take into account the fact that there are four different classes of Natives: (1) Natives living in Native Reserves and Crown Lands; (2) Natives on farms owned by Natives; (3) Natives on farms owned by Europeans; and (4) Natives in the towns, and that each class requires separate treatment.

In the Reserves the most immediate need is for more general adult education in agriculture, since the productive level of these areas is too low to maintain the population. It has been estimated that the average income per occupied Native in these areas is about £5 a year. Good educational work is being done by the agricultural demonstrators of the Native Affairs Department, but their number is quite inadequate.

The absence of the men from the Reserves throws the burden of cultivation and the care of stock upon the women and children, and they will have to receive the attention of the demonstrators and inspectors as if the male heads of the families were at home.

But not every Native in the Reserves is fitted to be a farmer. There are many who have special skill in clay-work, grass-work or wood-carving. These should receive every encouragement to improve their technique, so that this traditional work may be maintained and developed. Arrangements might be made for these craft workers to be supervised and encouraged by the Native agricultural demonstrators or the European agricultural inspectors, and for markets to be found for the goods they produce.

The increase in the number of long-haired goats and wool-bearing sheep should be used to encourage spinning with home-made spindles and weaving with home-made looms. Instruction in spinning and weaving might be given by specially selected instructors at the Kraals of carefully selected chiefs. The products would find a ready sale both among Natives and among Europeans.

The children of school-going age should attend school and receive instruction in correct methods of farming, as well as in the usual school subjects. Tribal schools are more effective in many ways than denominational schools, and encouragement should be given for the opening-up of tribal schools with the backing of chiefs and chiefs' families.

Speaking of Natal, the efforts made by the Education Department to provide agricultural instruction in the schools have not been entirely successful. Where the teachers take the subject seriously the effect is to be seen in improved cultivation. Special Native agricultural instructors should be appointed and each placed in charge of a certain number of schools to develop this side of the school curriculum. Special instruction in woodwork should also be provided at selected schools. In view of the fact that girls are now often compelled to help in carrying on farming operations during the absence of their men-folk, it seems desirable that they also should receive instruction in agriculture.

Much of the money spent by Native women and girls on ready-made clothing at country stores and on hygienically dangerous second-hand clothes might well be used to better advantage. Plain needlework

should be more efficiently taught in the Reserves, so that the girls who have stayed some time at school may acquire a real liking for good home-made clothes and things for daily use at home. There is need, too, for elementary instruction in cookery in selected schools in the Reserves.

Tradition is against the doing of grass-work (and, to a lesser extent, clay-work) by boys and men, but these occupations have been taught to both boys and girls for many years, and the feeling among boys against them has become less pronounced, especially where boys have found it possible to earn money through them after school life. There is now general agreement that these occupations should be maintained and developed.

Similar methods might be used among Natives on Native-owned farms. On European-owned farms, however, the provision of any form of education is entirely dependent upon the attitude of the European farmers, and the Native children have to go away to institutions if they want occupational training and if the farmers will allow the children to go.

In urban areas the difficulties surrounding the Native are very great. Natives are excluded from the benefits of the Apprenticeship Act and industrial agreements. Ultimately the avenues of employment open to any European must be open to any Native. Enlightened opinion seems to be agreed that Natives should be trained to be "handy", as only such Natives can obtain employment easily. Teachers who have been employed in training these handy men are generally in agreement that Native pupils entering for such training should have passed at least Standard VI, that the passing of Standard VII before the commencement of training is desirable, that the course of training should last for at least three years, and that encouragement should be given to stay on for a fourth or fifth year. This training, however, cannot compare with that which the European boy receives through the apprenticeship system. But for the present the make-shift system must continue.

PROFESSOR F. CLARKE, in opening the discussion, emphasised the necessity in the Union for a greater correlation of the occupational training of Natives with the hard facts of the economic structure of South Africa. Economic forces must be left to operate freely, but it should be possible to take advantage of favourable opportunities, e.g. the existence of the gold premium, for the development of permanent assets, of which the chief were the Natives. Now is the time to raise a large loan for Native development so that the increased productive and purchasing power of the Native population may be the means of providing the poor White with the market he needs if he is to be fitted into the industrial system.

The double aspect of vocational training was emphasised, viz., its value in productive skills and its value as a vital element in ordinary education. Both aspects must be kept in mind in framing the curriculum.

The discussion brought out the fact that the primary school can do no more than stimulate interest in craftsmanship; occupational training can only be undertaken on a sound basis of general education. It must also be definitely correlated with the careers that are open to Africans. The Reserves may in time absorb a considerable number of craftsmen, but the Reserves are not yet ready for very much in the way of differential

industrial occupations. Organised schemes of Native development would no doubt provide trained artisans with opportunities for employment, and the vocational schools should keep in mind the possibilities of employment in this direction. Another important consideration is the effect of the mechanisation of industry upon apprenticeship and trained artisans and craftsmen. Is the time coming when apprenticeship will cease to be necessary?

6. THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS

One of the significant changes in African life is the later marrying age of women. While this is mostly due to the economic factors already described, a growingly important factor is the desire of young women for independence and for self-expression in such occupations as teaching and nursing. The necessity for ensuring that educated Africans may have wives, who can share their cultural interests and provide them with the domestic comforts which their more advanced form of living calls for, has caused missions to give increasing attention to the kind of education which African girls and young women should have. How different should the education of girls be from that of boys? How different should the primary education of the girls who will return to the kraals or villages be from that of the girls who will go to European employment as domestic servants or who will become teachers or nurses?

PROFESSOR MABEL CARNEY drew attention to the care which must be taken in planning the education of African girls, to ensure that sufficient account is taken of the place of women and girls in African life, of the attitude adopted towards women, and the effects upon both of these of contacts with European culture. It is also important to see what elements in European civilisation the school should aim at handing over to the African women and girls.

Any plan of education for African girls must secure correct grouping and deal with them in direct relationship to the places they will occupy in the life around them. Thus, a possible plan might be—

1. Primary courses of four years. In this section boys and girls would be together as in primary education. Co-education is the most fruitful.

2. In this group would be placed those girls of from ten to fifteen years of age, who are expected to return to tribal life. Their main preparation should be for home life.

3. This group should consist of retarded girls—those who have not passed through the primary courses. These, too, should be given preparatory training for home life.

Groups 2 and 3 could be dealt with together and the emphasis should be laid upon the practical matters of life immediately ahead. Little academic instruction is called for in their cases; they should be taught cooking and other household work, diet and hygiene, infant care, the making of simple articles of household use, and their social obligations. One method of teaching these groups would be to provide typical houses in which the older girls would fulfil the function of mothers to the younger girls.

4. Those girls who had passed through the first (academic) stage in the primary schools and had gone through the next practical stage would go on to some form of higher training for leadership and service and be prepared for definite fields of service. The opportunities of becoming teachers are considerable for girls of this group.

5. There are frequently grouped around institutions women who are in attendance upon husbands and children. They should be encouraged to learn of practical things, mainly those useful to their families.

6. The last group is the village as a whole. It can only be reached by various "extension" activities, such as are provided by the American Home Demonstration Services. The purpose is adult education, and the services of the most capable women from Group 4 should be utilised.

MRS. E. B. MAHUMA MORAKE, in a brief address, pointed out that in African society women were in charge of the girls' education and moral development. The aims of the girls' training were (1) development of modest behaviour and general respectability; (2) instruction in home management; and (3) preparation for successful married life. To-day conditions are changing greatly and there is greater need than ever for the training of African girls to enable them to face difficult situations. And new careers are opening out for them as teachers, nurses, midwives, dressmakers and also as domestic servants in European employment; for these training is necessary. Preparation for married life needs also to be different for those who are to be the wives of teachers, ministers, professional and business men. It will thus be seen that the education suitable for African girls under modern conditions should give them a sound foundation of knowledge and appreciation of their environment; it should give them instruction in domestic work and general home management, in mothercraft and infant and child welfare; also in personal and family health and hygiene.

It was pointed out during the discussion that Professor Carney's programme involved the co-operation of other agencies than the school. The problem of the retarded girls—those who enter school late or whose irregular attendances, because of home duties, have held them back—requires special attention. They are at school at an age when their interest changes, and yet they demand the routine instruction because parents insist that that is the only sound form of education. Very many of these girls enter the towns where they meet many difficulties and are beset with many moral dangers. In school such girls need experienced and skilled teaching, and experimentation in methods would be valuable if only Native education were not starved.

The necessity for an understanding of the woman's place in African society, emphasised by Professor Carney, was illustrated by the position in Nyasaland, where the men sew, the women do not. Co-education was also held to be unnatural to the African; but it was agreed that conditions are changing in both respects throughout Southern Africa.

The view was held generally that for girls going through primary courses at the normal age (i.e. completing at or before puberty) there should be little differentiation from boys, on the academic side of the course; but that, both in the post-primary course and the special course for retarded pupils, opportunities should be provided for training in home activities.

CHAPTER XX

THE TRAINING OF AFRICAN TEACHERS

Time and again attention had been drawn in the discussions to the quality of the teaching in African schools. Many tributes were paid to the spirit of service found among the teachers, but there were also many expressions of concern over the inadequacy of teacher training, and there was much misgiving as to the suitability of the preparation for the life and work of the teachers in the field. It was realised that teachers are often isolated from cultural opportunities and thus fall back even from that level of education to which they had attained at the training school, and that their education and training should equip them to withstand this and other deteriorating influences.

1. NORMAL TRAINING

MR. O. W. SPRUYT, in his paper on this subject, said that the training of teachers is one of the most important tasks of education, especially where, as in the case of the Bantu to-day, we have hardly progressed beyond the preliminary stages.

The problems and difficulties of the training of Native teachers are to a great extent those of Native education as a whole, and can be solved only when we have a clear idea of the general educational policy to be followed.

Our first problem is: To what extent should the Native training institution be similar to the European normal college in regard to (a) standard of attainment, and (b) general character of training.

(a) It is hardly possible to expect the same standard if we take into consideration the general stage of development of the Bantu as a whole.

(b) General character of training.—There certainly are many Natives, and also Europeans who think that the Native teacher should receive the same training as the European teacher. This view is especially held by those who think that Native development and improvement mean the abandoning of everything that is characteristically Native (language, social institutions, customs, etc.) in favour of whatever the White man can substitute for these. In this case, standard of development will be judged by the extent to which the Native has ceased to be an *Umntu* and has become a European.

These ideals have had a great influence on Native education. In both the school and the training institution the nature of the curriculum, the medium of instruction and the methods of teaching clearly show an attempt to imitate the European school.

Is this educationally sound? If the function of the school is to prepare its pupils for life within their own community, and if it is true that the Native community is not identical with the European community, is it not then imperative that we should differentiate between the

education of the Native child and the European child? Where the educational system of a nation is not the expression of the particular conditions and needs of that nation, it must inevitably lead to the isolation of the school from life, and must therefore render the school powerless in its attempt to build a better future.

It is, therefore, the task of the Native training institution to look for ways and means of adapting itself to present conditions, so that it may prepare teachers, capable of co-ordinating school life with the home life of the child, by utilising the child's home experience in his teaching, and by assisting him to apply to daily life what he has been taught in school.

This will be no easy task :

1. It will necessitate different types of schools, so as to meet the requirements of the different types of Native communities. In present circumstances, each training institution will have to prepare teachers for all types of schools.

2. The main difficulty lies in the low standard of the pupils entering the training institution. The entrance examination (in the Transvaal) is Standard VI, and at this stage they certainly are not ripe for training as teachers. It is evident that, although they have passed through the primary school, they lack knowledge of the most elementary things, and what they do know, they are unable to use in daily life. They have learnt things merely for examination purposes, parrot-like, and not for life purposes.

This low standard may, amongst other things, be attributed to the following causes :

(a) The language of the home is not the language of the school. The pupils' attention is so entirely given to language difficulties that they have no time to devote to the contents.

(b) They are taught in the primary school by people who, having been trained without reference to existing conditions, have a very superficial knowledge and lack of power of adapting their teaching to life.

(c) As the result of (b), the teaching is too theoretical, and consists of the learning of rules by heart without understanding the why and wherefore of things. It is characteristic that, if anything is stated to them in other than the stereotyped form, they do not recognise it.

This must inevitably lead to a great waste of time in the training institution, as nearly the whole of the first year must be devoted to treatment of primary school work.

The work of the training institution may be dealt with under the headings : (a) Academic Training and (b) Professional Training.

(a) *Academic Training*.—The aim should be to consolidate the work of the primary school, and to add to that such subjects as the teacher will need in his future work. The teaching should be elementary and practical, the test being not the amount taught, but rather the thorough understanding of and clear insight into certain fundamental facts. It is only when the teacher has this understanding that in later life he will be able to add to his knowledge by individual study and personal experience.

In the choice of subjects we must be guided by the actual needs of the Bantu life. It will mean that subjects like agriculture (nature study) will have to take a prominent place.

(b) *Professional Training*.—This is the main task of the training institution, but it is at present neglected because of the amount of time demanded by the academic work.

The following should be included :

- (i) School Management.
- (ii) As full a treatment of educational theory as the time allows.
- (iii) Discussion of knowledge gained under (ii), with special reference to Bantu life, with the aim of working out suitable methods based on (a) sound educational theory, and (b) real life. The starting point in working out these methods should not be the instructor's knowledge, but the suggestions of the pupils. This will prepare them for solving their own difficulties when they are teachers.
- (iv) Practical application of the above in actual teaching in the practising school. This teaching should be under efficient supervision, and should be followed by discussion.
- (v) Training for Social Work. One of the main tasks of the Native teacher is the improvement of social life. By example and good advice he can do much in (a) creating better hygienic conditions ; (b) encouraging sport, to keep the young people busy in their free hours ; and (c) improving agricultural methods. This last point is of very great importance (cf. Report of the Native Economic Commission, in connection with the agricultural methods of the Bantu). The starting point is the school garden, where the parents can see the results of better cultivation.

MR. J. G. STEYTLER, speaking from his experience of Nyasaland, described the village or "bush" school as the core of the educational system in Central Africa, because through it the masses are effectively reached. For this reason, the training institutions must aim at finding and training the right kind of teacher. The ideal teacher should be a man of Christian character, whose personal and family life is an example to the village ; he must be able to identify himself with the interests and activities of the community, considering all the people of the village as his pupils and avoiding a proud and overbearing attitude ; he must possess the qualities of leadership ; and he should keep in close contact with tribal life and language, customs and traditions, realising the sacredness of the African's heritage. Where the African teacher knows the subject matter of his teaching and is interested in it, he usually excels as a teacher. A sound preparatory education is therefore necessary to ensure that the African is efficient as a teacher.

In the training of the African teacher, religious education should have pre-eminence. Religion should not be presented merely as a subject of instruction, but rather as an attitude of mind towards life's problems, yielding fruit in Christian living and Christian acts. All through the course the theory of Christianity should find practical application in and around the training institutions.

Emphasis should also be placed upon the community aspect of village education, the teachers in training being led to regard their work as a form of community service, so that, when they have finished their training, they will have a definite vision of the real function of the school ; they will have seen by actual experiment in a real school how and where the school can serve the community. In Nyasaland instruction is given to the children in the practising of hygiene not only by class-room lessons, but also by their practical application, in sweeping the village, destroying the breeding grounds of mosquitoes and flies, and burning all rubbish.

It is important, too, to develop initiative in the teacher since there will be many occasions when the teacher, placed in a village out in the bush, will have to rely upon his own resources and to initiate new schemes. Dewey's analysis of the steps in the complete act of thought should be useful in this connection. "The occurrence of the problem, the inspection of facts to clear up the problem, the formation of a suggestion of a possible solution, and the testing of the ideas so formed." A problem in relation to improvement of village education is stated, and free discussion allowed. All the facts relative to the problem will be brought forward and examined, and then a tentative solution put forward and tested. Some such method of training helps the teachers to act for themselves.

In view of the importance of relating tribal conditions to Christian ethics, tribal customs should be examined to decide which of them contain valuable elements. Native Christians are prone to "religious vandalism". They would prefer to exterminate African customs than to reform them from within. Teachers should be encouraged to avoid open hostility and to rely more upon the expulsive power of a new affection in the elimination of the undesirable elements in African culture.

Teachers should be advised as to their relation to village headmen and district chiefs. They should inculcate respect for and obedience to the chiefs and be the first in example. They should strive patiently to interest the chiefs in educational work, and through school committees secure the co-operation of the chiefs and their councillors. In Nyasaland Native authorities and teachers are being brought together for training at the Jeanes Training Centre, and this linking of the Native authorities and Jeanes teachers will have far-reaching effects.

Referring to the problem created by the fact that many of those who are trained as teachers are too young to win the respect of the community and to lead the people, Mr. Steytler suggested alternating the education and training of candidates for the teaching profession with practical teaching in village schools under the guidance of older men. This system would serve to select the best type.

The training in teaching methods should aim at ridding from the minds of African teachers the prevalent idea that there is only one method—that given in the book. The use of the vernacular is also essential.

Teachers should be trained to use local materials for their most necessary class-room equipment. Mr. Steytler showed examples to prove that a school can be equipped very cheaply and that the pupils can learn by making the equipment.

Lastly, it is fundamentally important to educate and train the teacher's wife as well. An uneducated and untrained wife nullifies the work of her husband. The teacher and his wife should be regarded as a unit. The wife should accompany her husband to the training centre and receive special training on parallel lines and simultaneously with her husband. It should not be forgotten that women represent the conservative element in African society, and that one of the greatest obstacles to progress is the African woman. If the women are won, the battle is won.

Turning to the problem of the maintenance of the teacher's efficiency in the field, Mr. Steytler put forward several practical suggestions, viz. :—

1. Periodical visits by European supervisors.
2. Encouragement of correspondence between teachers and supervisors on teaching problems.

3. Teachers' conferences and vacation refresher courses.
 4. Visits of Jeanes teachers—these being more frequent and of longer duration than those of the supervisors.
 5. Saturday schools for teachers under the leadership of the Native supervisors.
 6. Publication of an educational journal in the vernacular.
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The REV. D. MAXWELL ROBERTSON, speaking from experience of teacher training in Northern Rhodesia, while agreeing with Mr. Steytler in most respects, placed far more emphasis upon the importance of extended education for the teacher in training. He would overcome the difficulty of the lower entrance age (due to the earlier age at which Africans pass through the schools) by raising the educational qualification for entrance upon teacher training.

It is most necessary to cultivate the power of initiative in African teachers, since upon this must depend their effectiveness in carrying into effect their training as teachers. Debates and discussions on methods have proved very helpful means of cultivating initiative and also teaching practice under the guidance of the training school staff at neighbouring schools; but the most fruitful agency has been the Pathfinder Movement. Library facilities, where organised, have also helped to stimulate teachers.

There is a great tendency to pile many jobs upon the teacher and to forget that his main function is to teach and his main laboratory is the school. Nevertheless, team organisation for community work has been proved to be invaluable where there are others who do work for which they are specially qualified.

The discussion showed that, while there might be differences of opinion in regard to details, there was general agreement as to the urgent necessity of bringing teacher training into closer relation with classroom conditions and village life in *Africa*; and that, while there should be continuous pressure to secure the raising of the educational standards of entrants upon teacher training, the most important need is to persuade the teacher that initiative and self-reliance are cardinal virtues, and that classroom methods must not depend upon that which is written in a book. The advancement of African education depends upon the vitalising of the African teacher's teaching methods. Teachers should be brought back to the training school for further training at regular intervals to prevent stagnation. Thus, not only must the training course be sound; there must also be frequent renewal of faith and enthusiasm, and constant extension of knowledge through vacation courses and periodic conferences with inspectors and supervisors.

2. THE "JEANES" SYSTEM OF VISITING TEACHERS

The term "Jeanes" is derived from the name of the American woman, Anna T. Jeanes, whose benefaction made possible the establishment of the Jeanes Fund (of America), which subsidises the employment of Negro teachers, already conspicuous for their good work along practical lines and for the influence of their schools upon the social life of the neighbourhood, to visit the small one-teacher schools and thus to encourage and assist the teachers not only to be better teachers but also to make their schools centres of community activities. "Jeanes

teachers " have proved most valuable factors in the advancement of Negro education and the upliftment of Negro life in the United States.

The Education Commissions, sent out by the Phelps-Stokes Fund in 1920-1 and 1924, under the leadership of Dr. T. Jesse Jones, to survey Native education in West, Southern, Central and East Africa, recommended the adaptation of the Jeanes system to African education ; and the Carnegie Corporation of New York made this possible by substantial grants for the establishment of schools for the training of the teachers along these lines.

The REV. JAMES W. C. DOUGALL, speaking from his experience, not only as a member of the second Phelps-Stokes Commission, but also as the first principal of the first of these training schools to be established in Africa, that opened in 1925 at Kabete, Kenya Colony, read a paper on " The Function of the Jeanes Schools in African Education."

The primary object of the Jeanes Schools is the improvement of rural community life through progress in health, agriculture, standards of home life and recreational occupations, and in the character and quality of village education. This main object is sought, firstly by the training of teachers who can be its effective agents, secondly by the employment of these teachers to supervise village teachers and their schools in such a way as to ensure that they in turn become the active and effective agents of the progress desired. As a teacher of teachers, the Jeanes visiting teacher makes the improvement of the teaching and education given in the village school his special concern ; as a community worker, he uses the village school as the base of operations for propaganda and persuasion in the neighbourhood, for the advancement of the people in regard to health, agriculture, home-life and recreation.

The village schools of Africa are the most accessible institutions for all classes, and they offer the greatest opportunities for the education of the masses. At the same time they are the greatest problem in educational policy and administration. They spring up easily ; their pupils are of widely varying ages and attainments, whose attendance is most fluctuating and irregular ; they have little equipment, and that is poor, for they have little financial backing beyond the village itself ; their teachers are, for the most part, entirely untrained, with a minimum of education themselves and very poorly paid, if paid at all. Thus, the greatest single problem of African education is to help these teachers to improve their own teaching qualifications, and therefore the work of their schools. This is the first task of the Jeanes Visiting Teacher.

The training of the Jeanes visiting teacher and the life to which he is accustomed during training must be judged by his ability to get close to the village teacher and to help him. The Jeanes teacher must be able to show the village teacher better methods of teaching the classroom subjects, to help him to plan the daily time-table and to grade and arrange his classes so that the problems of management can be minimised. The village teacher must be given fresh material for his lessons and shown how to appreciate the vital connection between lessons and life ; and, while the Jeanes teacher cannot be expected to give the village teacher courses of instruction in new subjects, he must tell him where he can obtain new knowledge, and stimulate him to look for it.

Since the village school is the focus of the Jeanes teacher's efforts to influence the community, he must seek to infect the village teacher with his own enthusiasm for community welfare, and show how the school in the bush can become a bigger factor in the education of the whole

neighbourhood. He must show the village teacher how to enlist the support of the parents and the chiefs both for the school and for the community activities, using public gatherings, shows and exhibitions to help the people to look on the school as the centre of progressive activities. The village teacher should also be helped to use the health workers, agricultural demonstrators, medical officers or sanitary inspectors where the services of any of these are available. In these ways the Jeanes teacher should take the benefits of education into the homes of the people and, as it were, put the whole village to school.

Half of this story, however, has not been told, and that half may yet prove to be the better half, for, without her, the Jeanes teacher is but ill-equipped to be the pioneer and exponent of better homes and better living. For this reason the wife of the Jeanes teacher is also trained, and the internal organisation of Jeanes training schools is built up on the pattern of family life. The wives are not expected to become trained teachers, but the training they receive alongside their husbands equips them to be educative influences also when their husbands return to the ordinary life in the villages. In the training of these women emphasis is placed on the importance of keeping clean homes and bringing up clean and healthy children. They may be more backward, their knowledge more limited, than some of the younger unmarried girls, but they are able to do a great deal for the women in their own home districts, where they settle down. The best of them hold regular classes for women at their homes, teaching them to sew and knit, passing on their knowledge of the care of babies—how to bath, dress and feed them—domestic hygiene, the attractive furnishing of the home and the making of mats, baskets, and other craftware. The villages show the results in markedly greater cleanliness. These women, too, show capacity for leading public opinion on matters that affect women particularly, and for developing higher standards of individual, family and community life.

The outlook and activities of the Jeanes training school must be so planned that they will communicate and develop new attitudes of mind and improved personal and communal habits among the Jeanes teachers and their wives, which they in their turn will communicate to and develop in the African villages. The training school must provide opportunities for the teachers in training to participate in an active, intelligent and varied life in a community which embodies social improvements, which they share and to which they themselves contribute.

In the Jeanes school at Kabete there are two African villages of thirty and twenty houses respectively, each family living in a permanent self-contained house, where it has a healthy independent life of its own. The school has its playing fields, workshop, chapel, and community hall, co-operative store, dispensary, farm, cow-byre and dairy. These institutions are necessary for a full and varied community life, but the nucleus of the life is the home, where the father, mother and children live under conditions in which habits of hygiene, economy, responsibility and the care of children can be encouraged and taught. Each family has its flower garden and its food garden. Each householder has his monthly allowance, which he is taught to use wisely for the purchase of the food, clothes and books necessary for his family. The wives have their families to clothe and feed, so that instruction in these matters is constantly required. Babies are being born and the care of the mother and baby provides fresh opportunity for instruction, in which all the wives share. The real and pressing needs of an African family have to be met every day, and therein lies the opportunity for individual teaching at a time when it is most readily understood and appreciated.

When close upon a hundred men and women with their children live under village conditions there is never a shortage of physical work to be done. The dormitory system fails to provide the occasions for social co-operation in mutual community service. In the Jeanes training school the students do the needful. The care of the village, its greens, roads, latrines, and drains is shared. Arrangements have to be made for the water and firewood supplies, disposal of rubbish, collection of debts, organisation of games, library and chapel, dairy and poultry work. These are carried out by the students. The shareholders in the co-operative shop have their own committee, which looks after the buying of stocks, fixing of prices and distribution of profits. The running of the credit society provides training in the wise use of public money. All these activities provide training in organisation, in co-operation, in responsibility for social duty, and in increasing vigilance on behalf of an improved corporate life.

Instruction in and through the use of leisure is an important feature of Jeanes training. In addition to the physical training, singing, football and suitable outdoor Native games which the ordinary school curriculum provides for, the Jeanes School at Kabete has given special attention to indoor recreation with a view to providing more adequately for the long evenings and for the recreational needs of the women. At the weekly community meetings, the arrangement for which are in the hands of the teachers in training, efforts are made to develop different types of entertainment. Native story-telling and singing are the most obvious, but dramatics offer the greatest opportunity for the combination of self-expression and instruction. Propaganda plays, on subjects connected with health, agriculture and education, communicate progressive ideas to the minds of the untaught adult village audience. Morality plays appeal to Christians and pagans alike. Dramatised folk-tales are given with great verve, and often reveal the depth and tenacity of Native custom.

Since Jeanes teachers are to help other teachers—and often they themselves have had no special training as teachers before they come to the training school—it is necessary to give them training in teaching methods. Sometimes these teachers, coming in after years of teaching, have become so set in their habits of mind and so mechanical in their teaching, that it is most difficult to re-educate them and to vitalise their teaching. The training of the Jeanes teacher must therefore depend more on the directed practice of teaching than on text books. Theory follows only upon experience of teaching under careful supervision in the practising and village schools. And, as the Jeanes teachers will have to help the village teachers when they go out, they must be given training and experience in constructive criticism and in methods of helping village teachers. During the vacations they practise in the village schools at their homes. In the final year they discuss, under the guidance of the training school staff, methods of using the visitation of schools, demonstration lessons, teachers' classes and informal conversation to instil new ideas into the village teacher. They also learn to plan their tours, to make reports, and to enlist the co-operation of missioneraies, Government officials, chiefs and parents.

The Village Teacher's Guide (London: The Sheldon Press, 2s. 6d., edited by the author of this paper) describes the many ways in which the school can help the village, and the village teacher can become a leader in his own community. How far can this work be taught? It is much harder to give training in this than in classroom work. Firstly, because community work depends on the responsiveness of the community

itself. Secondly, because the Jeanes teachers in training change every year or two and the work they have begun at the institutions must be carried on by others. Thirdly, the teachers in training are foreigners in the immediate neighbourhood of the training school, and may even belong to a different language group. Thus the training school might tend to depend largely upon its own internal village organisation. This would not be enough, for it would miss just those difficulties which are created by village conservatism and ignorance. Jeanes teachers in training are therefore given projects to be carried out under ordinary village conditions. Examples of what has been done are : (1) Organisation of a poultry club and egg-selling association in the district ; (2) conduct of a night school for labourers on a European farm ; (3) conduct of a Sunday school ; (4) instruction in simple carpentry ; (5) enlistment of the interest of village elders in the fencing and improvement of pasture-lands.

Experience has shown, however, the dangers arising from expecting the Jeanes visiting teacher to perform efficiently the duties which, in a fully organised community, are carried out by several workers, e.g. health worker, sanitary inspector, agricultural demonstrator. Efforts to train the Jeanes teacher for each and every service required by a community proved unwise, giving rise to disappointment and friction. The Government of Kenya Colony now employs health workers and agricultural demonstrators and social workers, who have been specially trained for their own work at the Jeanes School. The Jeanes teacher co-operates with these workers within the limits of his knowledge and experience, and the time and resources at his command. His training still includes sufficient of the elements of these special forms of knowledge to enable him to do so.

The Jeanes teachers (97) and their wives (97) so far (1934) trained are employed mostly by the various missions, a few being employed in Government schools. Each Jeanes teacher supervises, on an average, eight schools ; he holds on an average one teachers' class in each month for eight months of the year. He holds short courses for teachers, gives monthly demonstrations, helps to run sports days, to organise night classes and to raise money for buildings and equipment. He and his wife are responsible for handwork classes, women's sewing classes and child-welfare classes. A few co-operative shops have been organised, many "clean-up" days organised, and community meetings held for health and agricultural propaganda. The Jeanes teachers encourage people to plant trees, construct wells, dig manure pits and build better houses.

In most instances the Government pays two-thirds of the salaries of the Jeanes teachers.

The Jeanes visiting teachers give intelligent, devoted service ; they inspire other teachers and neighbours to emulation ; they encourage improvements in home life and village organisation ; they promote the growing of better crops and the nurture of stronger and healthier families ; they contribute in no small degree to closer co-operation between the different departments of State concerned with health and development ; and they help to secure a more active partnership between missionary societies for the betterment of social conditions in the villages of Africa.

MR. T. L. DAVIS followed with an account of " Jeanes teacher training in Southern Rhodesia," where, he said, 98 per cent. of the Native population is still rural, and where over a thousand kraal or village schools

provide a very rudimentary form of education. There are over two thousand African teachers employed, of whom 50 per cent. do not possess a Standard IV qualification, and only 18 per cent. have a Standard VI or higher qualification.

Jeanes teacher training is provided at Domboshawa Government School (eighteen miles from Salisbury), where kraal teachers of outstanding ability are sent for a special two year course. On the completion of his training, the Jeanes visiting teacher goes into a Native Reserve or Native Purchase Area, and acts as a travelling adviser to the teachers of about ten kraal schools. In some areas he has the co-operation of male agricultural demonstrators and community demonstrators and of female home demonstrators, who are also employed in these areas.

The training of the Jeanes teacher in Southern Rhodesia (as in Kenya and elsewhere) consists of four main branches: (a) training in educational principles, methods and organisation; (b) occupational training; (c) instruction in methods of home and health betterment; (d) instruction in methods of establishing close contacts between school and community.

(a) The training in educational principles, methods and organisation must have a rural bias, with special recognition of the prevailing kraal school conditions. Most of these schools have one teacher each, with four to six classes, each having pupils of varying ages, including adults. The biggest task in the organisation of these schools is the avoidance of waste time and labour; while, in school methods, it is the vitalising of the instruction so that the classroom subject matter is correlated with kraal experience.

(b) The industrial training has two functions. One is to show the Jeanes teacher how to build a school from foundation to roof, and to equip it at a minimum of cost. This is necessary, since there are usually no resources outside those of the village or kraal for building and equipping the school. The other function is to show the Jeanes teacher how he can help to improve the African's agricultural methods, his diet, his home life and living conditions, through the instruction given in the classroom and the use of the school plot of two acres for which the Government regulations provide. Co-operation with the agricultural and community demonstrators is a means of extending his influence.

(c) Sufficient food is the first essential of life, but health is the second, and the Jeanes teacher learns how to give practical application to the laws of health by insisting upon habits of cleanliness in and around the school, and by preventive measures in regard to simple injuries and infections and contagious diseases. The training of the wife of the Jeanes teacher in maternity work, home management, child welfare, hygiene and first aid extends considerably the man's usefulness to the community; while the special training and employment of women as home demonstrators enable them to co-operate with the Jeanes teacher.

(d) The establishment of contacts between school and community is, however, not easily attainable. The African looks upon the school as an invention of the missionary, and he is often uncertain of its purpose or advantages, even when he himself has asked for it. The school has been an island of knowledge in a sea of ignorance, and this has isolated the school from the community. Schoolgoers develop a contempt for their ignorant parents, for their homes and customs, and prefer the European centres. The teacher tends to regard the parents only as the main source of all his school troubles, while the parents blame the school and the teacher for their loss of parental authority over their children. Jeanes training must aim at enabling the school to attain to a happier

relationship, through supplying what the community needs. School excursions into the kraals—to improve the living conditions, to help with ploughing, reaping and building and the other manifold opportunities for utilising the better knowledge of the school to the advantage of the people—these are means which can be employed, and which the teacher must be taught to use.

The spirit in which the Jeanes teacher sets out upon his tasks and the enthusiasm he displays should express the teachings of his religion.

Mr. Davis then described the three settings which are provided at Domboshawa for the carrying out of Jeanes teaching: (1) the Jeanes village; (2) organised field training camps; (3) a five mile radius of Reserve area around Domboshawa.

(1) The model village is being built by the teachers themselves, and contains improvements suitable for Reserve conditions. The teachers in training run the village organisation, their own village school and recreations. Notwithstanding the fact that the teachers are drawn from various tribes, the good-will and harmony which prevails in the village are excellent.

(2) The field training camp is organised towards the end of the course, and is established in the heart of one of the Native Reserves with kraal schools at convenient distances around, the usual sanitary and other camp arrangements being provided. Two Jeanes teachers are allotted to each school and they spend two days in the discussion of plans with the kraal school teacher and in establishing contacts with the community. The European supervisors meanwhile visit all the schools to assess for themselves the needs of these schools. After discussions at the camp, the Jeanes teachers commence a series of activities at their respective schools and kraals to work out the Jeanes methods. As a result of these activities, there are new or improved school buildings and more and better equipment, time tables have been revised and schemes of school work planned, better methods have been introduced, the children have had their interest awakened, new types of craftwork, school crop and vegetable gardens have been introduced. Water supplies have been improved and there is now a new realisation, vague though it may be, on the part of parents that they have really some connection with their school. It may be that one of the Jeanes teachers in training will be appointed to this very area, and he will thus be able to follow up the results of the camp. At any rate, the weakness of the individual Jeanes teachers have been revealed and can possibly be remedied, and they themselves have had their first experience of the problems with which they will be faced.

(3) It is often found that living conditions immediately surrounding large Native educational institutions are even worse than those further afield. To avoid this, in the case of Domboshawa, an area with a radius of five miles around the school has been allotted to Domboshawa, in which it can exercise direct influence and engage in development schemes. In it there are six kraal schools, and thus it is ideal for the training of Jeanes teachers. In it are now working an agricultural demonstrator, a home demonstrator and a trained Jeanes teacher, all of whom work in co-operation. Three of the schools have (1934) just reaped their crop rotation plots, and are devoting the proceeds to better school equipment. Five have established vegetable gardens; all are now housed in solid buildings of sun-dried bricks. Blackboard space is increasing, the equipment and apparatus are being made by the industrial classes. Improvements in organisation are being made, instruction is becoming more

thorough, the scope of the curriculum is being enlarged, and the subjects taught are being adapted to the needs of the community.

Making the school the centre of community betterment is proving a more difficult matter. (Mr. Davis described what was being attempted at various centres indicated on a plan, of which copies were circulated.) Hygiene lessons are followed up by organised practical hygiene at one or other of the villages, and the agricultural demonstrator and home demonstrator co-operate by undertaking projects which show the parents where school instruction can be related to agricultural and other community activities. At one centre, the parents have marked out the school gardens and helped in other ways. Thus the beginning of school communities may be discerned and fuller co-operation of parents and teachers secured.

With Jeanes teachers dotted among the thousand kraal schools of Southern Rhodesia, each having similar influence upon the people of his area, a real beginning would be made to help the masses to better and fuller living, to the improvement of the kraal school child's environment, to providing the child with the knowledge and skills necessary for advancement, and to bringing the school and the community into a closer co-operative relationship.

The discussion revealed no dissension from the view that the visiting teacher system as outlined by the speakers offers an excellent means of linking the school with the life outside. It was realised that already those territories which have been experimenting in this direction have developed special characteristics most suited to their own conditions, and that, in future, as the idea is adopted and adapted in other African areas, there will be fruitful contributions to the efforts to vitalise education in Africa. The greatest obstacle to the adoption of the Jeanes methods as part of the educational system is its cost, and this aspect loomed large in the discussion. Not only is it necessary to bring back for training experienced teachers, with their families, but it is most desirable that they should be brought back again from time to time for the extension of their knowledge and the renewal of their enthusiasm. Men so qualified must be paid salaries commensurate with their professional standing and their social responsibilities. A visiting teacher for every ten schools is a considerable addition to the financial burden of Native education in any territory.

But when the immensity of the task of education in Africa is realised—as it was so vividly realised throughout the remarkable discussions of the Conference—and against it is set the poverty of education's resources and the utter inadequacy of the African teacher's educational and professional equipment, would it not be wise to see whether the system of visiting teachers would not pay its way, not only by improving the African school, but also by raising the social and economic level of African life so that the Native people could contribute, with less hardship but more fully to the cost of the maintenance and development of African education?

As Mr. Dougall emphasised in his paper, enthusiasm for the Jeanes system must not result in the burdening of the visiting teacher and the village teacher with duties and responsibilities for which others must be specially trained. That is a danger against which experience has already provided us with warnings. On the other hand, are there not now signs

that it is thought in high places that agricultural and other forms of development can be achieved without the assistance of the school, and that the school has no function to perform in the advancement of Africans? The two papers have shown that there can be happy and fruitful co-operation between all the forms of state and philanthropic endeavour which aim at the advancement in civilisation of the African people, and that for all these the school is an essential ally. The visiting teacher makes the school a more efficient, willing and understanding ally.

CHAPTER XXI

POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

The previous discussion served to emphasise the vital importance of harmonious co-operation between all the agencies concerned with, and engaging in, educational and other forms of development among the African people. The lack of this co-operation has in the past involved waste of effort, and caused irritation, and even conflict, between Church and State, and between school and people. The topics selected for discussion under the head of "possible developments in educational administration" were chosen with a view to the better correlation of educational policy and organisation through greater co-operation between the groups concerned.

1. RELATIONS BETWEEN EDUCATION AND NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENTS

MR. D. McK. MALCOLM, in a paper on this subject, dealt specifically with the position as found in the Union of South Africa, where, in recent years, the Native Affairs Department has, through taxation legislation, come to hold the purse strings of Native education and, in consequence, to be in a position to direct the educational policy. He traced the legislative steps by which this situation was reached.

Funds for Native education in the Union are allocated from a Native Development Fund (to which one-fifth* of the Native general tax of £1 is devoted and to which also the general revenue of the country contributes annually £340,000), and, on the advice of the Native Affairs Commission, which, in 1920, set forth its own educational policy in the following terms :—

- (1) The main object should be to provide elementary education for Native children.
- (2) The system of education should emphasise character training, habits of industry, use and appreciation of the vernacular, the official languages, health and hygiene, agriculture and other practical subjects.
- (3) To provide teachers for these schools, a limited number of students should be trained at approved training institutions. These institutions should be selected on a regional rather than a denominational basis.
- (4) There should be established in certain areas (on a regional rather than a denominational basis) a limited number of Native high schools, designed—
 - (a) to train men as farm demonstrators ;
 - (b) to train women as home demonstrators ;

* Since 1936 the proportion is two-fifths.

- (c) to offer vocational training to a limited number of Natives, e.g., that of secretary to Native chief or Native civil servant in Native areas, etc.; and
- (d) to prepare students for admission to the South African Native College.

From the inception of the Development Fund the Commission has refused to confine expenditure entirely to education. Accordingly, it has aided agricultural training, and, as far as possible, supported Native hospitals.

Having discussed several unsatisfactory features in the relations between the Native Affairs Department, which controls the funds, and the Provincial Administrations which administer the systems of Native education, Mr. Malcolm put forward a number of recommendations, viz. :—

1. *Recommendations based on a continuation of the present system*

- (a) The transfer of the funds for Native education to the Union Department of Education to be administered in the light of modern educational knowledge and practice. This Department should also be enabled to conduct investigations into the most suitable methods in Native education.
- (b) The control of policy in Native education through a central board consisting of representatives of the Union Departments of Native Affairs and Education, the Provincial Education Departments, and the Provincial Native Education Advisory Boards (to allow of missionary representation). Uniformity of policy, however, should not involve uniformity of practice regardless of differing local needs.
- (d) An increase, by 10 per cent. annually, in the proportion of the general tax payable to the Native Development Fund, until the whole tax has been absorbed. This to be continued “until a more rational system” is evolved.

2. *Recommendations involving a change in the present system*

- (a) Recognition in educational policy and finance of the Native as an integral part of the population.
- (b) Provision by the State of the funds necessary to bring all the people to the fourth standard of education, irrespective of the tax-paying capacity of any section.
- (c) The eventual abolition of the Native Affairs Department, as its existence has the effect of perpetuating two standards of conduct among Whites—one towards other Whites and another towards Natives; it encourages the idea that the Native is not part and parcel of the State (as shown by the indifference to Native infantile mortality). The Department has to assume functions which belong in justice to other departments of State; and it has failed to protect the Natives from legal and other disabilities. It has been most fortunate in its personnel, who have achieved a great deal despite the system.
- (d) All departments of State should be as available to the Native population as to other sections.

Since the prosperity of the State is bound up with the advancement of its poorest and most backward section, and education is the most potent remedial measure against ignorance and superstition—the bulwarks of conservatism and retardation—South Africa should recognise the necessity for relieving the Native people—the poorest section of the community—of the burden of their own education, and for placing it upon the State as a whole.

2. RELATIONS BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATIONS AND MISSIONS AND OTHER BODIES

MR. H. J. E. DUMBRELL, in his paper on this topic, said that Native development depends upon—

- (1) co-operation between all those organisations of State and Society whose activities react upon African life ;
- (2) a greater share of participation by Africans themselves in all development schemes ; and
- (3) the provision of the necessary funds.

For many years there have been advisory boards in the various African territories, whose personnel consisted largely of missionaries and the heads of those State departments which come into direct contact with Native education. More recently other groups, e.g. the Universities, have been invited to send representatives to these Boards, whose influence in Native education and even on Native Affairs generally has been immense. But while these boards have functioned effectively in Native education there have been no advisory boards as regards Native administration, on which there have been representatives of Native education, missions or other bodies.

Mr. Dumbrell then put forward detailed suggestions. Where an Advisory Board on Native Education exists there should also be set up a "Council for Native Affairs," with the responsible Minister or Chief Administrator at the head, and comprising the heads of the State departments concerned (Law, Finance, Health, Education, etc.), representatives of missions, elected or nominated Africans, and other representatives.

Under this scheme existing boards of advice on Native education and development would cease to function.

This Council would advise the chief officer of State concerned in respect of (a) general policy in respect of Native Affairs ; (b) finance relating to Native affairs ; (c) questions of administration ; (d) special questions of law and custom, economics, education and training.

The Council would appoint a standing committee on Native affairs and another on Native training (i.e. education in its widest sense). It would also direct the activities of an employment bureau to assist in the filling of posts, either Government or missionary, in the various spheres of Native development.

Each tribal area, reserve, municipal area or other section of the country would be placed under the charge of a district officer (not necessarily the administrative officer), whose special function would be to "father" and co-ordinate schemes of Native development and community welfare work in his area. He would be assisted by a district committee representative of various bodies and groups and would include Africans. The committee would advise the district officer on such matters as the establishment of schools, roads, health, agriculture, and it would co-operate with all sections of the community on matters affecting the general welfare. It would enable the officer to keep in touch with Native opinion in his district and give Africans opportunities of participating in their own affairs. The committee would also assist the district officer with his financial estimates, and would help in finding means to finance special projects.

Tribal committees have been in existence for some time in Bechuanaland Protectorate with fair success, and they have shown in practice their willingness to pay for what they want. Through being given a direct share in the management of their own affairs, their interest in them has been re-awakened.

The REVEREND FATHER J. P. O'HEA followed on the same subject. He pointed out that the spiritual bankruptcy of Western civilisation has set men dreaming, hoping and planning a better world. Few institutions have been ready to accept any share of the blame for the present-day chaos, but the New Education Fellowship has gathered together educators who have willingly accepted at least part of the blame. In this African Section of the Conference educators have by their presence and through their discussions accepted the challenge which some Africans are uttering: "Who are you to come from the White corners of the earth to teach our people the same road to ruin that you yourselves have trod?"

We who are opening up new fields in Africa are bound to be filled with a creative discontent and to plan for something better than we have known. But as dreamers and revolutionaries we must search for basic principles of universal validity, for these must be our guide to action and our source of power for a sustained faith through the travails of transition to the new world.

There are certain principles of general application in regard to educational responsibility, and these are:—

1. The parent has the primary right and duty to guide the education of his child, even though the Church and State may, for the good of the child, and/or the common good, define the limits of this right.
2. The Church has a two-fold title and duty to educate :
 - (a) She has received the command to teach all nations.
 - (b) She assumes a parenthood over her spiritual children, born again into the supernatural life at baptism—a life of greater importance than the natural life.
3. Since the aim of the State is the natural perfection of society, and this can alone come from the perfection of the individual, the right education of the individual must be a concern of the statesman.

Harmony between these three societies—the Family, the Church and the State—is the very first condition necessary to the perfection of the ideal of education. The distribution of power as between the three varies in varying circumstances. It is generally the Family that is weakest, while the Church and the State govern and direct. It is precisely in this position that the strong must ever be willing to bend as far as he can towards the weak, and resolutely refuse to adopt the attitude, which he so often can and does, of a ruthless dictator.

These fundamental principles are of course applicable to Africa, even though their application must vary with circumstances. In much that has been done, and even in the good that has been achieved, there has been far too much of the imposition of the will of the strong on the weak, and often an almost total ignoring of the will of the weak. All too often the African family and tribe have received in meek submission what we have thrust upon them, refusing, out of that fund of gentle politeness which is their birthright, to interpose an idea or a suggestion. We have rather adopted the role of educational know-alls, scouting the idea that parental views were worthy of consideration, as proceeding from those who were illiterate. Now, the African family is much less of a self-contained unit than is the European. It is a family within a family, within a system and, by its very constitution, it functions much more through the group than through the individual. Arguing

from personal failures, it does not seem too much to state that no African school will ever be much of a success, within or without its walls, unless it is governed through the parents. More even than the European, does the African love conferences, whilst his are more effectual as a general rule. Father O'Hea expressed a conviction on this point which experience had brought him. It was that in education parental rights over their children be restored to the African parents.

With the local village headman in the chair and all the male parents present, the teacher as secretary, the missionary and government official as mere visitors, let all school procedure and activity be discussed, directed and organised in outline, the detail to be filled in by the experts later. In rural schools nearly all the members of such a body will be quite illiterate; but they are very wise. Herein is the parent's right over the education of the child exercised in a very full measure.

There is little need to indicate how a school run on these lines has, at once, the full backing of the elders (it is their school, run by their laws). So wise are these men that no new ideas come to them as a shock; some apparently good suggestions are turned down; but, even if they were good, what would be the use of imposing them if the parents cannot see their value?

Needless to say, this is not offered as a new educational nostrum, but as a means through which the inviolable right of the parent may be safeguarded and exercised. Parent and teacher co-operation has long been discussed and made effective, particularly in the schools of Japan; but, just because this very method of guiding group activity (and what else is a school) is so essentially African, we should give it fullest scope. Here, indeed, we are building on African foundations—the only ones which can give hope of permanency. We are also equipping the missionary for the realisation of his position as interpreter between Government and tribe.

In their mutual relations Church and State must have harmony of aims and the most complete statement of views, each to each. The machinery—individual contact, conferences, advisory boards—through which this is brought about exists in great variety and need not be described. The general aim will be to people the African territories with a contented peasantry working on the land—the real wealth and pride of any community; but there must be also opportunity for the emergence of the individual through the slow stages of higher education and a full guarantee that openings will be found for such in the service of the tribe.

But every dream has its awakening. Two almost insuperable problems, which at present effectively block the high road to such ideals, call for solution. They are not insoluble.

The first of these is finance. In an earlier paper a writer fearlessly laid before the Conference figures which were clamorous. He spoke for one portion of the field—almost without exception the case is similar or worse elsewhere. The poorest and least articulate section of the community is the least assisted—a crazy bouleversement of what ought to be. Actually, the African, while paying for his own education, is contributing his quota to aided schooling of our own race, and we are supposed to explain taxation to him in our teaching of civics! Part of the solution to this is to be found in the formation of a sane White opinion, and it can be asserted that the White is ready and eager to learn. Vote-catching governments must ever be cross-eyed, one eye on the public, the other more dimly, often enough, on justice—

one does not blame them ; but rather ourselves who, absorbed in the immediate implications of our work, have failed to interpret the Black to the White and *vice versa*.

Secondly, perhaps more immovably blocking the road, rises the hideous spectre of sectarianism, attacking the very origins of these relations. It is said to be a good bogey, since it stimulates competition. He who prayed that we might be one as He and the Father are one is presented to the African rent and torn, whilst the African, ever wise, is bewildered and pleading for a united front in the battle against evil and oppression. Resolutions to this effect have come from conferences of Natives and gone the way of most resolutions—paving stones. The territorial solution has been attempted and does but further emphasise disunion, so too with regard to a search for basic beliefs common to all sects. Is it any wonder that governments look on this bewildering phantasmagoria and turn to undenominational schools as their partial solution ; thus, in reality, adding one more sect to the fullness of the number and medley ? Is it any wonder that Africans start their own sects in astonishing variety or are sickened and cry out for schools that have nothing of religion in them ? And so the tale of detrition goes wearily on and on. It is true that this is only one side of the picture, and that on the other are the lives of men and women all over Africa whose personal sacrifices and devotion to duty are proverbial—men and women of all sects who have become fools for Christ's sake, counting the sufferings of this life a small price to pay for souls. "But, where is the solution ?" asked Father O'Hea. "If any man shall say there is none, he is unfit to labour in this land of problems. I do not propose one ; but, in all reverence, I dare to say that Christ's own sweet prayer that we might all be one as He and the Father are one still goes forth for us. We can only give Him the answer for which He yearns through growing ourselves less that He may grow more in us, so that there may be but one fold and one Shepherd.

"There are two great obstacles to harmony in the relations we are now examining—sound finance, the prosaic, and unity, the poetic and therefore the more real. Achievement is all the more magnificent in proportion to the magnitude of the striving—let no thought of discouragement, still less of smug complacency enter in ; but a ravishing joy in the realisation that to each one of us is given tasks above the power of man alone to accomplish. Surely a high endeavour."

The discussion revealed the necessity for further thought and effort before the interests of the three main groups—the Family, the Church and the State—as described by Father O'Hea, concerned with the education of the African child, can be fully harmonised. The African contributors to the discussion emphasised the growing hostility on the part of Africans—at least the educated ones—towards both Church and State, because of the small share which Africans have in educational administration. But they in turn tended to overlook the historical circumstances which have resulted in educational responsibility resting largely upon missions, and, more recently, upon the State (as represented by the White man). One African speaker denied the indebtedness of Africans to the missions, and claimed the right of the Africans to control of their own education. On the other hand, throughout the whole series of discussions in the African education section, great emphasis had been placed upon the necessity for securing the full co-operation of Africans in their own

educational advancement by the unanimity of opinion on the point and the frequency with which it was expressed.

The growing participation of the State in the control and organisation of Native education has tended to minimise the power and influence of missions in Native education. The ratio of the financial responsibility borne by the State to the degree of control exercised is variable, in some cases the financial responsibility being constant, while the control increases. Then again, educational policy is in increasing measure being affected by general State policy in Native affairs, so that the educational administrator often finds his educational principles being subordinated to political policy. The power and influence of political considerations over educational policy have grown greatly in recent years.

The missions are faced with increased State control of their schools, with growing insistence by Africans upon their right to manage their own schools, and with an overwhelming demand for admission into the schools by the children themselves. On the other hand, the State's contribution to their financial resources does not keep pace with the pressure upon them for buildings, equipment and teaching service. Their own resources of men and money have in many instances been grievously reduced by the political, economic and moral chaos in Europe and America.

It is not surprising that, in all these circumstances, there are mutual suspicions and irritations and some lack of helpful co-operation between the African, the Church and the State, while the educator stands helpless and the child suffers.

The papers read and the discussion which followed them, showed, however, that there is, in all the groups represented, enough earnest goodwill to warrant the hope that, in time, sound means of mutually helpful co-operation will become increasingly available and used.

CONCLUSION

(Statement of Anthropologists, Educationists and Missionaries)

The following statement was adopted to express the views of a group of anthropologists, educationists (both teaching and administrative) and missionaries who attended the Johannesburg meeting of the African Education section of the Conference. They were brought together by the Chairman, who hoped thereby to secure a greater harmonisation of the convictions of the three main sections of European workers in the field of African education in regard to the objectives of that education. The statement is a result of the discussions, which were frank and helpful:

Recognising that the African to-day is faced with the necessity of adapting himself to changes in his society, we feel that the Anthropologist, the Educationist and the Missionary each have contributions to make in assisting the African to do this.

While all must acquaint themselves with the nature not only of the society of which the African is a member, but also of the influences which are being brought to bear upon him, the Anthropologist can make his best contributions as the interpreter of the indigenous society and of the effects of the changes which are taking place. The Educationist and the Missionary, though often engaged in research of an anthropological character, are mainly concerned to make available to the African those

agencies which will enable him to take his place with dignity and effectiveness as a man and as a member of society in the changing world.

All should find it possible to co-operate in assisting the African, and also the European, to appreciate the African's destiny and the means whereby that may be attained.

They find common ground in the following objectives :—

1. Enrichment of the mind and character of the African to enable him to benefit from the new knowledge and experience.
2. Equipment of the African in such a way to enable him to maintain himself in whatever environment he may be placed.
3. Provision of an economic status that will give the African the means to live a decent, self-respecting life, and of a status that will permit him to take his share of responsibility for the well-being of his people.
4. Co-operation of the African himself in all measures for his advancement and well-being.

In their efforts to realise these objectives, they should seek to reach the fullest possible mutual understanding as to what these objectives involve and how they may be attained, so that African culture may make its fullest contribution to civilisation.

In this process due recognition must be given to those elements in indigenous African culture, which are not only living social forces at present but are also capable of development and re-fashioning. Among these are :—

1. Tribal Organisation.
2. The Family.
3. Kinship Ties.
4. Village Organisation.
5. The Neighbourhood.
6. Age Sets.
7. The Clan.
8. Respect for Religion.
9. Arts and Drama.
10. Economic Organisation.

It should be recognised, also, that there is inadequate knowledge and understanding of these institutions in African life, and it will be very necessary to safeguard against the mere adoption or rejection of these forms without having due regard to the changes which are taking place in African society itself which may make them inappropriate or ineffective. Special consideration must be given to those groups living under conditions in which these institutions no longer function, so that a knowledge may be obtained of the changes that are taking place, and guidance given in the development of new forms of social organisation. Most of all, the goodwill and co-operation of the African himself is essential.

To realise the objectives enumerated herein, the school is only one of the agencies to be used. The home and family, the Church, the Chief's council and other tribal institutions may be, and are in fact, often more educative than the school. New medical, agricultural and similar services will be required. In all spheres the closest touch must be maintained with African traditions and aspirations.

PART III.

REVIEW OF CONFERENCE

- (a) CLOSING REMARKS AT CAPETOWN SESSION
- (b) CLOSING REMARKS AT JOHANNESBURG SESSION

PART III.

REVIEW OF CONFERENCE*

(a) CLOSING REMARKS AT CAPETOWN SESSION

MRS. BEATRICE ENSOR

In a review of the Conference at the closing of the Capetown meeting Mrs. Ensor said that the range of varied interest disclosed in the written impressions handed in to herself by members was most striking. According to temperament some had "Rugg-itis", others "Dewey-itis", others one "-itis" or another, and their pursuit of the authors of their choice had shown the force of the personality and the human element. They had heard much on all hands about growth but all should remember that education was growth not only for the child but for themselves, the adults, as well.

She wished to thank all who had contributed to the organisation and execution of the programmes and, in framing her own answer to the question "What have we got out of it?", she would say first of all a tremendous stimulus from the feeling of personal partnership in a great world movement for the reconstruction of education to adapt it to the changed needs of society, and also from the feeling of kinship with teachers all over the world engaged in a like task.

They had received a thought-provoking challenge to modify methods and think out the new type of education needed to equip the child for its fight in the new type of world. "There are difficulties and as yet we are all searching, and in our search we need intellectual discussion. There has been disagreement but a marked degree of harmony, mutual tolerance, and willingness to give the other man a hearing." Some might feel the confusion as of the parts of a jigsaw puzzle, but they would recognise the extraordinary unanimity as to fundamentals presented in varied ways by speakers of varied nationality and personality, each a master of his subject, personal contact made with whom would now add all the greater interest to a study of their books. They had also all gained the inspiration to desire to get back quickly to their various duties and see how they could apply the lessons learnt during the Conference.

They had the blessing and sympathy of those in authority to encourage them to experiment, not for revolution but for evolution, whether their pupils were many or few.

* The closing addresses summarised here are those of a more or less general nature. There were besides these at the closing meeting also summaries made by speakers who dealt with more specific phases of the Conference. I refer particularly to the summaries made by Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones of the meetings of the Native Section at Capetown and Johannesburg, by Professor Mabel Carney of the Section on Rural Education at Johannesburg, and by Mr. H. Britten of the Social Work Section at Johannesburg. These were more conveniently incorporated in the chapters above dealing with these particular topics.—E.G.M.

They had maybe also done something to educate public opinion, and to aid a realisation of the need for co-operation of parent, teacher, and social worker, if there was to be any real success.

They had realised too the tremendous importance of the co-ordination of social work and of preventive rather than remedial measures in this, and would watch with interest the efforts of Dr. Malherbe and his colleagues to make a success of the National Bureau of Educational and Social Work.

She foreshadowed a great development in the application to education of films and broadcasting, as also of Nursery Schools and Child-Guidance Clinics, and of the Correspondence School which had appealed to many as the most practical contribution to Conference.

Education being a living process they did not offer any definition of the "old school" or the "new school" which must go on adapting itself to changing needs. The absence of dogma maybe made the Fellowship what it was after its twenty years of life. They must be tolerant of happenings in other nations, trusting that varied pathways to civilisation would ultimately converge, and remaining ready to accept and adapt the good in each. "Differences make for richness."

'Fundamentally it comes down to this, that we believe in the God within the child as well as the God without the child, and that God is a great force to be realised within us. True education is, therefore, from within. But at the same time we have to help the child to acquire the means to express that which is within by placing at his disposal schools and their techniques'.

For the education of the *whole* child the arts must be an integral part of his curriculum to afford opportunity for creative expression.

As to the curriculum, this must be built up out of our own South African traditions, needs, and background, and the child should be given a rich environment with his school a social institution.

'The new method remains as sterile as the old unless the teacher for himself makes it a living and creative thing'.

'The tremendous importance of a new psychology as our basis has been felt at this Conference. The Fellowship, if it is anything, is a different attitude and a different type of human relationship, and a relationship with the God within—a fatherhood with God and a brotherhood with man—a sympathy and understanding between man and man based on a different attitude of social reconstruction based on the new education in home and schools. It is earnestly hoped that an outcome of the Conference will be a great increase in the membership of the Fellowship'.

'Freedom is relative and we must be free ourselves if we are to give freedom by creating the atmosphere in which the child can find this. We need education to see that our schools can contribute to the improvement of the community, the nation, and the world. We need to be artists to make sympathetic contacts with the child'.

'The most precious thing in our Fellowship is nothing new, but a re-statement of the teachings of Plato and of Christ Himself in terms suited to the needs of to-day, and the Fellowship is precious in that when the Holy Spirit came they spake in all men's tongues in the spirit of sympathy, understanding, and fellowship. So our Fellowship embraces all races and all tongues in an endeavour to win for each a place in the sun, and an opportunity to develop the God within, and to make a new world in which each will be valued for what he is in himself, not for any place he may occupy in the limelight'.

'The Conference in short should have given us inspiration and practical assistance, and encouragement to go back to our schools and put into practice the lessons which we have heard preached'.

PROFESSOR G. G. CILLIÉ

Speaking as one who is 100 per cent. South African, and a father—perhaps a grandfather—of education in South Africa, my first feeling is one of intense gratitude towards all those who conceived the brain-wave of holding this Conference in South Africa, and of bringing from Overseas these ladies and gentlemen, about whom we have heard and whose books we have read, so that we could see them and hear from themselves of their own experiences and difficulties, and sometimes perhaps their own failures. There is also the feeling of hope that at some future date not very far remote the leaders in this New Education Fellowship may decide to hold the International Conference in South Africa, where they will find a very sympathetic audience and hearing and would also sow their ideas in other fertile soil. South Africa's heart is big enough to clasp all to its bosom.

On account of this Conference we have now discovered that we are really a great brotherhood. We have had in the past some sort of vague notion that we were so, but it has now become definite. We now find that your problems are our problems and that, whether in America or in Africa, your children are like our children. Those very problems that are harassing us, and for which we are blaming ourselves because we are not able to solve them,—the everlasting question of school inspection and examinations—we now find that you are also still seeking the solution. You are engaged in the same object as we are.

The teacher's object is to fight ignorance in every shape and form—to fight the forces of ignorance, prejudice, meanness, and narrowness. We now feel that we are called upon to progress in our schools and to rear a better and saner generation. I think that the outstanding impression of this Conference is that we shall go back to our work with hope and heaps of inspiration. One almost pities the poor child who will have to endure all this. (*Laughter.*)

May it be our motto that schools are to come into existence where men and women will be filled with the ideal of service, and may such things come to pass under the auspices of the New Education Fellowship!

PROFESSOR F. CLARKE

After listening to the first few weeks of the Conference I felt like an Encyclopaedia Britannica that had become unbound with its index lost. But you have to make it a whole.

Some people have said that a missing element in this Conference meeting at Capetown has been the lack of reference to religion. But I feel that the Conference itself signified the presence of religion. It was an intensely personal thing and made an impression on intellectual powers. It was so much like religion in form that one might as well give it the name.

While we have heard many addresses, I feel that the people who mattered most at the Conference were the quiet, hardworking people who were seldom or never seen. The first is one who has not been seen at all, although his pervading presence has been with us all the time,—Sir Carruthers Beattie, the Principal of the University of Capetown.

Without him we would not have had the University Buildings for our Conference. The next is the first speaker and the chairman of the whole Fellowship—Mrs. Ensor. Mrs. Ensor is no ordinary woman. If any of you are marked down by her, give up all hope of escape. She will follow you almost into another world. It is really due to her foresight, or insight, years ago that this Fellowship exists. And who knows what it may grow into yet! There are two others who should be remembered. One is Dr. Malherbe. When he started out on this venture, as on some others, I thought he would not bring it off. But each time he has managed it three times better than I thought. I saw him in Montreal last autumn and he was full of the thing then. It is a matter of some delight and joy to see him sitting here to-day peaceful and calm.

The other person is Prof. Burger, Chairman of the Capetown Committee and a South African from whom you will get some real understanding.

I want to say a few words to the teachers. Some of the younger teachers may not know very much about the struggle of the past. But the way in which they can follow up the Conference is for the Teachers' Associations to take a lead. They should now get to work to further the aims of the Conference. As soon as possible they should arrange one or two regional Conferences, not on a wide range but on specific things—for example, to decide whether Dr. Boyd or myself is right about examinations. In remote nooks of South Africa there are teachers with a spark of genius working something out which is worthy of wider expression. Why should not the teachers form a South African Educational Institute? Why should not the teachers have their own organisation for educational study? There should be someone here who could keep in touch with enquiry and work up to the publication of a good Educational Quarterly, which could be used as a forum of discussion. I would like to see the Teachers' Association take up this suggestion.

I am thinking, as others are thinking after our experience here, of the future of the New Education Fellowship. Is it to be just a general open forum where we all come together, whatsoever our views may be? Are we to have a good rattle and dust-up on the floor, and then go away and say there has been a shake-up—without getting anywhere? I agree with what Mrs. Ensor said about tolerance, but is tolerance to be a slushy stream which has the means of washing away our central faith? Or has the Fellowship to develop into something really big, having an outline and shape of its own? I think the Fellowship will break up unless it accepts the challenge which is taking place all over the world.

In one country after another some fundamental elementary need is beginning to burst through. It is not the result of objections from one or another. It seems that for the last 100 years of our political, social, and educational history we have been neglecting fundamental facts.

Certain profound, necessary, and urgent things in human life and society have been neglected, probably as a result of the phenomenal prosperity of the 19th century which tended to cover things up. In the 19th century we talked about freedom as if it was some kind of manufactured thing. But I believe the problem we have to face, and the form of the challenge, is not merely to talk about free ideals, but to work out a society in which ideals can be really free.

The whole prospect of freedom may be obscured, and may be in danger if we do not face the problem of permitting a society in which men can live fully and remain free.

PROFESSOR J. F. BURGER

PROF. J. F. BURGER thanked all those who had helped to make the Conference such a great success. "I want to thank those people," he said "who have worked and who have sacrificed themselves; those who, without asking what the reward would be, have given themselves for the cause."

After specifying their indebtedness in detail, Professor Burger concluded with words of thanks to the Overseas speakers, whose "dynamic power" had "made the Conference go." "You have placed us under a debt of gratitude which I know we shall never be able to repay." He also wished to thank the members of the Conference, especially the teachers, for their attendance. "What was most gratifying to myself in this Conference was the spirit in which it was held—the spirit of tolerance and comradeship. I think the Cape Province, and South Africa in general, has reason to be proud of its teachers and of the way in which they have supported this Conference. I think they have shown that when anything that is good is placed before the teachers of South Africa they know how to make the best use of it. It is almost an unheard of thing that about 20 per cent of the teaching profession should have come from long distances to attend the Conference at great sacrifice of time and money. When its men and women are animated with this spirit we need not be afraid in the least of the future of our teaching profession. We know that the heart of the profession is right; and if that is right, everything will be right with the future.

You are going back to your homes and you will ponder on what you have heard. You will use the impressions that you have gained and you will try to apply them. It is only in this way that spiritual growth takes place.

But after the period of expansion there should come a period of consolidation. Sometimes it fills me with concern that we show so much activity at the lectures, but we hear too little about the other side of the spiritual growth—that of meditation. It is only in solitude and in silence that the spirit grows, and on this note I wish to end. Education in the final instance is that process of the spirit in quietness coming into its own, the spirit penetrating beneath the surface of things, finding reality. It is only by penetration through the transient things to the depth of reality that one becomes really educated. The question of education is the quest for peace—the eternal—and reality.

*'Follow thou thy star this quest
for the eternal for reality
and thou shall not fail of a sure heaven'.*

(b) CLOSING REMARKS AT THE JOHANNESBURG SESSION

DR. WILLIAM BOYD

In the opening days of the Conference we were all greatly thrilled by the enthusiastic crowds which thronged the lecture halls and took eager part in the discussion of the New Education as it affected South Africa. The South Africans who knew their own countrymen best were most amazed at the success of the gathering, and we who had come from Overseas shared in the thrill and the wonder. Even the most hardened Conference attenders and lecturers had never before met just

such a vital response. And now that the first flush of surprise and satisfaction has passed, the sense of wonder remains and something of the deeper significance of what has been happening becomes evident.

There comes to mind how Plato deduced the immortality of the soul from the eagerness with which the young men reached out for truth, not as a new discovery but as a bringing to light of something fundamental in their very being. Something of the same thought must have come to many of us. This has not been mere lecture-tasting and pleasant making of acquaintances, but a great religious awakening, a movement of the spirit, which has caught us all up in its progress. Here for the brief season of about four weeks we have not only been hearing talk about New Education and the making of a new social order, but we ourselves have been living and working in a new educational scheme and have found ourselves members of a community which prefigures the harmonies and reconciliations which we hope will one day lead to a different kind of world from that in which we now find ourselves.

And now the time has come to descend from the heights on which we have been living. Now we must begin to translate the ideals which have seemed easy and obvious in the atmosphere of the Conference into practical measures under the harder conditions of the ordinary life. The purpose of the present gathering is to face up to the tasks which have emerged from the information and inspiration of the manifold discussions and see what they mean for us in terms of home, school, and nation.

To some people the fact that there has been great diversity and some measure of conflict in the messages of the exponents of the New Education makes the effort to apply the ideals of the Conference seem a difficult business. Actually that is the most stimulating feature of the New Education. It is a call to greater freedom and initiative for childhood and youth, and that requires personal thought and judgment on the part of parents and teachers. Diversity and even conflict are in the very nature of true education. Children and their elders trying out things for themselves cannot but follow different courses at times. With unity of the free spirit there cannot but be diversity of practical expression. The New Education is not for people who want firm formulae and ready-made methods.

The real difficulty is for one like myself who has been asked to survey the topics of the Conference sections and to make practical suggestions on the basis of the survey. I am compelled by the range and variety of the work which has been done during the past weeks to become ego-centric and try to tell what have seemed to me the outstanding ideas emerging from the meetings.

I begin by stressing the *religious note* which has been sounding through all the proceedings. Some people at Capetown were critical in regard to this matter of religion. There have been discussions of every thing under the sun at these meetings, they said, but never a word of religion. If they meant that there was no formal discussion of the problems of religious education at the Capetown meeting,* they were right. But if they meant that a sense of spiritual values was absent they were badly wrong. In the conviction that no man or group has real life except in finding himself or itself in the service of great causes, the Conference kept its members intimately in touch with the unseen realities all through.

* See Chapter VII for a summary of the addresses on *Religious Education* held at Johannesburg—Ed.

We have been looking out on life with a big wide vision. Now we must begin to translate our ideals into a practical form that will endure the strains of daily life.

Religion is the very antithesis of self-centred life. All true education—education which gets down to the secrets of personality—is essentially religious. We have come to terms with the universe and with life and we have to base our education on the great big harmonies.

Closely connected with that is the stress laid on the *fundamental place of the home* in the personal and social reconstruction to be brought about by the New Education. I found myself in complete agreement with Professor Malinowski when he insisted on the enduring character of the family in spite of much questioning about its present organisation. That does not mean that changes are not taking place in the relations of husband and wife and of parents and children. In fact, much of the discussion during the Conference was concerned with the part to be played by education in effecting these changes. Hence the stress on parent education as a training not merely in bringing up children but in the art of happy married relations. For this, sex-education is quite as much an education of the parents as of the children. The outcome of the better family adjustments, on the basis of a proper respect for personality in young and old alike, should be children passing out of home and school into the world as well-adjusted humans.

For that, however, there is need not only of a new kind of home but of a new kind of school. An idea much emphasised in the Conference is that of *the school as a real community* in which the children learn the business of life by personal participation in activities and interests of worth for themselves.

There are three points which I myself dwelt on specially in regard to the changing of the school to make it a better training ground for life :

(1) *That there is need for better relations between teachers and children.* The first essential of the New Education is a deep respect for the child's personality. That leads on the one hand to a greater trust in the child and readiness to give him the freedom that allows opportunities for learning how to order his own life, and on the other hand to the wise guidance which provides him with the help he needs to make the best of his powers.

(2) *That there is need for new methods of instruction to encourage free creative activities and personal experiment in learning.* The existing methods depend too much on the teacher's skill and keenness for their driving power and virtue. The aim of the newer methods is to base learning on personal interest and substitute for external compulsions the strong inner urges which can be set free by a proper call on the child's desire to learn. To effect this the teacher must be set free from the constraints of external inspection and examination and, having learned the blessedness of freedom for himself, be brought to realise its blessedness for the children. This does not involve the absence of control in school-work for either teacher or pupil but the discovery of methods of organising work which will yield better results by encouraging self-control.

(3) *That there is need for a fundamental re-consideration of what is taught in school.* The present school is dominated by the thought of what is likely to be good for the child—as the adult sees that good. While recognising that the grown-up community has a deep concern in regard to the curriculum of school studies the new educator wishes to have the curriculum child-centred rather than adult-centred, preparing the young

for membership of the community but making the starting-point the vital interests of childhood and youth. The emphasis in the new school will not be on subjects but on projects.

In conclusion I would venture to indicate the more important practical measures necessary to give effect to the ideals of the Conference, to which reference has been made by various speakers during the fortnight :

- (a) Branches of the New Education Fellowship should be formed everywhere.
- (b) Stress the parental aspects by putting the relations of parent and children in the forefront in any concerted measures of reform.
- (c) Develop parent-teacher associations to ensure the co-operation of home and school.
- (d) Establish child guidance clinics on an educational basis in order to ensure right treatment of children presenting difficulties in learning or behaviour.
- (e) Increase the responsibility of the teacher in the organisation and conduct of the school by a delegation so far as practicable of inspectorial functions and powers to the teachers in their corporate capacity.
- (f) Get the teachers to form commissions for the study of all questions of curriculum and method, charging them specially to seek ways and means of lifting the examination incubus.
- (g) Make sure that the teachers are good enough for their increased responsibility by giving them a better education and training in well equipped Education Faculties in the Universities.
- (h) In all efforts at improving South African education remember that no organisation or methods will avail without better parents and better teachers with the wisdom to know that their job is to make a new generation that is to be on a higher level than themselves.

CLOSING PRAYER

REV. WM. NICOL

At the request of the Chairman the Rt. Rev. Wm. Nicol, B.A., B.D., Moderator of the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church of Transvaal, closed the final session at Johannesburg by offering prayer in the following words :—

“ O Lord our God—We bow before Thee who hast brought us together from the different parts of our country and from countries across the seas. We honour Thee as our common Father, who has from one blood created all the races of mankind.

We thank Thee for the privileges we have enjoyed during these weeks together. We thank Thee for information received on important matters, and light thrown upon the problems of our life, our task, and our country. Still more we thank Thee for the new vision we have gained here—the vision of our high calling and of our glorious opportunity. We thank Thee also especially for the happy communion we have had together, for friendships established and renewed on a deeper basis, and for the honesty that has taught us to recognise our own failures.

And now, O Lord, we have approached the end of our Conference and in parting there are many matters that we wish to commend to Thee. We commend to Thy care our new friends who are soon to leave our country. We thank Thee for the inspiration they have brought to us and pray that they may have health and happiness as they return to their regular duties in other lands.

We commend to Thee our own young nation. O Lord! we feel sometimes like children reaching out in the dark, groping, we do not always know for what. We begin to recognise our enormous responsibility towards our own people, young and old. Teach us how to teach others; guide us that we may guide others. Give us the true happiness in finding ourselves in Thee, so that others may enter into their own due of happiness.

We commend to Thee our schools, that they may meet the needs of our land and accomplish the divine plan which Thou hast for them. We commend to Thee our homes, that the spirit of Love and Understanding may find its right place there and that that Spirit may penetrate all our human relations.

We lift our minds to the needs of all mankind—mankind in its continued ignorance and hatred, its jealousy and selfishness. We think of the Native races, which still miss so many of our privileges, and we pray that we ourselves may see and do our duty to them. We think of the great nations of the world which fear each other and cause us to fear the thought of war on earth again. Wilt Thou recreate in us the mind of Christ from which springs peace, permanent and happy?

As we now separate we again commend ourselves to Thee and pray that Thou wilt purify us in Thy Love to the Honour of Thy great Name.

All this we ask through Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, Amen !

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

ORGANISATIONS AND SOCIETIES WHICH SUPPORTED THE CONFERENCE.

The Government of the Union of South Africa—	The Witwatersrand Central Juvenile Affairs Board.
Department of Education.	The Witwatersrand East Juvenile Affairs Board.
Department of Agriculture.	The Witwatersrand West Juvenile Affairs Board.
Department of Labour.	The South African Association for the Advancement of Science.
Department of Native Affairs.	The South African Branches of the New Education Fellowship.
South African Railways and Harbours Administration—Publicity and Tourist Department.	The Pretoria Parents' Association.
The Provincial Administration—	Die Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuur Vereniging.
Cape of Good Hope Department of Public Education.	The Council of Education, Witwatersrand.
Natal Education Department.	The Medical Association of South Africa (B.M.A.).
Transvaal Education Department.	The Dental Association of South Africa.
Orange Free State Education Department.	The South African Institute of Race Relations.
The Administration of South West Africa.	The South African National Council for Child Welfare.
The High Commission in South Africa.	Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk.
The Government of Southern Rhodesia—	The Church of the Province of South Africa.
Department of Education.	The Methodist Church of South Africa.
Department of Native Development.	The Presbyterian Church of South Africa.
Department of Native Affairs.	The Roman Catholic Church.
The Government of Northern Rhodesia—	The Congregational Church.
Department of Education.	The Unitarian Church.
Department of Native Affairs.	The Students' Christian Association.
The Corporation of the City of Capetown.	The National Council of Women.
The City Council of Johannesburg.	Die Afrikaanse Christelike Vroue-vereniging.
The University of Capetown.	Die Suid-Afrikaanse Vroue-Federasie (Transvaal).
The University of South Africa.	Die Vroue-vereniging van die Oranje Vrystaat.
Die Universiteit van Stellenbosch.	Die Kristelike Vroue-vereniging van Natal.
The University of the Witwatersrand.	The Capetown Chamber of Commerce.
Die Universiteit van Pretoria.	The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce.
The Cape Technical College.	The Transvaal Chamber of Industries.
The Witwatersrand Technical College.	The South African Agricultural Union.
The Federal Council of South African Teachers' Associations.	The South African Women's Agricultural Union.
Die Suid - Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie (Kaap Provinsie). (S.A.O.U.)	The University Club, Capetown.
The South African Teachers' Association (Cape Province). (S.A.T.A.)	The National Union of S.A. Students.
The Natal Teachers' Society.	The South African University Women's Association.
Die Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging.	The Johannesburg Publicity Association.
The Transvaal Teachers' Association.	The Cape Peninsula Publicity Association.
The Transvaal High School Teachers' Association.	The Rotary Club of Capetown.
The Transvaal Normal College Teachers' Association.	The Rotary Club of Johannesburg.
Die Vereniging van Onderwysers in die Oranje Vrystaat.	The Johannesburg Board of Charities.
The Association of Teachers in Technical Colleges.	Die Helpmekaar.
The Cape School Board.	The Masonic Education Institution.
The Witwatersrand Central School Board.	The Sons of England Patriotic and Benevolent Society.
The Witwatersrand East School Board.	Die Sondagskoolkommissie van die Ned. Geref. Kerk.
The Witwatersrand West School Board.	The South African National Sunday School Association.
The Cape Juvenile Affairs Board.	

APPENDIX B.

PATRONS AND COMMITTEES.

PATRON :

Lt.-Col. the Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon, P.C., G.C.M.G., Governor-General of the Union of South Africa.

HON. PRESIDENTS :

General the Hon. J. B. M. Hertzog, LL.D., Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs.
General the Right Hon. J. C. Smuts, P.C., LL.D., Minister of Justice.
The Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, M.A., D.Sc., Minister of Education.

HON. VICE-PRESIDENTS :

The Hon. J. H. Conradie, Administrator, Cape of Good Hope.

The Hon. H. Gordon Watson, Administrator, Natal.

The Hon. S. P. Bekker, Administrator, Transvaal.

The Hon. C. T. M. Wilcocks, Administrator, Orange Free State.

Dr. S. F. N. Gie, Secretary for Union Education.

Professor M. C. Botha, Superintendent-General of Education, Cape Province.

Mr. F. D. Hugo, Superintendent of Education, Natal.

Professor S. P. E. Boshoff, Director of Education Transvaal.

Mr. S. H. Pellissier, Director of Education, Orange Free State.

Mr. J. W. Parkinson, Chairman of Federal Council of S.A. Teachers' Associations.

Sir Carruthers Beattie, Principal, University of Capetown.

Mr. H. R. Raikes, Principal, University of the Witwatersrand.

His Worship the Mayor of Capetown.

His Worship the Mayor of Johannesburg.

CAPETOWN LOCAL COMMITTEES.

Executive Committee : Prof. J. F. Burger (Chairman), Prof. W. F. Grant, Dr. W. de Vos Malan, Mr. E. G. Pells (General Secretary), together with the Chairmen of the following Sub-Committees.

Programme Committee : Prof. J. F. Burger (Chairman), Prof. W. F. Grant, Dr. W. de Vos Malan, Prof. G. G. Cillié, Mr. G. B. Kipps, Prof. H. Reyburn, Mrs. A. L. Geyer, Miss L. L. Daws, Mrs. G. Malan (Secretary).

Publicity : Prof. G. G. Cillié (Chairman), Mr. G. B. Kipps, Mr. W. A. Doble, Lieut.-Commander C. P. Newton.

Accommodation and Transport : Mr. J. J. Jordaan (Chairman), Lieut.-Commander C. P. Newton,

Mrs. W. F. Grant, Mrs. Piek, Mr. E. G. Pells, Mr. W. A. Doble (Secretary).

Entertainment : Adv. G. C. Bain (Chairman), Prof. and Mrs. W. F. Grant, Mr. W. A. Doble, Lieut.-Commander C. P. Newton, Miss E. Fincken, Mr. A. E. Andersen (Secretary).

Finance : Mr. W. R. Skeeles (Chairman), Mr. E. O. Vaughan, Mr. J. F. Kriel, Mr. U. Reinecke (Secretary), Mr. N. P. Louw (Treasurer).

Art Section : Mr. Chas. E. Peers (Chairman), Mrs. Kuttien Keuler, Miss R. van Gelderen, Mrs. G. Malan, Mr. J. E. Rawson, Mr. H. V. Meyerowitz, Mr. Bernard Lewis, Mrs. R. J. Pope Fincken (Secretary).

Assistant Secretaries : Mrs. G. Malan, Mrs. U. Reinecke, Mr. A. J. Smuts, Mr. W. H. Law.

JOHANNESBURG LOCAL COMMITTEES.

Executive Committee : Mr. H. R. Raikes (Chairman), Mr. H. Britten, Mr. F. Handel Thompson, Mr. L. J. Erasmus, Mr. N. Duke, Mr. I. Glyn Thomas (Secretary), together with the Chairmen of the following Sub-Committees.

Programme Committee : Dr. E. G. Malherbe (Chairman), Dr. S. F. N. Gie, Mr. Butler, Mr. A. K. Bot, Mr. P. J. Hattingh, Mr. H. J. Hollenbach, Rev. P. du Toit, Dr. Marie te Water, Dr. Ruth Arndt, Prof. E. Eybers, Mr. L. D. Jones, Miss Hambloch, Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, Mr. J. Lawlor, Mr. E. Halm, Mr. J. J. Strassheim, Mr. I. Glyn Thomas (Secretary).

Publicity : Mr. H. J. Crocker (Chairman), Dr. E. G. Malherbe, Mr. A. Mathieson.

Hospitality and Transport : Professor John Orr (Chairman), Mr. A. Mathieson.

Entertainment : Major C. C. Frye (Chairman), Miss S. G. Sprigg, Miss S. G. Kloppers.

Finance : Mr. W. F. Boustred (Chairman), Mr. N. Duke (Secretary and Treasurer).

Registration Secretaries : Mr. L. J. Erasmus, Beckett's Bldgs., Johannesburg. Mr. N. Duke, Stemen's Bldgs., Johannesburg. Mr. I. Glyn Thomas, University, Johannesburg.

ORGANISING SECRETARY :

Dr. E. G. Malherbe, Director, National Bureau of Educational and Social Research, Union Buildings, Pretoria.

APPENDIX C.

CHAIRMAN OF SECTIONS.

Cape Town Session.

Johannesburg Session.

Curriculum Problems	..	Mr. W. A. Joubert	..	Prof. R. F. A. Hoernlé.
Rural Education	..	Prof. G. G. Cillié	..	Mr. L. J. van Zyl.
New Methods	..	Mrs. Beatrice Ensor	..	Mrs. Beatrice Ensor.
Examinations	..	Mr. C. J. Hofmeyr	..	Mr. J. Lawlor.
Psychology and Examination	..	Prof. H. A. Reyburn	..	—
Bilingualism and Language Teaching.		—		Prof. John Hughes.
Teacher Training	..	Mr. A. Wynn Davies	..	Sir John Adamson.
Vocational Guidance	..	Prof. R. W. Wilcocks	..	Mr. I. D. MacCrone.
Art Education	..	Mr. G. B. Kipps	..	Mr. J. J. Strassheim.
Religious Education	..	—	..	Rev. W. Nicol.
Psychological Problems of Home and School.		Mrs. W. de V. Malan	..	Dr. E. P. Baumann.
Child Welfare and the Pre-School Child.		Mrs. W. F. Grant	..	Mr. F. Handel Thompson.
Social Work	..	Bishop Lavis	..	Mr. H. Britten.
Native Education	..	Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones	..	Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones.

APPENDIX D.

MINUTES OF FINAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE

(responsible for the organisation of the above-mentioned Conference) held at the University Buildings, Johannesburg, on 20th May, 1935.

1. Mr. H. R. Raikes in the Chair: Apologies for absence from: Mrs. Broers, Messrs. Rheinallt Jones, Butler, Crocker, Boustred, Strassheim, L. D. Jones, Drs. du Preez and E. Eybers.

2. The Minutes of the previous meeting of the General Committee were approved.

3. Report of Organising Secretary adopted (see Appendix E.).

4. Report of Treasurer, adopted.

Votes of Thanks to all co-operating organisations, and in particular to:

- (a) the Carnegie Corporation;
- (b) Principal Raikes as Chairman;
- (c) Mr. N. Duke as Treasurer;
- (d) Dr. E. G. Malherbe as Organising Secretary;
- (e) Minister of Education for generous assistance by Union Education Department;
- (f) Chairmen of Sub-Committees and Assistant Secretaries;
- (g) All donors of grants-in-aid. (See list herewith).
- (h) The Press.

5. *Trusteeship of Conference Funds.*

Resolved:

- (a) That this General Committee cedes to the Board of Trustees named below all assets and liabilities of the Conference, and that this Board be entrusted with the administration of the Conference Fund. (The assets consist of the credit balances of the Conference meetings at Johannesburg and Cape Town: the unsold copies of "The Handbook of Educational and Social Work" and of the Art Pamphlet published in connection with the Conference. The liabilities are a few outstanding accounts in connection with the film and Art exhibits).
- (b) That this Board of Trustees consists of five members constituted as follows: *Two* members nominated by the Capetown Committee, *two* nominated by the Johannesburg Committee, and Dr. E. G. Malherbe as *ex officio* Chairman.
- (c) That Principal H. R. Raikes and Mr. N. Duke be the nominees of the Johannesburg Committee on this Board of Trustees. (Mr. E. O. Vaughan and Dr. J. F. Burger were nominated by the Capetown Committee.)
- (d) That Mr. N. Duke be requested to act as Treasurer of the Board of Trustees.
- (e) That disbursements authorised by the Trustees shall be made by cheque signed by the Treasurer and one other Trustee.
- (f) That this Board of Trustees shall be self-perpetuating and have the power to fill vacancies due to death or resignation.
- (g) That the Board of Trustees shall devote these funds to the publication of the Report (in order that registered members of the Conference may obtain copies at a reduced price) and to the furtherance of progressive education in South Africa.

6. *Suggestions to the Board of Trustees:*

Resolved:

- (a) That £1,000 be devoted from these funds to the publication of the Conference Report on the grounds mentioned in the Organising Secretary's Report.
- (b) That the Trustees publish an annual report through the medium of the educational journals in South Africa.
- (c) That the audited accounts of the Conference be published in the Report of the Conference together with a list of the registered members who attended the Conference.

7. *Publications of Report of the Proceedings:*

Resolved:

- (a) That the Organising Secretary (Dr. E. G. Malherbe) undertake the editing of the Report.
- (b) That if the Report proves too bulky to be printed in one volume, it be split up into several volumes; for the rest, the form of the publication to be determined by the editor and the Trustees.

APPENDIX E.

WHAT THE CONFERENCE HAS MEANT FOR SOUTH AFRICA
REPORT OF THE ORGANISING SECRETARY

*Submitted at the final meeting of the General Committee, South African
New Education Fellowship Conference*

The New Education Fellowship Conference whose business we are winding up to-day was attended by over 4,000 people at the two sessions at Capetown and Johannesburg and occupied practically the whole month of July, 1934. Two series of continuation lectures were given in Natal and in the Orange Free State because it was felt that, after the generous support which these two Provinces gave to the Conference session at Johannesburg, they were entitled to hear some of the outstanding Overseas lecturers within their own Provinces. These speakers, who were worked pretty hard during the two long sessions of two weeks each at Capetown and Johannesburg, were generous enough to comply with this arrangement.

There were 25 Overseas speakers whom we invited officially. In addition we invited more than a dozen speakers from other parts of Africa to participate in the section on Native Education, which from the point of view of the Overseas visitors and lecturers was acclaimed as the most important and interesting single section of the Conference.

It is not my intention here to describe the many activities of the Conference. This was very effectively done at the time by the South African Press, and I wish here to record my appreciation of the generous and efficient way in which the South African Press handled the whole Conference. Of course, it is to be hoped that proceedings will be published in a fairly full report. Somehow it was taken for granted that I should be responsible for the editing of this report. The manuscripts constitute a pile of nearly three feet high, and I confess that I am not feeling too happy over the task, which has hitherto repeatedly been interrupted first by illness and then by important Government work which robbed me of all my spare time. Still, if the Committee wishes me to do the work, I am willing to undertake to see it through, though, under the circumstances, I cannot now guarantee a definite date of its completion.

The holding of this Conference was *an act of faith*. There were many doubting Thomases who not only thought, but actually said so at the preliminary meetings, that I was taking a big risk and that financially we were bound to "come a cropper" because there were not enough people in South Africa who would be prepared to pay two guineas each so that we could afford to pay the expenses of twenty-five Overseas lecturers.

Thanks, however, to the splendid support of the organisations (which are listed elsewhere) these doubts proved not only unfounded, but what is more, as a self-paying proposition, the Conference exceeded the most sanguine expectations. When I submitted to you my original estimates to the Committee, I stated that we planned for a surplus of about £1,200 to cover the cost of printing the report. From the financial statement you will see that the credit balance is even bigger. So, *financially* the Conference was a success. Important as this undoubtedly is from the organisers' point of view, it is not the sole criterion by which we judge the success or otherwise of the Conference.

The interest which the South African public and the South African Government—in particular the Prime Minister, General Smuts, and Mr.

Hofmeyr—took in the whole matter and the interest which the Conference aroused Overseas mean much more to me than a credit balance financially.

The Conference may be looked upon as one of the outstanding events in the history of South African education. It definitely “put South African education on the map”.

Many people will however ask: This enthusiasm was all very well, but *what has now actually been achieved by the Conference?* This is a difficult question to answer at this stage, particularly for me, as I have been so very close up to it all the time. Moreover, the Conference through its various sections dealt with such a multiplicity of subjects and was attended by such a large number of people from various walks of life, that it is well-nigh impossible to gauge what these people individually or collectively got out of it. To judge, however, from the scores of letters of appreciation I have received from those who attended the Conference, it seems as if many gained not only considerable additional information but chiefly inspiration to tackle their daily tasks with a new outlook and courage.

By far the largest achievement of the Conference lies, therefore, in the sphere of intangibles which are difficult to assess accurately. There are, however, a few more or less definite results which may be briefly mentioned.

A great impetus was given by means of the Conference to two comparatively new phases of school work in South Africa. I refer first to *school broadcasting*, and secondly to the *provision for pre-school children* by means of Nursery Schools. A good beginning has been made in these two fields which promises well for the future. In connection with the latter must be mentioned the added interest in parent-teacher co-operation which has led to the establishment of new branches of the New Education Fellowship and similar parent-teacher organisations in various parts of the country. Then again the problem of Rural Education was brought forcibly before the people, and I may say that the findings of the Rural Section have been eagerly used by the Provincial Administrations in dealing with that problem within their respective boundaries. Similarly the findings of the Native Education Section definitely mark a milestone in the development of a better grasp of the problem by missionaries, teachers, and those who deal with it practically, by the anthropologists and social scientists who deal with it theoretically, as well as a better understanding between these two sets of people. Many teachers and parents have testified as to the great value of the sections dealing with the curriculum, new methods, examinations, Art education, bilingualism, teacher training, problems of home and school, child welfare and social work, religious education, etc.

By the way, I should mention with what regret I was forced to drop three very important sections, viz. (a) Music education, (b) Sunday School Methods, and (c) Health Education, because Professor Stakowsky of the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, Dr. Yeaxlee from England, and Dr. Crowley, also from England, respectively responsible for leading these sections, were prevented from coming at the last moment.

It was felt that it would be unfair to these topics to make use of make-shifts at the last moment, so I preferred to drop them entirely.

But there are two incidental outcomes of the Conference which I consider just as important, if not more so than those mentioned above.

The first is the achievement of a *heightened sense of professional prestige on the part of the teaching body*. Here we found, for the first time in South African history, literally thousands of teachers thronging to meetings for two weeks on end, not to discuss salaries and conditions of service but to discuss education pure and simple. Not a word was

ever mentioned about salaries. At Capetown, where the Administrator presided at one of the crowded meetings, he said he felt like apologising for ever having cut teachers' salaries, because he never knew that they took such an interest in education !

The fact that such a large proportion of the teaching profession not only sacrificed their vacation but paid their own subscriptions and travelling and boarding expenses, in order to stay for the full two weeks of the Conference at either of the two centres, impressed and inspired not only the Overseas visitors but also the teachers themselves.

Generous as were the support and contributions of other organisations, it must not be forgotten that the teachers' organisations by their financial guarantees and by their active propaganda to gain subscriptions constituted the backbone of the whole undertaking. Here I feel I must give credit where credit is due.

The second incidental achievement of the Conference was the fact that we had here nearly a *hundred organisations* and institutions of divergent political, religious, and social points of view—as divergent as the North and South Poles sometimes—*uniting actively on a co-operative venture* without a discordant note to disturb the harmony. To all those who know South Africa and South Africans this must seem a rather remarkable achievement. I mention it here because it probably also is the big underlying secret of the ultimate success of the Conference, and such a spirit of disinterested co-operation augurs well for the future of South Africa.

We owe, therefore, our sincerest thanks as a committee to the generous co-operation of all these organisations mentioned on the Conference programme. In this connection I would like you to adopt a motion for a special vote of thanks to the Principals of the Universities of Capetown and the Witwatersrand for placing their University buildings and hostels at our disposal.

Finally a special vote of thanks should go to an organisation not mentioned on the list: I refer to the Carnegie Corporation of New York. It was as a result of the personal interest which its President, Dr. F. P. Keppel, takes in South Africa that the Corporation undertook to defray the travelling expenses of Professor John Dewey and Dr. C. W. Coulter from America, Dr. Malinowski from England, Mr. Arthur Lismor from Canada, and Dr. Cunningham from Australia. In addition the Corporation gave us \$800 towards the general expenses of the Conference. In this way we achieved an inter-Dominion exchange of ideas which was extremely valuable and which would not have been possible but for the Carnegie Corporation's assistance.

SUMMARY OF THE FINANCIAL POSITION REGARDING CONFERENCE MEETINGS AT CAPETOWN AND JOHANNESBURG.*

As regards Income, we received £1,495 in donations from various sources all over the Union—(see list below in Appendix F). In registration tickets and money taken at the door the nett takings at Johannesburg were £2,712 compared with £1,908 at Capetown, a fact which indicates that the Northern attendances were nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as big as those in the South. We had a small income from the sale of Handbooks and Pamphlets amounting to £40.

All these together give a *total income* of £6,155 for the Conference as a whole.

* The audited details of the financial statements of which this is a summary were submitted by the treasurers of the Northern and Southern Committees at their final general meetings on March 1st and May 20th, 1935, respectively and duly approved.

As regards *Expenditure*, our total expenses to date amounted to £4,683. This was made up as follows :

- (a) In travelling grants to official lecturers £2,623 : (Of this amount the Johannesburg Treasurer disbursed £2,187 and the Capetown Treasurer £436).
- (b) In other expenses £2,060 : (Of this amount the Johannesburg Treasurer paid out £1,313 and the Capetown Treasurer £747).

Deducting total expenditure (£4,683) from total income (£6,155) we are left with a *credit balance* of £1,472.

The remaining obligation against this surplus is the publication of the Report of the proceedings. *My own feeling is that the larger portion of this money should be devoted to decreasing the price of the Report to all registered members.* They paid their 2 guinea subscriptions, which constitute by far the largest source of income, and should, therefore, as joint shareholders in this venture, benefit by this surplus. As a matter of fact we promised a reduced price to members in our original Conference Brochure. Exactly what percentage of the surplus should be used in this way and the purposes for which the rest is to be used should, I think, be left to be determined by the Committee of Trustees who should take over these Funds in Trust.

In conclusion I wish to thank you as a Committee, especially the chairmen of the sub-committees and the assistant secretaries, and last but not least, the treasurer, for their generous assistance and cordial co-operation to see this venture through.

(Signed) E. G. MALHERBE,

*Organising Secretary :
South African New Education
Fellowship Conference.*

National Bureau of Education
and Social Research,
Union Buildings, Pretoria.
20th May, 1935.

APPENDIX F.

DONATIONS AND GRANTS-IN-AID TO THE CONFERENCE

	£	s.	d.
Transvaal Education Department	£200	0	0
Cape Education Department	200	0	0
Natal Education Department	100	0	0
Orange Free State Education Department	50	0	0
Union Education Department	100	0	0
University of Capetown	100	0	0
University of the Witwatersrand	100	0	0
University of South Africa	60	0	0
University of Stellenbosch	25	0	0
The Witwatersrand Council of Education	100	0	0
The Johannesburg Municipality	100	0	0
The Witwatersrand Technical College	100	0	0
South African Association for the Advancement of Science	100	0	0
The Carnegie Corporation of New York	159	12	9
Total	£1,494	12	9

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